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The Spatial Context of the Church Building in Kalamazoo, Michigan

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THE SPATIAL CONTEXT OF THE CHURCH BUILDING IN KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN

by

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In writing this thesis I trespassed into fields of study which hold the only places not of interest to all geographers. I found encouragement in J. K. Wright's HUMAN NATURE IN GEOGRAPHY. A personal perspective demanded the acknowledgement of a personal God who gives meaning to the real world which was investigated. Validation by authority is "provable" only within the spatial plane in which it is discovered. I ask only that interpretations of human behavior reveal the spatial plane from which they were conceived. I sincerely thank Professors James O. Wheeler and F. Stanley Moore for their patience, advice, and constructive criticism. The academic value of this report came from their guidance. The religious and cultural institutions of the City of Kalamazoo were valuable sources of data and other research materials. The staff personnel of those institutions were extremely gracious and helpful. Although aided by many, I accept full responsibility for what is written here.

Harmon Glenn Hart

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CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATION FOR A GEOGRAPHIC INTERPRETATION OF CHURCH LOCATION

The Purpose

The consecrated places that man differentiated from the profane space of his universe are in the earliest discernible areas of human occupance. Societies, on an increasingly complex and culturally molded landscape, built sacred structures that impressed enduring positive expressions of civilization upon the land. The spire of a church, reflecting a set of ideas and ideals by which men lived, became the most conspicuous evidence of human settlements throughout the Western world. On the contemporary scene, the city overshadows the location of the church as dynamic social interactions obscure the church-community. This study is concerned with the spatial context of the place of worship in the metropolitan area of Kalamazoo, Michigan.

Geographic tradition establishes the religious institution as an element of agglomerated tertiary service centers.(1) Sopher's pioneering text warns of the many difficulties to be encountered in the geographic study of man's religious systems.(2) There is danger of

a dichotomy that could lead geographers toward the misanthropic measurement of the cost of everything but the value of nothing. This investigation wanders beyond geographic boundaries to seek cross-fertilization for its distinctly chorographic topic. Such exploration was a "scientific trespass" into the fields of the human sciences to seek a measure of geographical awareness of the manifestations of human nature in "geo-diversity."(3)

The Meaning of Church Location as a Place of Worship

An essential decision preceded the working plan of this study. The terms that identify the place of worship have subtle distinctions within each milieu. Social usage has changed the meaning of the Christian-composed word church. A church was originally defined as an invisible community of believers in Jesus Christ. The word is now used to describe the visible architecture that houses all religious activities within Christian societies. When a man speaks of his church, the context is not always revealed.(4)

Nuances for the place of worship appear in the context of time and ethnic society.(5)

Church, church-building, and place of worship are used synonymously as nodes of spatially organized areal segments of the earth surface. The population of the

nodal region, expressed by a pattern of surface distribution, is the church-community. The morphology of the church-community is viewed as an organized system of faith and worship.(6) Recognition is given to considerations of the various meanings of a church-community within metropolitan areas.(7)

The Environment of the Study Area

The study area is delimited by the geographical boundaries of Kalamazoo Township, T.2S., R.11W., Michigan Meridian. The physical setting is a thirty-six square mile area of a stream-dissected glacial out-wash plain. The Kalamazoo River enters from the east and flows out of the Township to the north, physically setting apart the northeast quadrant.

Kalamazoo and its environs passed through several stages of cultural development in the last one hundred and fifty years. Imprints of each stage are still in evidence. In Bronson Park, a ceremonial mound marks a trail crossing of hunting and food-gathering bands. The park area was a part of one of the earliest subsistence farms. This small segment of the natural landscape became the nucleus for Bronson Village, the first organized settlement. The movement of rail lines into the area brought a network of transportation. Bronson

Village became Kalamazoo, an emerging commercial-metropolitan region. On the floodplains, the muck beds from an era of specialized commercial agriculture tell of the immigration of the Dutch. These early occupants found a refuge for religious freedom and an extension of their homeland environment in the area surrounding Kalamazoo. Modern pulpwood factories along the river reflect the beginning of industrialization fostered by the exploitative timber era of Michigan. Migrating industrial workers tended to settle in the northeast, separated from the core settlement by the river.

Today, the city of Kalamazoo is a rapidly expanding industrial-metropolitan complex serving a trade region of approximately one quarter of a million people. The Burdick Mall, an experiment in city planning, came into existence in 1959 as a significant characteristic of the cultural landscape. The Mall, one block east of Bronson Park, exerts a centripetal force that maintains the core area as the cultural and commercial center.(8)

The incorporated limits of Kalamazoo bound approximately twenty-four square miles of the total study area. Expanding suburban residential communities are filling in the remaining land. The Central Business District occupies slightly more than one square mile.(9) The incorporated limits have been expanded within three distinct

periods of change. Fifty years after incorporation in 1843, the city grew to fifteen times its original one-half square mile. Only small segments of the periphery were annexed until 1956 when the city doubled its land area. The sectors of the metropolitan area were uniformly inter-connected by transportation routes. Neighborhood and sub-community service centers developed along the major thoroughfares. Geographical boundaries are identified for these urban units within the entire study area. The suburban developments on the periphery of the city are included in the land utilization plans of the city government.(10)

The Religious Landscape of Kalamazoo and Its Environs

The density, location, and orientation of church buildings were identified in a preliminary investigation.(11) The places of worship that are the subjects of this study are shown in Fig. 1. All of the major Judeo-Christian denominations in the United States that have over a million membership are represented by the one hundred and thirty-one churches in Kalamazoo Township.(12) The Dutch-founded Reformed denomination, with one-half million national membership strongly localized in south-western Michigan, predominates with seventeen per cent of the total number of churches. Kalamazoo has the first

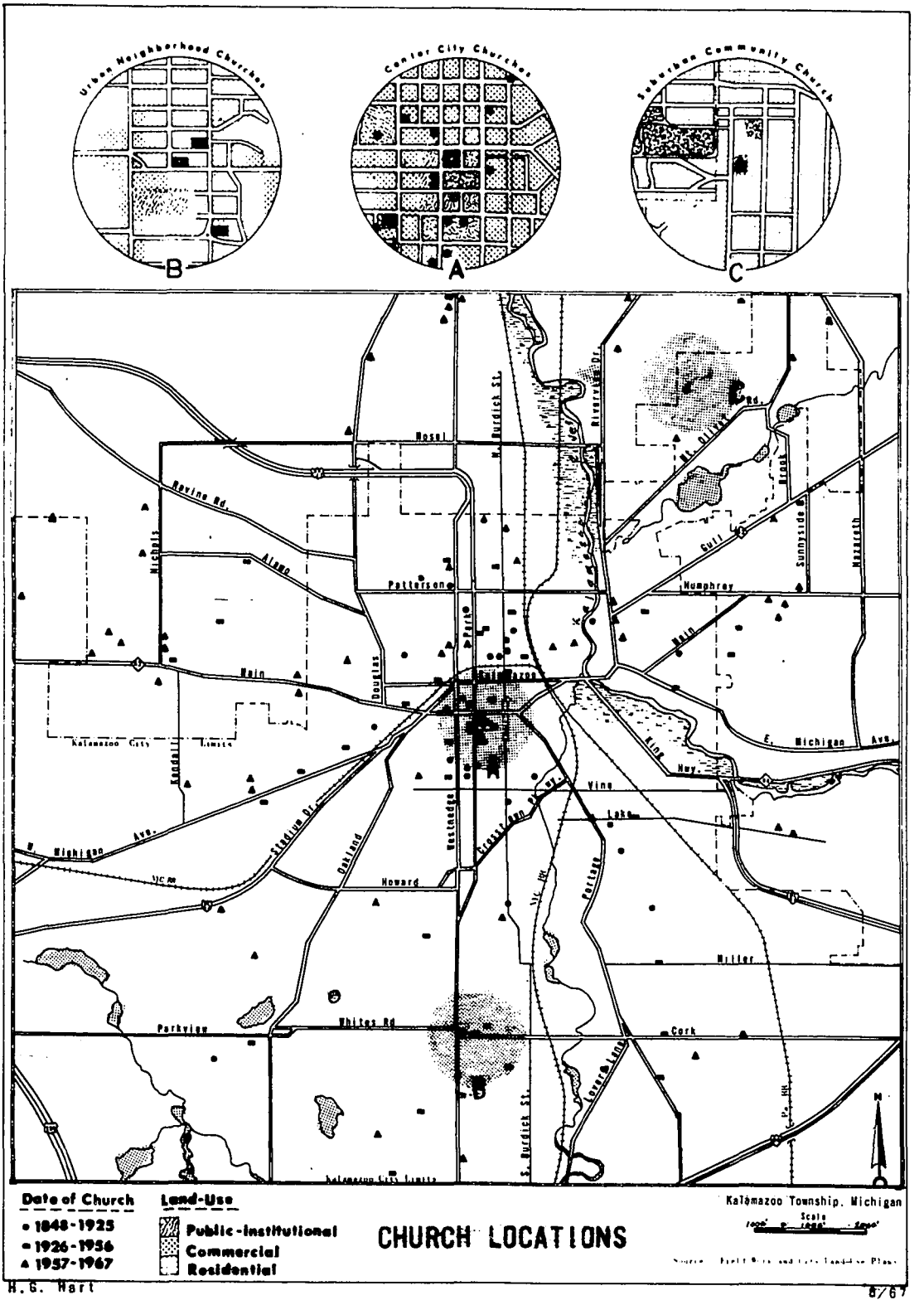

Fig. 1

YWCA and the first Friends Meeting House in Michigan. The internal structures of the religious systems span a continuum from the heirarchical Roman Catholic to the locally autonomous Bahai. Ethnic, universalizing, and cult systems are represented.(13)

The focal point of Kalamazoo's spatial arrangement of its religious institutions is adjacent to the north side of Bronson Park. The original village plan provided this site for the first four denominations that would build there. The Roman Catholic, Methodist, and Episcopal denominations have given up an original position at this location. Church Square now has representation of: the largest Protestant religious body (Baptist), the earliest American religious system (Congregationalist), the locally-dominant ethnic denomination (Reformed), the most wide-spread religious-service institution (YMCA). Eighty-two per cent of the major denominations have center-city churches. All but two of these downtown churches have affiliates in Kalamazoo Township. Only the Jewish synagogue has given up a core city location since 1893. If the 1980 urban redevelopment plan now being considered by the city government is carried out, none of these religious systems will lose their central position in the wake of economic and social progress.

Prior to 1956, most of the new church construction

took place within the city limits. In 1960, the concentration of churches was in the center and north-central sectors of the city where twenty-one per cent of the population resided. By 1966, a booming church building program was underway in the fringe areas which had already attained eighty-five per cent of the total capacitance for human occupance. Comity programs were unsuccessful as the local religious systems attempted to match the number of churches with an explosive population. The planning problems in Kalamazoo were similar to those of all religious communities facing the pressures of a modern metropolis.(14) The sites chosen for the increasing number of churches implied that the reasons for selection were not clearly evident in demographic statistics and urban planners' handbooks. This obscure process in the morphology of the Kalamazoo religious landscape prompted the investigation of ideologies of this study.

Three specific cases of re-orientation apparent in the changing patterns of location in the study area are considered significant for geographic appraisal: 1) The relationship of relocated churches and socially-structured urban neighborhoods; 2) The relationship of distance between the church and economic service centers; (See insets in Fig. 1.) 3) The association of Reformed

churches and geographically delineated sub-communities. (Insets of Fig. 1 are centered on Reformed churches.) These changing relationships posed the questions this study attempts to answer.

The Plan and Methodology

This study took a coign of vantage to search for substantive ideas that have influenced man's selection of his place for worship through time. (See Fig. 2.) The chorographic subject was sought within the perspectives of the human sciences as each discipline focused on its discriminative system of inter-relationships. The geographical expressions of form, function, and orientation of religious systems found in the cultural traits of man and his societies were the building blocks for a symbolic church. When the foundation of physical geographical environmentalism was obvious in the choice of sites within the study area, it was considered significant.

Basic research and field study provided the statistics used to measure and evaluate the significant geographic associations in each case of re-orientation. Searches into the process of change and the variation of form revealed the religious ideologies. Some of man's ideas about his place of worship are identified and

interpreted as they appear in the locational patterns of church and church-community.

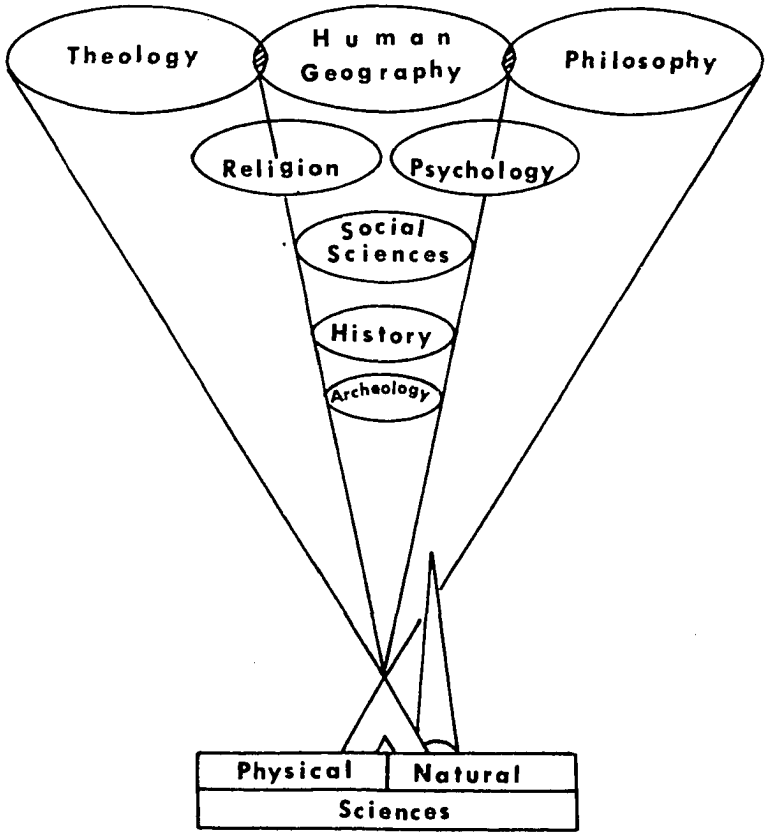

Fig. 2--The geographic realm for a focus on the place of worship.

The church and social structure

A comparative analysis of ranked data reveals the trends of change and the significant associations of the church and socially structured neighborhoods. Some of the ways that the church reacts to social change are

described. A distribution map illustrates the surfaces of a selected religious system for each of the two nodal locations of its church building. An evaluation of the significance of neighborhood associations answers this question: Does the church move to a new neighborhood or from an old one?

The church and economic activity

The investigator measured and analyzed the distance relationship of the church and tertiary service centers within the three stages of urban growth. The correlation of this relative position, the various classifications of economic activity, and the religious system structure provide a possible answer for this question: Is the church a sign of human occupance or occupation?

The ethnic church and the urban community

The study identifies the Dutch background and maps the surface distribution of selected Reformed church-communities for the years 1870, 1925, and 1960. By observing and interpreting the distributions of these conspicuous, culturally molded church-communities, this study offers a reply to this inquiry: How durable is the church as an indicator of ethnic solidarity?

This geographic research explored the many realms of

its subject. The planned approach toward its intended goal integrates qualitative descriptions from the history of human thought with quantitative interpretations of the present Kalamazoo cultural landscape.

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(2) Sopher, David E., Geography of Religions, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1967.

(3) For the term which so succinctly identifies the object of geographic study and for a strengthening of the conviction that geographers must be concerned with human values, see: Wright, J.K., Human Nature in Geography, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1966. The trespass into other fields of study was an acceptance of the challenges made by: Fenneman, Nevin M., "The Circumference of Geography," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 9, 1929, p. 6; and Taylor, Griffith (Ed.), Geography in the Twentieth Century, Philosophical Library, Inc., New York, 1960 Reprint, pp. 16-18.

(4) Definition for church, see: Davis, John D., A Dictionary of the Bible, Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1962, p. 141.

(5) As defined in: Davis, op. cit.

(6) Sopher, op. cit.

(7) The meaning of a church community was the topic for a vast amount of research and reporting. For the interpretations as presented by an urban planning consultant, see: Norton, Perry L., The Relevant Church, Office of Publication and Distribution, National Council of Churches, New York, 1960; and Norton, Perry L., "Toward a Metropolitan Meaning of Community," Metropolis, U.S.A., National Council of Churches, New York, 1960, pp. 19-22.

(8) The material for the description of the cultural development of Kalamazoo is from the comprehensive and orderly historical files of the Kalamazoo Public Library and the City Planning Department. The origin of the Burdick Mall in Kalamazoo is reported

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(11) Hart, Harmon G., "Church Locations: A Case Study in Kalamazoo," paper presented at the 71st Meeting of Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., March 17, 1967.

(12) Classification of religious denominations is based on: Landis, Benson Y., Religion in the United States, Barnes & Noble, Inc., New York, 1965, pp. 104-107.

(13) Landis, op. cit., pp. 1-76; and Sopher, op. cit., pp. 2-13.

(14) For the planning problems of the urban church, see: Hoover, Robert C., and Perry, Everett L., Church and City Planning, Department of the Urban Church, National Council of Churches, New York, 1960 Reprint; Kloetzli, Walter, and Hillman, Arthur, Urban Church Planning, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1958; Norton, Perry L., Church and Metropolis, The Seabury Press, New York, 1964; The Community Builders Handbook, Community Builders Council of Urban Land Institute, Washington, D.C., 1960, pp. 29 and 148-149. Many other publications were scanned from: An Annotated List of Readings on the Urban Church and Church Planning, Department of the Urban Church, National Council of Churches, New York, 1960.

CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPT OF SACRED SPACE

Religion is an intrinsic factor in the many and varied ways that man occupies and organizes his environment.(1) The idea of a sacred space is the universal center around which man shapes his place of worship and his religious system. Van Der Leeuw, Eliade, Isaac, and others present substantial evidence of the empirical nature of "reconstructed" experience.(2) The phenomena of a sacred place are significant in any interpretation of the changing morphology of the religious system. This place will not be found in a vertical search of the aggradated elements of the religious institution. Man stands in the center of a personal environment and looks outward at the enhancing values of life. It is from this position also that he extends his religion into all of his ways and works. The observer who desires to obtain some insight into how men perceive their place of worship must search horizontally from that focal concept of sacred space. Only then will the associations and orientation of that place reveal the "essential unity" between religion and all other cultural processes which shape civilization.(3) The spatial patterns of the

church and the church-community express the changing associations. The church-building is a manifestation of that unity on the cultural landscape.

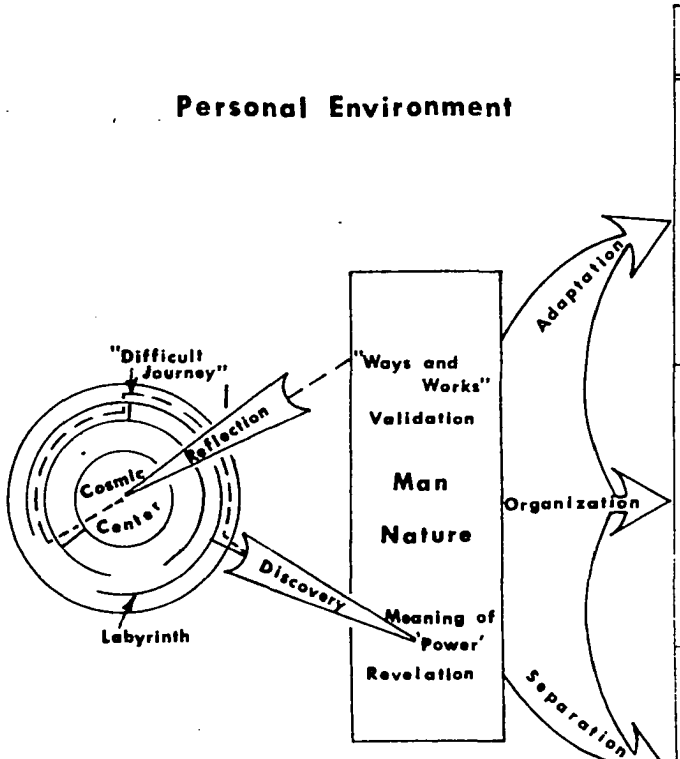
Man recognizes the "power" of locality by differentiating sacred space from the profane space of his personal environment.(4) His place of worship becomes a position by the power being repeated there, or being repeated by the man himself.(5) It is essential to consider the re-orientation capabilities in the concept of sacred space before attempting to interpret the changing associations of the religious system. Fundamental to the identification of sacred space is the concept that man can never select and sanctify a place. "Orientatio" is the art of discovery of sacred space and is always a personal experience.(6)

Once the religious position is acknowledged by individual discovery, the processes of cultural development bring about the adaptation, adjustment, and separation of that sacred place within the religious system. Thus the modern church is a selected sacred place that reflects the culturally-molded response of its community to the authority of its founder. The ideological center of four universal realms of man is a changing place; yet the sacred space as perceived in the minds of men remains unchangeable. The ideological characteristics and

orientation of sacred space remain immutable for, as Van Der Leeuw says: "the real sanctuary [that man seeks] is man."(7) Fig. 3 sets forth the concept of sacred space and its form and function in the personal environment of man. The re-orientation of this place in religious institutions mirrors the realm, position and impress of a place of worship as shaped by the changing associations of social, economic, and ethnic systems.

Personal sacred places of man in the western world appear first in the caves of France and Spain. There, in personal sanctuaries, man reflected the awe-inspiring mystery of a Natural Cosmos. Levy traces the influence of the form and function of these sacred places from the Stone Age to their manifestations in the emerging religious systems of Greece and Rome.(8) She identifies these places as nodes of organized religious systems that appeared as a coherent discipline of primitive men, not as haphazard hierophanies. An accumulation of archaeological evidence and ethnological material strengthened that conclusion.

Man's adaptation of space as a place of worship appears in the earliest evidence of family houses, selected and constructed positions in a social environment. Men in the social groups of family and clan constructed their first houses in response to the "orientatio" of



Realms	Morphology	Functional Traits	Change Alternatives	Geographic Expression
Social Environment "World of Existence"	Society 'Home' Evaluation	Normalizing Selective Protective	Accommodation Involvement Modification Drift	Slow Reactions Change of Form
Cultural Environment "World of Rational Experience"	Civilization Settlement Utilization	Innovating Proliferating Obscuring	Retention Negligence Exploitation Abandonment	Rapid Adjustments Change of Function
Inter-personal Environment "World of Humanity"	Ethnic Group 'Family' Interpretation	Enduring Elective Committing	Rejection Diffusion Cohesion Affirmation	Regional Distinction Constancy of Identity

Fig. 3. Transportation, alteration, and manifestation of the concept of sacred space within the individual "world of experience."

sacred space. In fact, Raglan strongly defends the theory that the first houses were neither shelters nor dwellings, but temples erected for ritual purposes.(9) Societies identified sacred space adapted from, not provided by Nature. The ground plan of upper Paleolithic settlements at Dolni Vestonice revealed the characteristics of a sacred place, associated with, but differing "materially" from the communal organization of space.(10) Van Der Leeuw identifies the religious phenomena associated with the house as a place of worship.(11) The manifestations of sanctified foundations and thresholds are elements of modern social class structure. The house, once a "Paradise" its inhabitants wanted to share with others, became a mere meeting place and residence as more members of the society gained access.(12) The sacred place was re-oriented to the formal temples and the church. Men recognized the functional "power" of its position when associated with the personal and social environments of all men.

The temple impressed the earth as the architectural form of the city. Religious systems were the functions of the city. The church-community and their church uniquely characterized the city. The city is the most dynamic and complex organization of man's environment. The idea of sacred space is a major force of that

dynamism. Archaeological evidence at Ur points to the evolution of cultural societies from the focal point of a ziggurat that was the formal structure of the city.(13) Adams, who would de-emphasize religion in the cultural associations of the morphology of cities, admits that "they [Mesopotamian temples] were the dominating architectural feature of the urban centers growing up around them."(14) He furnishes additional evidence that reveals the changeability of sacred space in association with culture: "In Mesopotamian temples we can trace a broad trend toward both an increase in size and an increasing differentiation in function."(15) Cultural societies, finding more "power" in the position of sacred space, marked its place with durable and impressive structures. Magnificent center-city cathedrals resist the pressures of cultural change and provide a lasting imprint of the sacred place that was the city.

The temples of Athens and Rome mark the hierarchical nodes of inter-relating religious systems that were the organization and function of the city. The use of money, the pleasures of drama, art and literature, the freedom of speech and thought, and the governments of civilized societies were the cultural inventions of religious systems, characterized by the adjustability of sacred space. The temples of Juno Moneta, of Dionysus, and the

Roman Forum remain on the present landscape to identify sacred space.(16) They were nodes of emerging centers of authority and diversified commercial and cultural activity.

The remains of the cities and temples in Mesoamerica reveal the unique pattern of religious expression attributed to the emergence of militant groups.(17) Sacred space was oriented to the solidarity of divisions of cultured societies. The sacred place identified the environment of inter-related systems of social, economic, cultural, and authoritative functions of these religious communities. The identification of the personal environments of ethnic groups reveals the separation of sacred space within the city.

The archaeological sites and historical descriptions of tabernacles illustrate the spatial context of the sacred space of ethnic groups that moved their personal environments in search of a separated place of worship.(18) The surface distribution of the church-community and the architectural form of their church is a manifestation of the concept of sacred space. Sacred space is changeable in association, yet a place that remains unchangeable in the mind of man. The place of worship is the symbolic center of his "family unity" with other men.

The personal sanctuary of man is imperceptible for geographic interpretation. The areal variation of the

individual sacred place spans a continuum of variability as extensive as the ideas of all men. But the concept of sacred space exists in the orientation of the place of worship as religious systems interact to shape a cultural environment. The adaptation, adjustment and separation of sacred space as a place for worship is sought in the locational patterns and areal distributions of the religious institutions in Kalamazoo.

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(3) Van Der Leeuw, op. cit., p. 679.

(4) "Power" is used to describe the emotional sense of position in which man sees himself. The theme of emotion and holiness in the concept of sacred space has helped develop the geographic tradition that was the point of departure for this investigation's trespass into other fields. A philosophical presentation which serves to prevent cross-sterilization of the social sciences removes the triteness of emotion in this statement:

> "In considering the history of ideas, I maintain the notion of 'mere knowledge' is a high abstraction which we should dismiss from our minds. Knowledge is always accompanied with accessories of emotion and purpose. Also we must remember that there are grades in the generality of ideas . . . the higher generalities rarely receive accurate verbal expression."

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(5) Van Der Leeuw, op. cit., p. 393.

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(12) For description and definition of "Paradise" as the social symbolism of the home and a sacred space see: Eliade, op. cit., pp. 367-385.

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(14) Adams, Robert McC., The Evolution of Urban Society, Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, 1966, pp. 12-13, 126.

(15) Adams, op. cit., p. 125.

(16) It is significant to consider that Mars Hill in Athens was the site of the temple to the "Unknown Gods" reflecting that sacred space has an intrinsic place in the ideas of all men. "Even though some men become agnostic or atheistic, they tend to replace a personal God with an impersonal one--the state, the race, or some process of nature." Titus, op. cit., p. 150.

(17) Adams, op. cit., pp. 120-149; and Braidwood, op. cit, pp. 350-352.

(18) Davis, op. cit., pp. 753-755.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

> "The relationship to the social-economic pattern of the neighborhood is also important. If there is a wide range of social strata in the neighborhood which the church seeks to serve, it would be well to secure as socially-neutral a location as possible, or one which ranks near or slightly above the average. However, if the church wishes to serve primarily one social or economic level, it preferably might be more specifically identified by its location with the group it intends to serve."(1)

The concept of the vertically structured community supported by its own social system and with patterned social interaction that sets it apart from other communities has been the predominant form in most societies. But vertical mobility is sometimes denied to some people. Earning power, education, housing, the church, the neighborhood, and race are all factors in the struggle for class distinction. The patterns of church location in Kalamazoo contain some or all of these factors of class evaluation. As a modern and dynamic metropolis, Kalamazoo has its "blighted" areas and racial problems. The religious systems with long-established church locations as well as those that seek new sites for additional places of worship must measure and evaluate the association of the church and social structure.

Man's earliest adaptation of sacred space was the house. As societies expanded and individual concepts of religion became more diverse within the communal places of worship, the role of the house became uncertain. The question was the same one that the church-communities in Kalamazoo must answer: Is the house of worship a club or a symbol of religious belief? Temples were the centers of religious systems that distinguished social classes in the primate areas of human occupance. The modern church selects, normalizes, and protects that position.

The first religious services in the Kalamazoo area were held in the homes of the pioneering settlers. For several years all the different denominations held organized meetings in a communal meeting house.(2) The population increased and so did the number and variation of church-communities. Even as the first formal church-buildings were being erected on and around "church square," new groups with distinctly different religious beliefs were moving into the area. The Dutch, immigrating in increasing numbers, built the first Reformed churches that remain as enduring and proliferating characteristic elements of the Kalamazoo cultural landscape. Places of worship built by Catholics, Jews, and Negroes in the original central area of the settlement have changed locations in adaptations to social change.(3)

Laserwitz compared the major United States religious groups and analyzed the social elements within each one.(4) He proposed a social hierarchy for the numerically dominant systems. All were represented in the pioneering systems in Kalamazoo with the exception of the Lutherans. The Reformed and Unitarian churches were the only ones unclassed by Laserwitz to be built in those early years before the city of Kalamazoo emerged from the settlement called Bronson Village. In Figs. 4 and 5, the changing profile of the area's churches reflects the city in both: 1) a period of early occupance; and 2) the recent years of rapid and progressive expansion. The overall rate of increase in density of churches within the area has tripled. The lower rate from 1893 to 1956 shows church construction closely related to the relative stability of Kalamazoo's geographical boundaries. The Dutch churches achieved numerical dominance early. There is no evidence that this religious system will lose this distinct identity among the unclassed churches of Kalamazoo. The unclassed churches have increased in numbers and diversity to include religious service institutions, sects, and cults. But the introduction of "new" religions now appears to have reached the optimum. The diversity of denominations still continues to decrease as the established ones proliferate although at a much slower pace

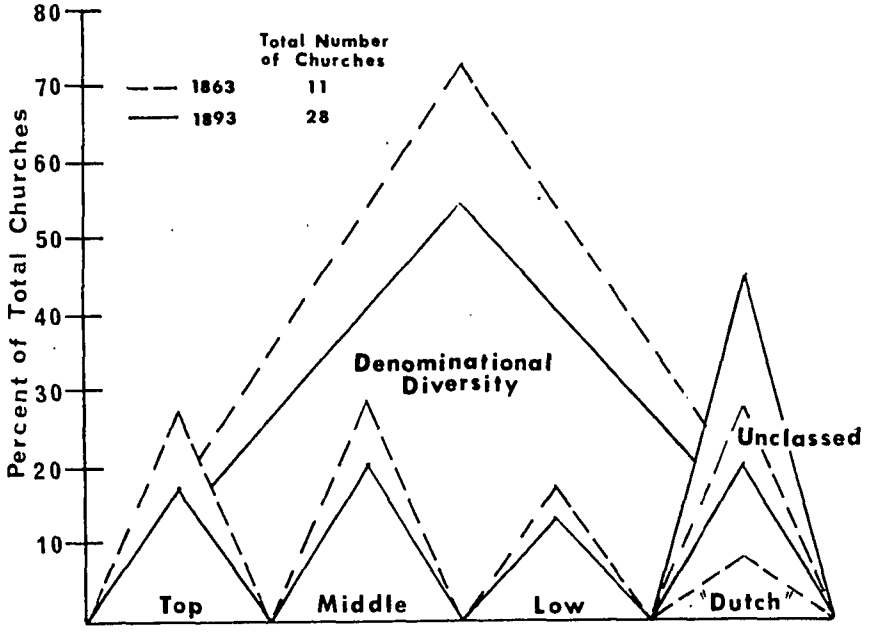

Fig. 4. Comparison of the social rank and denominational variation of religious systems: 1863-1893.

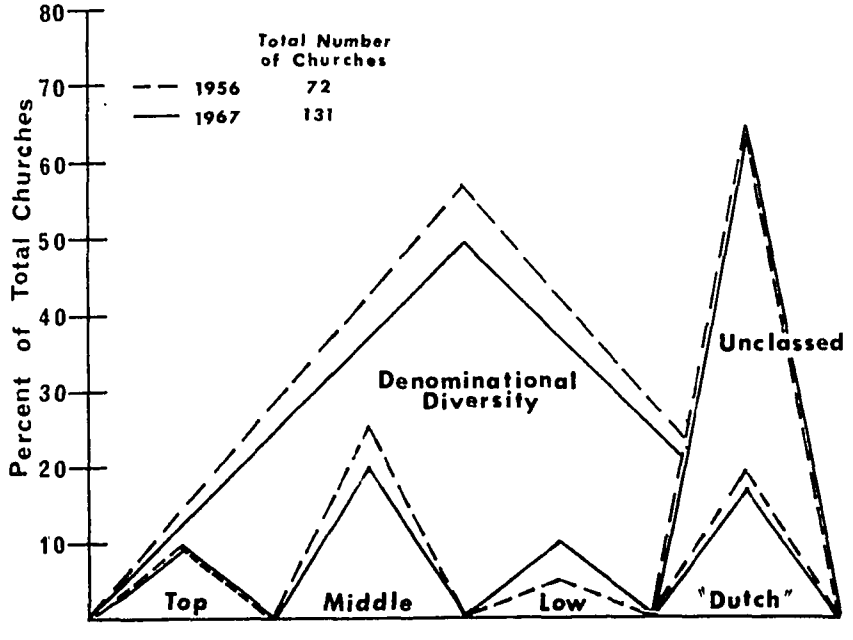

Fig. 5. Comparison of the social rank and denominational variation of religious systems: 1956-1967.

than when the pioneering religious systems were adapting to a new environment. "Various denominations have their respective locales in which they can prosper, just as certain plants will grow in sandy soil but not in loam, or vice versa."(5)

The most significant change in the profile of Kalamazoo's places of worship is the increased percentage of bottom-class churches with a corresponding decrease of the middle-class churches. This is taken as a sign of the social revolution in the urban areas of the United States that concerns all of those who must select the role and the location of the church. The increase of bottom-class churches does not indicate the construction of new buildings. Primarily they are an activation of localized congregations within the Paterson neighborhood. This neighborhood, on the northern fringe of the CBD, is Kalamazoo's oldest residential area and one in which "blight" areas are being considered for urban renewal. The churches appearing there are homes, "storefronts," or the abandoned church-buildings of church systems that pioneered the area.(6) These "new" churches, plus the great number of pioneering churches remaining in the neighborhood, make Paterson the area of maximum concentration of churches in the study area.

The new construction by the top, middle, and

unclassed church systems follows the trend that Leiffer generalizes as characteristic of Protestant tradition:

> "The wealth of the suburb is reflected in the beauty of its sanctuaries, particularly of its 'first' churches . . . established in a young community . . . influential in community as well as religious life . . . . The congregation desire structures which will do credit to their churches, symbolize their religious faith, and at the same time be commensurate with their own economic standards."(7)

The concentration of church construction since 1960 is in the emerging upper class residential sub-communities of Westwood and Northeast. Historically, a sign of affluence in societies has been the effort and wealth expended in the erection of places for worship. In 1966, Kalamazoo spent two-and-one-half million dollars to build new churches and cathedrals.

Almost two million more was spent on religious projects to expand and diversify the functions of existing church-buildings.(8) These adaptations of the church to urban change were re-orientations in response to one of the following alternatives:(9)

1) Drift--following along with neighborhood change.
2) Accommodation--involution or neglect of concern for social involvement.
3) Involvement--sharing of responsibility for renewal.
4) Modification--changing of mission and specific role in the community.

An attempt was made to correlate the church profile with neighborhood conditions as geographically defined and qualitatively described by the City Planning

Commission.(10) No significant correlations were found, for the areas were small and had not achieved the integrated structure of commonly defined metropolitan neighborhoods. A rank analysis of the church profile and the five sub-communities in Kalamazoo did reveal significant correlations. Table I shows the values obtained in the measurement of the association of the church and social structure. Statistical factors were ranked from highest to lowest values. Only the factors that had a correlation greater than 0.60 are included in the analysis.

The author does not intend to construct typologies for Kalamazoo's sub-communities. Generalized classifications are derived from a comparison of correlation data, qualitative neighborhood analyses, and the rationalized relationships of community characteristics and religious organization and behavior.(11)

Northeast: An area of involvement and modification. Church construction since 1956 has greatly increased. Roman Catholic and Baptist denominations have proliferated maintaining the characteristics of an industrial workers' residential community.

Milwood: An area of involvement and accommodation. Church construction appears to have stabilized prior to 1956. The density and broad denominational variation (only the Methodists have more than one church in the community) tend to characterize Milwood as a mid-century, mid-America community.

TABLE I

RANK CORRELATION ANALYSIS OF KALAMAZOO'S SUB-COMMUNITIES: THE ASSOCIATION OF SELECTED FACTORS OF CHURCH LOCATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE[a]

Church Location Factors	General Housing Standards	Per Cent[b] Negro Population	Median Income	Years of Education	Community Facilities
Social Rank	0.30	-0.80	0.80	0.90	-0.70
Denominational Variation	0.80	0.30	-0.30	0.60	0.00
Areal Density	0.80	0.90	-0.90	-0.20	0.50

Source of Statistical Data: Field work and Neighborhood Analysis, Kalamazoo Urban Area, Kalamazoo City Planning Commission, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1963.

[a]Spearman's formula for rank correlation was used to establish values for analysis. Predictive validity is not proven. Concurrent validity accepted only to reveal generalized trends.

[b]A perfect negative correlation exists between the percentage of Negro population and the median income in the five sub-communities.

Southwest: All alternatives for social adaptation are apparent in this transitional community. The Reformed and Methodist churches predominate. All the socially classed churches are represented. Most churches were built prior to 1956. The Protestant tradition that is apparent in the CBD also characterizes this community that extends the south trending growth of Kalamazoo.

Westwood: All alternatives are apparent in this emerging modern suburban community for the greatest number of the churches have been built in the formative years. The number of churches has already exceeded the density per population capacity of all the other sub-communities. The characteristic Protestant tradition generalized by Leiffer is most apparent in Westwood.

Northwood: The Northwood community is the urban area that demands the most adaptation by its religious systems. The density of churches is the greatest, occurring from a combination of early enduring churches and the transitional sect and bottom-classed churches evolving in the response to social needs. The Reformed churches predominate as symbols of this community's original position while the proliferating Baptist and small sect denominations identify this Negro community, in a modern urban area.

Some specific adaptations in the Paterson neighborhood of Northwood community indicate the various roles assumed by the religious systems of Kalamazoo in the struggles of an urban blight area. One of the earliest churches in the area has constructed a small mission church for the Negro populace within blocks of the sponsoring church. Although this is the only sub-community in which

they do not have a church, the Roman Catholics are taking a searching look at church policy of social involvement and responsibility through their "Project Equality." The Episcopal system began preparations for a new Urban Mission. Some of the established church systems appear involuted with little evidence of concern for problems of the neighborhood in which their church is located and in which few of the church-community now reside.

One possible case of drift was observed in 1966 that prompted the question this study asks about the church and social structure. Although the original church building of this particular system appeared to be adequate in size, it was located on the fringe of the Paterson neighborhood. The new expensive church building has only a slightly greater capacity as a place of worship, although the facilities for secondary use (Sunday School, etc.,) have been greatly increased. The modern parking problem, most commonly used as a reason for the need of a new location, has also been improved. But an absence of Negro members in a church on the fringe of a Negro residential area is evidence of subtle decisions that protect that house of worship. Loescher and Culver found that segregation is an ecological-social process and the greater the proportion of a minority group living near a church, the greater likelihood of observable reaction.(12)

The mapped areal distribution of the congregation of this church which has changed neighborhood location indicates little change within the study area. (See Fig. 6.) The church system is a Protestant denomination that adheres to strict local autonomous organization and, along with other such fundamental groups, has been involved in controversy with "modernist" structured and nationally controlled denominations.(13) A policy which includes attenders as members of the church-community makes an accurate evaluation of distribution difficult. For the map of this system, only "members" who regularly attend services are shown. The system must be classed as a regional one. The distribution indicates members from all but two of Kalamazoo's twenty-six geographically defined neighborhoods. The re-orientation has evidently shifted the church-community that resides outside the study area. The greatest change is reflected by the loss of members in the south and north conurbating metropolitan areas of Portage and Parchment. The maximum gain is in the area to the west which must still be classed as a rural area not yet absorbed in the urbanization of Kalamazoo Township. No gain in the membership within the neighborhood of Westwood tends to verify Leiffer's generalization that the ". . . local community shies off from membership in churches" with large new buildings and the

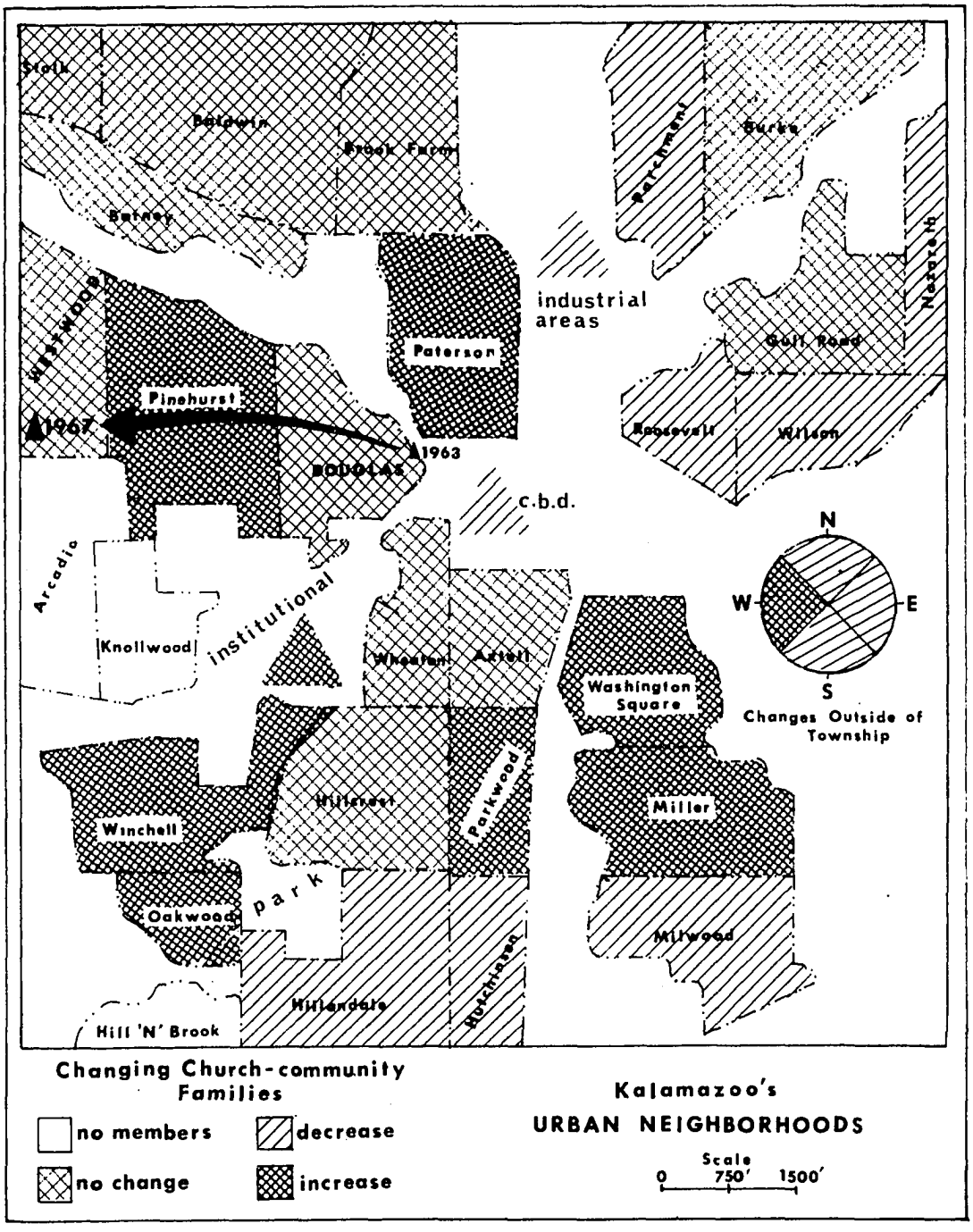

Fig. 6. Comparison of church-community patterns as changed by the reorientation of the church location.

accompanying financial problems.(14) Some of the appeal of a new church with "old" ideas for those of increasing education is indicated in the gain of members from the institutional area of Kalamazoo.

In this particular case of social adaptation in Kalamazoo, it appears that the church re-orientation was a move from an old neighborhood. The new position, securely insulated by modern residential apartments and high-middle class housing, insures some measure of years before a growing proportion of minority groups will again demand an observable reaction on the part of the church-community. Pastoral Protestant tradition is still strong in the decisions of the local autonomous church on the question of social relationships.

> "There is little evidence that religion will operate in the near future to change American Class structure appreciably . . . . Unless a drastic transformation comes about in the churches, they will probably continue for the most part to adapt to class divisions, and even to intensify them, as they have done in the past."(15)

Yet, as Perloff suggests in his concepts of the renewal of American cities, some ". . . existing churches are . . . special focal points along the spine. The churches are enlarged by parish halls for meetings, dances, and lectures."(16) The concept of sacred space in Kalamazoo has been selective, normalized, and protected in the inter-relationship with the social environment.

But some places of worship are also innovating and organized as will be seen in the following chapter which views the economic aspects of the total cultural environment.

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CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

> "The country church is to maintain and enlarge both individual and community ideals, under the inspiration and guidance of religious motive, and to help rural people to incarnate these ideals in personal and family life, in industrial effort and political development, and in all social relationships."(1)

The metropolis of Kalamazoo is a community of twentieth century United States. The churches and religious systems are an agrarian heritage that responded to encroaching urbanization with hesitation and indecision. Kalamazoo's religious institutions responded by building an ever-increasing number of churches. Where these churches were built is a partial answer to why they were built.(2)

In 1829, Titus Bronson selected the Indian ceremonial mound west of the bend in the river as the nucleus for a village he could "see" in the midst of the uncivilized wilderness. His foresight and pioneering spirit were factors in the adaptation and organization of the area that is now Kalamazoo. The settlement was logically and strategically located. Kalamazoo continues to expand and diversify around that focal point of human selection and occupance. Bronson is described as an innovator or, in

modern terms, a non-conformist. His religious convictions and ideologies influenced the plans he made for the town he founded and helped to build.(3) In the center of the area, Bronson set aside "four squares of eight rods each for the first four religious denominations to be established in the village." American tradition insured a freedom of individual selection of a place for worship for the occupants of the settlement. The churches would be a part of an undifferentiated area of occupance, an established community that could work the land together for the good of all. The church building symbolized the "heart" of such a structure and the node of both occupance and occupation.

The ordering and regulating of religious institutions within an expanding and changing metropolitan region are not results of easy decisions. "Church boards have as many different ideas about what constitutes good location for a church as individuals have in selecting a home site."(4) History reveals the conflicts of individual ideas that influenced some selections of sites for the place of worship in the proliferating religious systems in Kalamazoo.(5) The crux of such a dilemma is: How closely should the church and its community be articulated with the other cultural institutions of politics, education, and economy?(6) As man's individual thoughts about

the sanctity of his home vary, the orientation of his place of worship with "worldly" activities varies.

Several significant historical factors in specific religious systems in Kalamazoo are worthy of mention prior to any interpretation of the relationships of the church and tertiary activities.

1) St. Augustine's Roman Catholic church was originally built on the southwest corner of "church square." The building had to be torn down.(7) The problem of land title could not be resolved for the property of Roman Catholic institutions must be "owned" by the government of the church in Rome. The international control and hierarchical organization of this denomination is a major determinant in the selection of a location for the church-building. The established functions of the system distinguish the location and the distribution pattern for ". . . a Roman Catholic parish site needs enough land for a rectory, convent, school, and playground . . . ten acres is indicated . . . an urban Roman Catholic parish may consist of five to ten thousand persons."(8)

2) Dunbar attributes the continuing "conservative" political and social personality of Kalamazoo to influence of the early churches.(9)

3) The doctrines of both the Roman Catholic and the Christian Reformed systems perpetuate the close articulation of religion and education. Kalamazoo has an active and widespread parochial school system that is much more in evidence than in other cities of comparable size.

4) The Unity Club, a direct outgrowth of the Unitarian church, plays an active role in the study and improvement of civic and social institutions.

5) The early presence of a Jewish community in Kalamazoo (prior to 1866) implies the significant role of religion in the economic development of emerging areas of human settlement. The history

> of banking and monetary transaction tells of the Jewish citizen as the customary innovator of organized economic activity.(10) As such activity increases and diversifies, the active participation passes to members of other religious systems. Although not presented as proof of such change, it seems significant that the Jewish synagogue in Kalamazoo is the only place of worship that has relinquished a center-city location.(11)

This investigator concluded in an earlier study that the re-orientation of churches implied the selection of new locations that would "keep the money-changers from the doors of the temple."(12) This broadening area, a buffer zone of residential land-use, is visually evident in the selected examples shown in Fig. 1 of this study. A nearest-neighbor analysis of church locations for the three periods of metropolitan expansion tends to verify and emphasize this trend in the changing patterns of church sites in the study area.

The location of churches in Kalamazoo was mapped and measured for the years of 1893, 1956, and 1967.(13) A quantitative evaluation was made for the area within city limits and the entire study area to reveal any differences that might be the result of more intense cultural organization within politically defined boundaries. The derived values and their descriptive significance are shown in Fig. 7.

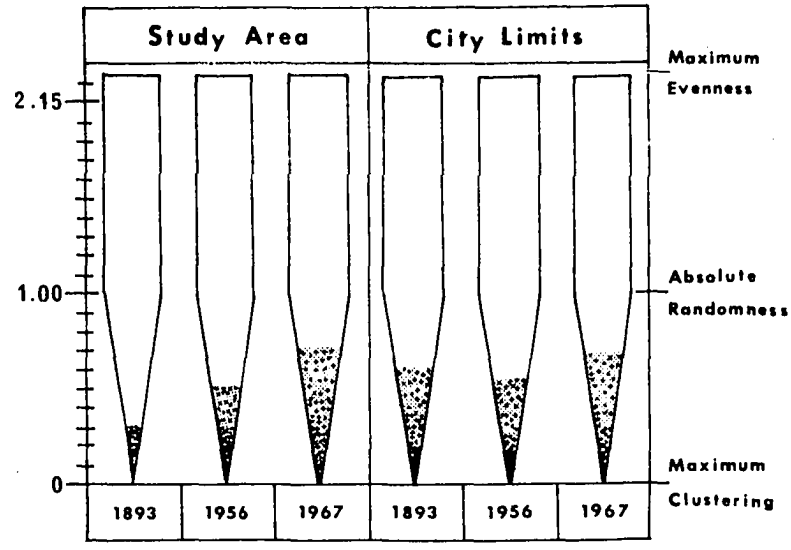

Fig. 7--Nearest-neighbor analysis of Kalamazoo's churches: 1893, 1956, and 1967.

The pattern of church locations shows a steady trend from the clustering of the early churches around the nucleus of a new and undifferentiated settlement toward the randomness of an expanded and structurally differentiated metropolitan region.

A reversal of this trend appears within the city limits during the period between 1893 and 1956. This was a time of relative stability in the growth of Kalamazoo. The city could be compared with "Middletown, U.S.A."(14) City and church planners were not yet preparing for the revolutionary dynamism that characterizes the modern metropolitan area. Sub-community service centers

developed as proliferations of center-city. An expanding populace formed these integrated community organizations along the major transportation routes connecting "down-town" Kalamazoo with the hinterlands. Churches were built in or adjacent to these centers. The concept of "belonging" as well as the rationale of combined services helped to shape these localized self-determined areas that were still only segments of the city of Kalamazoo. The conspicuous church spire was an integral part of a unified community of residents living and working together. The church-building and its location was a heritage of the pastoral origin of American settlement.

Since 1956, structural differentiation of all cultural institutions that make up the urban community has again reversed the trend in the pattern of church locations. The innovation of new concepts in urbanization was not accepted readily by religious system planners. The inherited idea of the church as the center of an integrated community is a decisive position that was identified early in man's organization of sacred space. By 1967, however, Kalamazoo's church locations are again trending toward randomness and indicate an increasing specialization and autonomy of the many and diverse religious systems.

Fig. 8 illustrates a comparative nearest-neighbor

analysis of the churches within the five sub-communities of Kalamazoo in 1967. A visual interpretation of Fig. 1 shows that clustering is most apparent in the CBD and localized residential areas of industrial and institutional zones. In most cases these are the earliest churches that remain as enduring signs of the past. Clustering within the sub-communities is most apparent in the oldest residential sub-communities of Northwood and Southwest. Away from the CBD and its fringe areas, clustering was a result of the agglomeration of all cultural institutions that took place in the years prior to 1956. Milwood is the most stabilized and integrated sub-community in Kalamazoo.(15) The trend in the pattern of churches there has turned toward evenness. Milwood has little room for expansion and little capacity for increased population. The pattern in Westwood has almost reached absolute randomness. Westwood is Kalamazoo's most dynamic sub-community. Northwood sub-community contains the Paterson neighborhood, which has already been described as Kalamazoo's area for urban renewal as well as the greatest area of undeveloped land. The greatest clustering of churches occurs in this part of Kalamazoo that spans the cultural landscape from the earliest occupance to the indeterminate future organization of a civilized area. A characteristic church profile is shown in Fig. 8

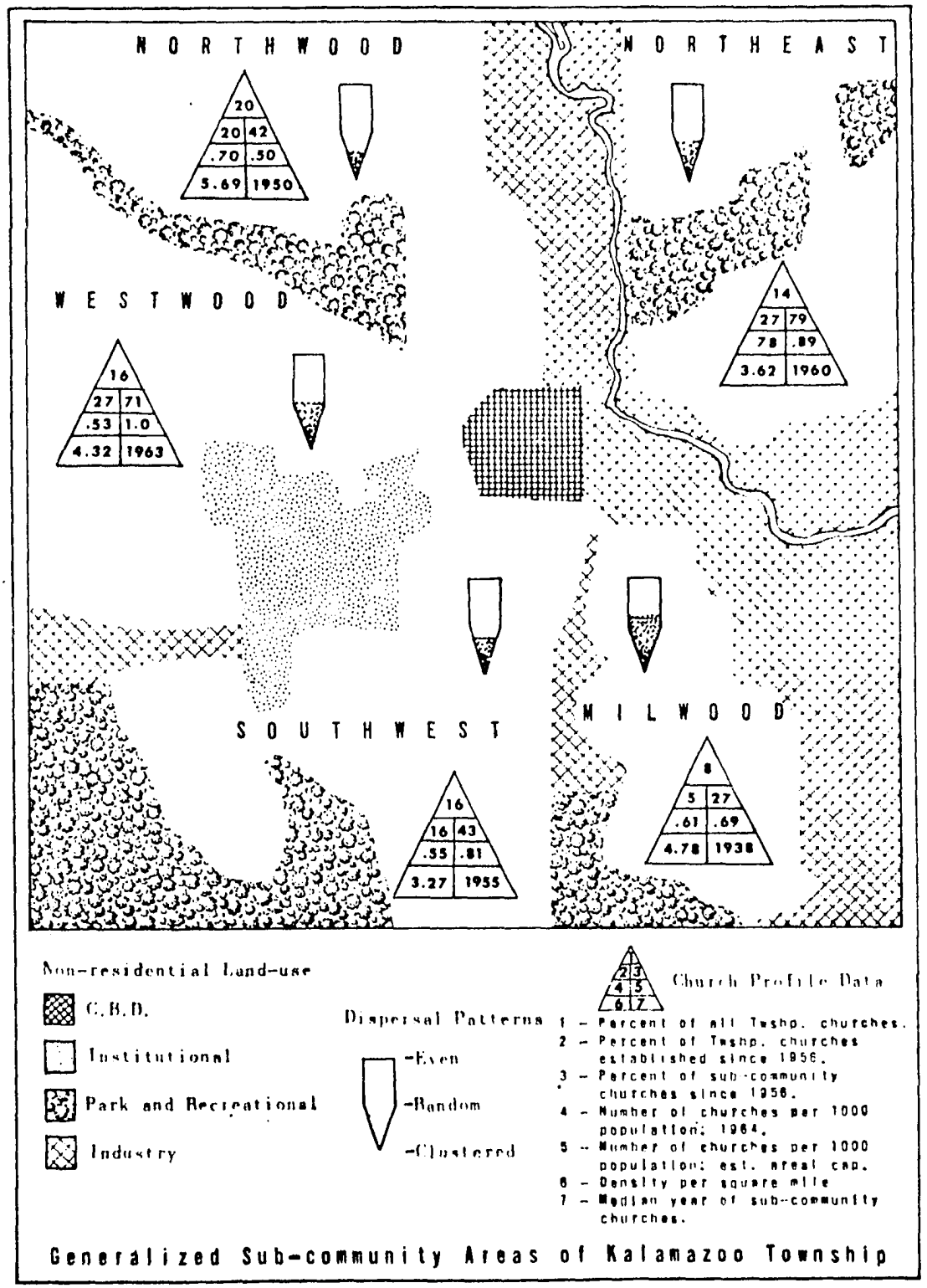

Fig. 8. Nearest-neighbor analysis and profile of churches within the sub-communities of Kalamazoo Township: 1967.

for the five geographically defined sub-communities. The Northwood area profile is distorted due to a wide range of social adaptation in the Paterson neighborhood.

The distance relationship of the church and all types of economic-commercial activity has steadily increased as Kalamazoo has grown and diversified. (See Fig. 9.)

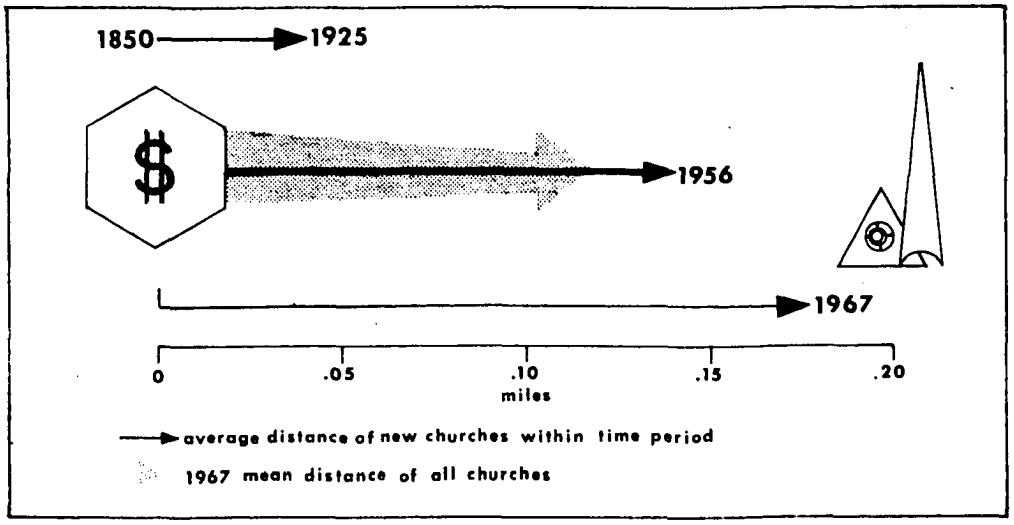

Fig. 9--The increasing distance between Kalamazoo's church-buildings and eco-commercial institutions during periods of city expansion.

Fig. 10 reveals that this relationship is contrary to the recommendations of urban planners who have seen the church-building as an agglomerated part of the service center complex.(16) Once again, the clustering in the CBD and industrial areas is interpreted as an inheritance of the ideological center-place of the church in settled

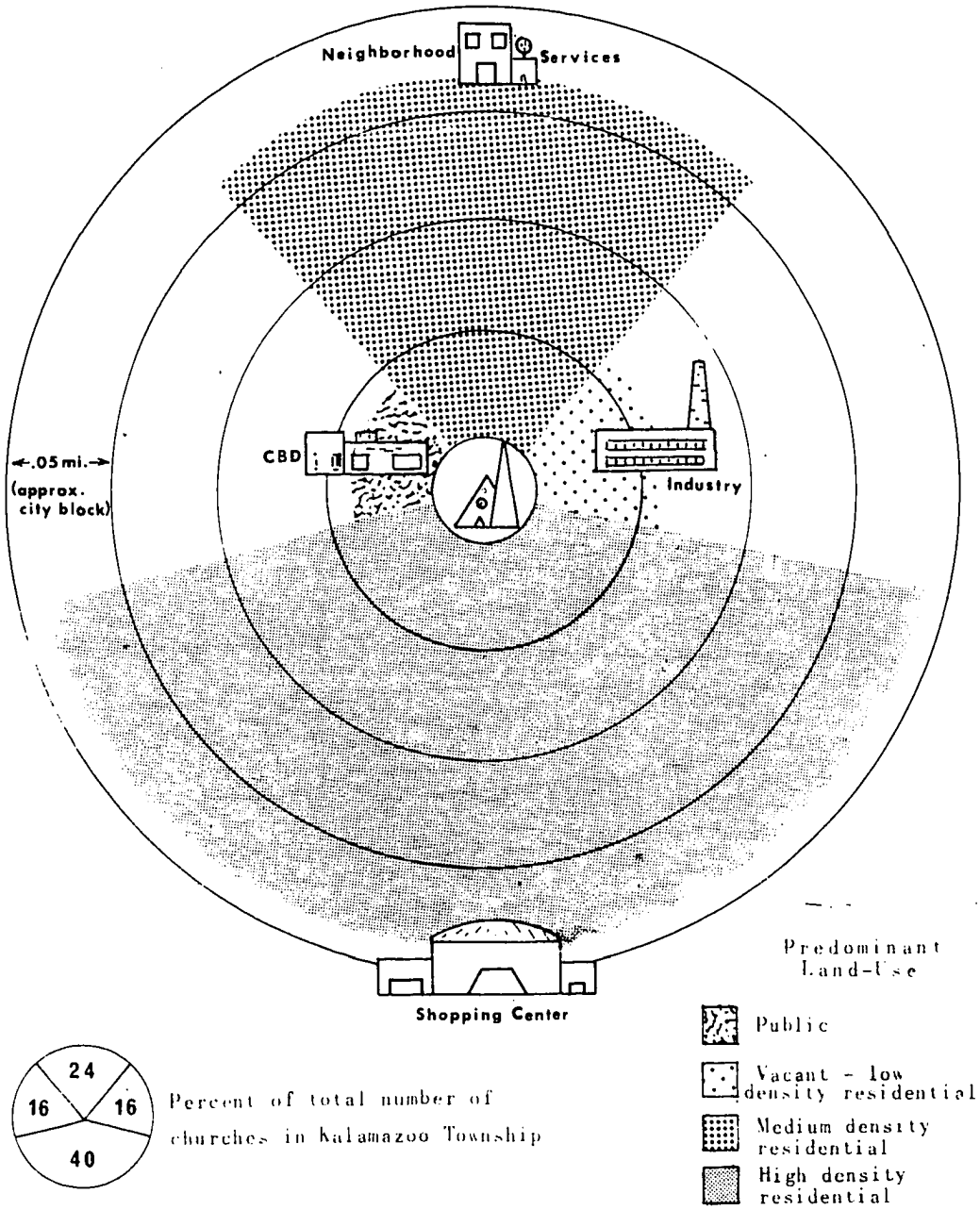

Fig. 10. Relationships of church-buildings and economic activities: Per cent of total number of churches and mean distance.

areas. The clustered churches remained as the "heart" of the city as its form and function changed. The areas of clustering are also the areas of concentration of the churches built prior to 1956.(17) In the areas where church construction has been most heavily concentrated since that date, the distance between the church and "worldly" activities continues to broaden and become more distinct.(18)

The re-orientation of the church-building away from agglomerated tertiary service centers indicates the disengagement of the religious system from a decision-making role in the modern process of urbanization. These centers no longer attract new churches as they once did. In structurally differentiated communities, the church is becoming a "neutral" in a world of cultural innovation. The power of an organizing and regulating position is giving way to the separation of specialized and autonomous church systems that serve a horizontally structured church-community.

A simple and positive answer cannot be given for the question this study asked about the church and economic activity. But by defining occupance as one of the ways and occupation as one of the works of man's existence, this investigator interprets the location of the church in Kalamazoo as a sign of human occupance on the present

geographic landscape. The church spire marks the work of men as they introduce civilization into natural areas. The church systems are innovating, prolific, and often hidden elements of cultural organization. But all cultural and social institutions took on these characteristics in the modern phenomenum of urban change. A minister is quoted as saying, ". . . the churches seem too often to be more like the filling stations of the great oil companies set down on the most likely corners."(19) In Kalamazoo it seems probable that structural differentiation, through destruction of the traditional concept of community, can no longer clearly identify "the likely corners." The church-building is becoming one of the ways that groups of men can separate and identify their inter-personal rather than cultural environment.

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CHAPTER V

THE ETHNIC CHURCH AND THE URBAN COMMUNITY

> "The dissenting Calvinist faith carried to New England by the Puritans inspired the effort to create 'Godly Commonwealths' where strict Biblical standards of morality would be enforced by the joint authority of magistrates and clergy. As Puritans prospered in the New World, however, and spread out onto new lands, their religious faith lost much of its vigor and frequently became translated into a secular faith in frugality, industry, and perseverance."(1)

The Dutch pioneers in Kalamazoo were strict adherents of the Calvinist faith. The religious system they introduced has been sustained and is a major element in the areal differentiation of Kalamazoo and its environs. Religious ideology was the basis for their cultural adjustments, and as Bjorklund reveals in her study of southwestern Michigan ". . . Dutch Reformed people are conspicuous groups wherever they are found."(2) The Reformed and Christian Reformed denominations are considered as a single intra-acting ethnic religious system in this study, identified as Dutch-Reformed. Interviews and discussions with clergy, elders, and laymen revealed a common set of principled and "unchangeable" Christian beliefs.(3) When the two groups separated in Michigan in 1857, their differences were a matter of degree, not

doctrine.(4) The points of disagreement evolved from the appraisal of, and the adjustment to, a new cultural environment.

Members of Dutch-Reformed congregations attempt to abandon national or ethnic labels but their places of worship are commonly referred to as Holland or Dutch churches.

This study does not infer that the Christian ideologies and beliefs of the Dutch-Reformed church-communities are exclusive to the Dutch religious system. The interpretations merely emphasize the Calvinist heritage that perpetuates the separation of sacred space by a distinct group of people in Kalamazoo.

Kalamazoo is situated on the southeastern fringe of the locally-dominant Dutch-Reformed religious territory of southwestern Michigan.(5) (See Fig. 11.) The Christian Reformed denomination has the largest national representation of the two Dutch-Reformed groups. In Kalamazoo, the Christian Reformed systems made cultural adjustments that were significant to the future cultural landscape. Although both denominations stress Christian education, the Christian Reformed system most actively sustains the Christian day schools. This parochial system is influential in the preservation of the "conservative" Dutch personality of the city and the propagation

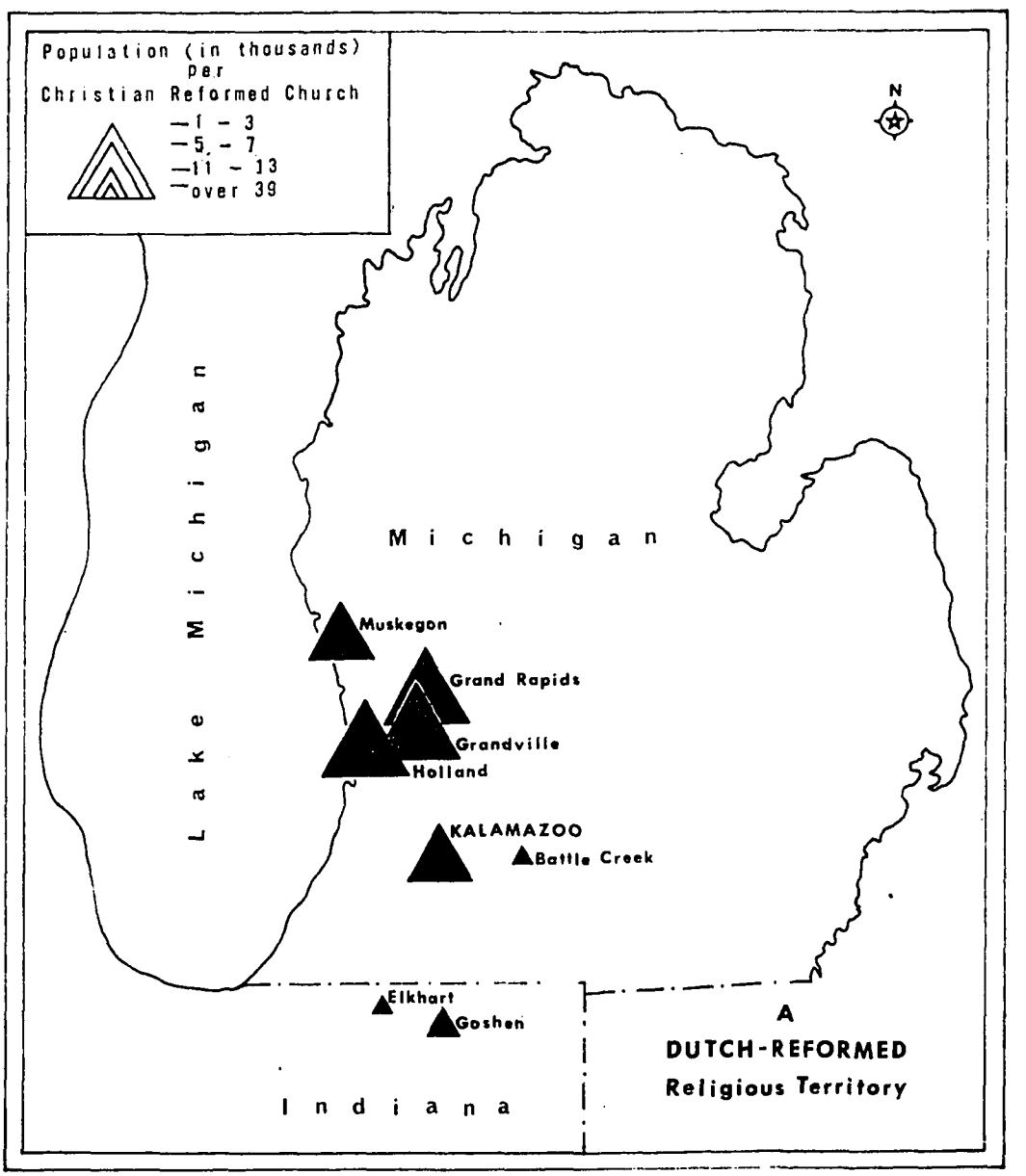

Fig. 11

of a distinct religious doctrine. The Christian Reformed group retained the homeland language for the greatest length of time and still identify their ministers who can ". . . preach . . . and converse in Dutch."(6) Yet this group was the first to innovate the most noticeable change to the plain architectural form of the Dutch churches. The Westwood Christian Reformed church dedicated in 1967 marks this change. The unity of the Dutch-Reformed religion and culture is expressed by these illustrations of organization and adaptation through time as the environments of the Dutch people diversified and expanded. The continuing dominance of Dutch-Reformed churches reveal new interpretations of separated sacred space into elective inter-personal environments as more non-Dutch members are attracted to the Dutch-Reformed system.

Continuous numerical dominance is a significant characteristic of the spatial distribution of the Dutch-Reformed system. But the element of density is not the only manifestation of the concept of sacred space. Changing patterns of dispersion of church locations also provide an important perspective. How the Dutch-Reformed system has severed the bonds of geographic provincialism while retaining a separated sacred place demonstrates the significance of fundamental religious ideologies and

principles. Re-orientation, with new urban-community associations, could reveal the diffusive process. Response to cultural appraisal could affirm or reject the traditional organization and location of the churches of Dutch-Reformed church-communities. The changing geographic pattern (See Fig. 1) illustrates that the Dutch churches were clustered at the cross-road centers of the early Dutch settlements. But through time, as Kalamazoo expanded and diversified, the patterns of density and dispersion changed. This change implied that the Dutch people modified the cultural traits that had separated their communities from those of their urban neighbors. A nearest-neighbor analysis of the Dutch-Reformed churches was made for the years that appeared most significant in the continuum of change. The analysis discloses the reorientation that brings an increasing diffusion of Dutch church-communities throughout the Kalamazoo metropolitan area. (See Table II.)

The patterns of distribution show a trend from clustering toward total randomness as more Dutch-Reformed churches are built in the area. Bjorklund describes some of the circumstances of new and reaffirmed cultural processes that influenced this change in areal distribution.(7) Primary settlements were church-dominated and church-centered to protect and control the basic ideologies of

TABLE II

NEAREST-NEIGHBOR ANALYSIS OF DUTCH-REFORMED CHURCHES IN KALAMAZOO TOWNSHIP (9)

Number of Churches	Year	Index of Deviation from Randomness
10	1925	0.427
13	1956	0.638
23	1967	0.904

the Dutch-Reformed religion. Although the re-orientation of the church appears to coincide with that described in Chapter IV, the changing pattern of the Dutch-Reformed churches is interpreted as a reflection of historical decisions peculiar to the religious system. Attitudes toward the non-Dutch-Reformed world were undergoing constant modification. "English-speaking churches" were built to keep Americanized generations of Dutch young people within the Dutch-Reformed religious family.(8) The idea that all non-Dutch people were basically inferior and sinful was modified and new church locations offered a place of worship to everyone in the urban areas of settlement. Such new inter-personal associations meant that the new locations were church centers of, not isolated from, the urban communities in which the Dutch-Reformed church-community lived. The strong

ethno-cultural trait of independence was expressed by guarantees of autonomy for the new church-communities with an absence of regional organization or hierarchy.

As the trend toward random distribution of Dutch-Reformed churches appears significant, so does the apparent change in the ethnic insularity of the Dutch church-communities. As already noted, the national identity of the system remains strongly rooted in the character of Kalamazoo. To measure the diffusion that has taken place, it is necessary to turn to a search within the individual communities of the system. When members of other religious systems refer to the "Dutch-Reformed," the question arises as to whether this reference manifests ethnic or religious ideology. An evaluation of the membership rolls of selected church-communities was made for the time periods of cultural adjustments. The interpretation of this data could measure the degree of cohesiveness or diffusiveness apparent within individual Dutch-Reformed church-communities.

The gradual acceptance of non-Dutch people into the Dutch-Reformed religious "family" varies with the urban location of individual churches. A sampling of the national background of members of representative Reformed churches reveals the rate of diffusion that occurred during the periods of cultural adjustment. (See Table III.)

TABLE III

REPRESENTATIVE POPULATIONS OF REFORMED CHURCH-COMMUNITIES: PER CENT OF TOTAL MEMBERSHIP HAVING DUTCH ORIGIN

Urban Church Classification	Time Period 1870-1925	1926-1956	1957-1967
Center-city	100	82	71
Neighborhood		79	72
Ethnic Community		95	76
Suburban Community			60

The determination of Dutch ancestry is based on a broad and generalized interpretation of surnames.(10) The classification of the churches is based on interviews with the ministers of the selected church systems. The ethnic community church was built in the years immediately following World War II to provide for the new generations of Dutch families that had clustered in suburban areas. The suburban community church was built in a fringe area that serves both Kalamazoo and the conurbating city of Parchment. It is the first Dutch-Reformed church to be built in the Northeast sub-community that had from earliest settlement times been the residential area of non-Dutch industrial workers.(11)

Membership in Dutch-Reformed church-communities was exclusive to immigrants from Holland throughout the early years of settlement. National solidarity began to dissolve as second-generation Dutch families increased in numbers. In some instances, as in the case of the ethnic community church, national cohesiveness remained strong under special circumstances, revealing the reaffirmation by some members of the Dutch-Reformed system of the ideology that held the family unit as basic for spiritual unity. By 1967, the trend indicates the abandonment of this cultural trait in favor of more complete diffusion of the system with little regard for national or familial bonds. Although the per cent of members with Holland ancestry is still quite high, a member of a Dutch-Reformed church manifests religious ideology, not ethnic background.

Residential patterns have changed in Kalamazoo. The most obvious migration changed the Paterson neighborhood into a predominantly Negro residential area. The numerical superiority of Dutch-Reformed churches in the neighborhood reveals the original dominance of Dutch people in this area. There is no evidence that the Dutch-Reformed system intends to relinquish the locations of these places of worship that were built in the early years of metropolitan growth. Active Dutch-Reformed churches for the Negro populace have been built within blocks of the

"mother" churches. They are segregated, have no members of Dutch ancestry, yet they are Dutch-Reformed institutions. Other early-settlement churches throughout the area are now supported by church-communities that have shifted their places of residence to the south. There, the suburban residential areas are coalescing with the rapidly expanding city of Portage. Fig. 12 illustrates the patterns of areal distribution of representative church systems at the time of construction. The density, direction, and flow of members in 1967 are represented by directional arrows. The center-city and neighborhood church membership distributions demonstrate the centripetal force exerted by these early Dutch-Reformed places of worship. Twelve per cent of the enrolled membership of the First Reformed Church on Church Square reside outside of the state of Michigan, yet actively help to maintain the institution. The community churches reveal the current trend of religious institutions toward structural differentiation and autonomy of the individual church system. These systems exert a centrifugal force that draws membership from outside the boundaries of the geographically-defined urban community.

The changing residential patterns of the church-communities indicate a shift in the structure of the Dutch population in Kalamazoo. Originally concentrated

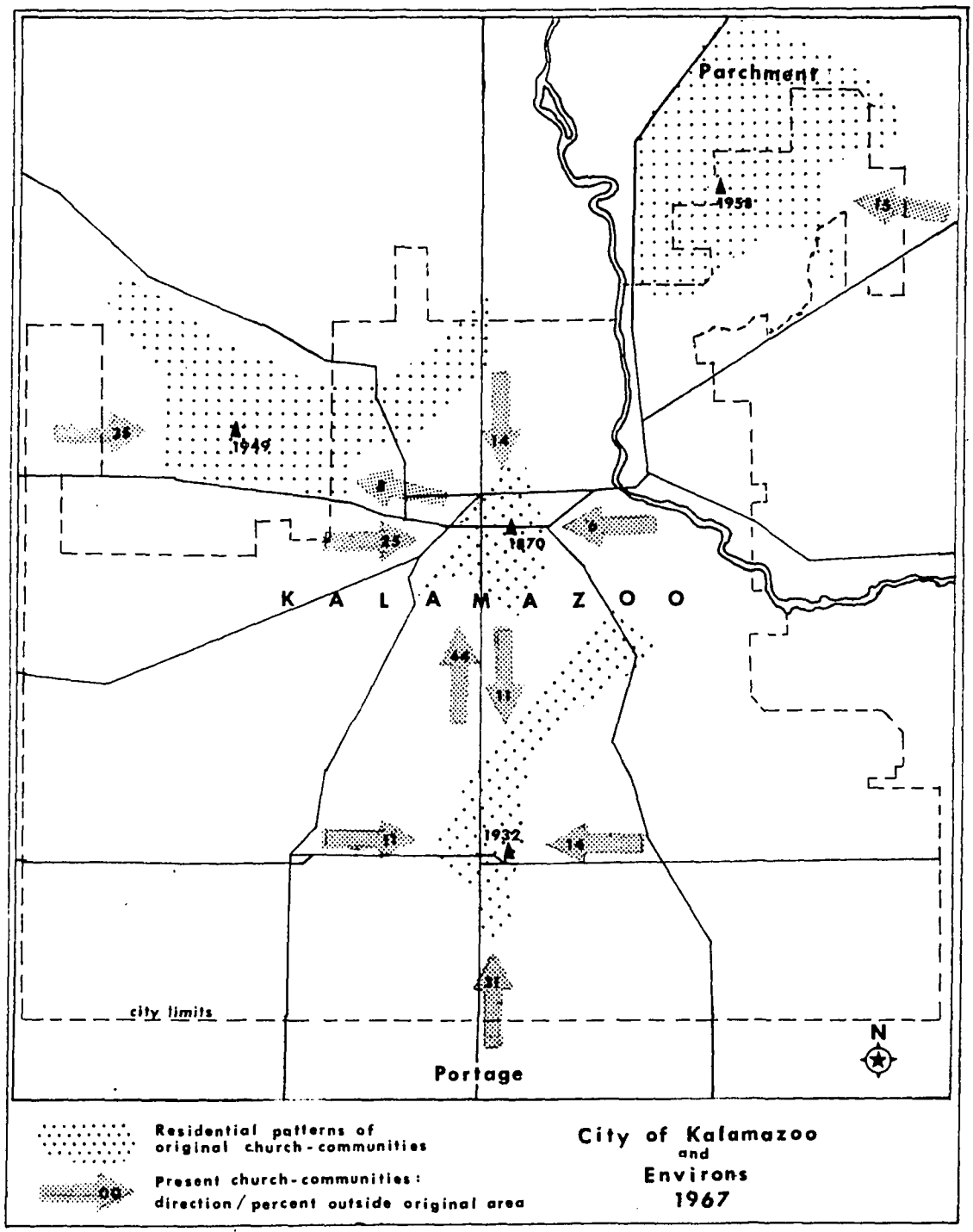

Fig. 12. Comparison of Dutch-Reformed church-community patterns: Time of establishment of church site and the present.

in the center and north-center areas, the Dutch built many churches that marked these areas as Dutch settlements. Are areal distribution of the members in 1967 reveals a new concentration southward into the adjoining city of Portage. This shift is confirmed by other research.(12) Although the Dutch people appear to be moving away from their places of worship, they continue to sustain the church site. This enduring quality demonstrates the cohesiveness of religious ideology. The new Dutch-Reformed churches being built in the area symbolize the "apartness" of the Dutch-Reformed religious system even as it spreads throughout an area of human occupance.

To answer the question this study asked about the ethnic church and the urban community, the changing locational pattern of the Dutch-Reformed system was viewed in the light of Bjorklund's interpretation of the cultural adjustment of the Dutch people.(13) There has been a diffusion of the Dutch-Reformed religious "family." Yet the religious system continues to proliferate and strengthen its position by a cohesiveness of the ideologies and beliefs that made it distinct and unique in the early days of human occupance in the Kalamazoo area. The oldest churches mark the crossroad settlement of Dutch immigrants. Then, as the city expanded and industrialization replaced agricultural activity in the area, the

Dutch-Reformed church-communities reappraised and adjusted their inter-personal environments. Individual church systems with an independence that was characteristic of the Dutch people offered the fundamental concepts of their religion to their non-Dutch urban neighbors. The diffusion of individual church-communities by non-Dutch members is even greater in those being established in 1967. At present, when the citizens of Kalamazoo refer to austere and conservative neighbors as Dutch-Reformed, the identity no longer pertains only to persons of Dutch ancestry.

The ethnic classification of the Dutch-Reformed church impresses upon the city of Kalamazoo the ideologies of a religious group that perceives the location of their places of worship as expressed in the following:

> ". . .'Upon this rock will I build my church. . . .' This statement of Christ must certainly have been in the minds and hearts of our forefathers. They laid the foundation and began building a super structure which has successfully weathered the storms for one hundred years. . . ."(14)

The Dutch-Reformed churches in Kalamazoo are enduring, have become elective, and remain committed to the basic concept of a sacred place revealed through the authority of the founders of the religious system.

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(2) Bjorklund, Elaine, M., "Ideology and Culture Exemplified in Southwestern Michigan," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. LIV, 1964, p. 241.

(3) Both denominations base their doctrinal beliefs on the same three documents and their theological emphasis on Calvinism. Interviewees expressed different social and ethnic reasons for separation but affirmed the basic ideas of doctrine, worship, and organization as described in: Landis, Benson Y., Religion in the United States, Barnes & Noble, Inc., New York, 1965, pp. 62-63.

(4) A literal translation of the personality and ethnic differences that effected the separation of the two groups illustrates the colidarity of doctrinal belief while illuminating the "real" reasons. See: _____, Classis Holland, Minutes 1848-1858, a translation by a Joint Committee of the Christian Reformed Church and the Reformed Church in America, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1950.

(5) Sopher, David E., Geography of Religions, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1967, pp. 84-85.

(6) The emphasis on Dutch speaking abilities is illustrated in: _____, 1967 Yearbook of the Christian Reformed Church, Christian Reformed Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1967, p. 83.

(7) Bjorklund, op. cit., pp. 230-234.

(8) _____, "High Lights of a Century," from a centennial anniversary brochure published by the First Reformed Church of Kalamazoo, Michigan in 1950, p. 8.

(9) The Clark-Evans method used for analysis is described in: Haggett, Peter, Locational Analysis in Human Geography, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1966, pp. 230-233. Values were tested for validity. 1925 and 1956 figures are within 99% of normal curve area. Figure for 1967 can only be accepted as a possible indicator of current trends.

(10) Identification of Dutch surnames based on lists compiled by: Jakle, John, and Wheeler, James O., an unpublished study, "The Changing Residential Structure of the Dutch Population in Kalamazoo," Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1967.

(11) Bureau of Social and Religious Research, Religious Life in Kalamazoo, A Study of Church Attendance and Membership, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1956.

(12) Jakle, op. cit.

(13) Bjorklund, op. cit., pp. 230-234.

(14) "High Lights of a Century," op. cit., p. 7.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

A church is defined as a building for public worship. As an extant and real object on the earth's surface, it marks a place of worship having spatial meaning that was first revealed by the actions of individual human beings. The spatial distribution of public places of worship undergoes constant change. The geographical expression of the dynamic associations of these places is measured and interpreted in terms of human response to ideologies. The introduction to this study described the gradual obscuration of the place of worship when viewed in the time continuum. Individual spatial meaning becomes less definable within the complexity and diversity of total human interpretation. The investigation of the Kalamazoo area highlights some of the basic understandings of human nature that should not be neglected if geographic study is to build assumptions about the real world. Assignment of significance to the presence of a place of worship within areas of human occupance and occupation should come only from a search of the universal field of space.

If man's individual place of worship has spatial meaning within a perspective that includes all the realms of geographic study, then it must be sought and recognized. Neither the absolute objective space of the natural environment, the logically-adapted objective space of the natural environment, nor the subjective space of the individual mind can be proven most significant.

The purpose of this investigation was not to seek proof. Rather, the investigator looked for spatial meaning in the location of Kalamazoo's churches that might be explained apart from the implications of economic and social theory. Earlier study had also implied that decisions made within the individual religious systems were in unity with, but not always a process of cultural change. The church location was adapted to, separated from, or organized with the emerging cultural patterns of the metropolitan area.

A place of worship exists in the total environment. The concept of sacred space within personal worlds of experience gained worldwide significance from the 1967 war in the Middle East and the pilgrimage to the Shrine of Fatima. A spatial assumption verified within the fields of philosophy and religious study is the basis for understanding of the place of worship in the universe of man:

> Religion and culture are processes which assign superior meaning to a universal environment. Ultimately, all culture must be viewed as religion or all religion must be viewed as culture. Revelation and validation are the processes of discovery. Neither can be denied without denying the existence of the other. Description of a total environment, when offered as validation by authority, must reveal the spatial plane in which interpretation was made.

This author views the place of worship within a vertical plane, recognizing religion as a manifestation of a personal God. To deny that the church is a sacred place within the personal environments of others would be to deny an empirically provable place. To assign only cultural significance to the spatial patterns of church locations would be to deny the existence of religion. Within this framework of a personal perspective, the concept of a sacred space is defined in abstract terms. The varied morphology of manifestations in architecture, liturgy, and ritual are described on the authority of scholars in the many fields of study that interpret human behavior. Significant traits and change alternatives are validated by archeologists and historians. The qualitative and quantitative geographic expression of these formal and functional elements was sought in Kalamazoo Township.

Viewed historically, the spatial distribution of Kalamazoo's churches appears as a sequential parallel of the form of all religious places of worship from one of

natural orientation to that of pragmatic selection. Personal meaning of a place of worship became less clear with cultural modification that characterized the activities of settlement. A personal place of worship becomes a public place to worship when an area of occupance becomes an area of occupation. The community formed around a core of personal religious belief, procreated slowly as religious and cultural values were compared, and then expanded slowly as personal environments specialized and became more remote from one another. Structural differentiation is the trend of present day urban communities; yet as the character of Kalamazoo changed from that of a rural settlement to urban trade center, many religious systems remained distinctly pastoral. Social adaptation within urban communities is frequently a slow reaction to dynamic economic change.

The social structuring of Kalamazoo's churches was closely articulated with the developing suburban communities. The major universalizing religious institutions that established tradition in the earliest years of settlement throughout the United States were the first ones to achieve a state of normalcy in Kalamazoo. The class structure of these religious systems in 1967 shows a signigicant positive correlation with the factors that identify the upper middle class. Education seems to be

the primary factor in the location of new churches of the major denominations. Median income is the next most important consideration. The classed religious systems are not constructing new churches in blight areas. The absence of community facilities that are a part of an established urban community is not a deterrant to new construction. The classed churches that remain in lowered social status areas of Kalamazoo are using all of the change alternatives to retain that location.

The increasing number of low status churches from 1956 to 1967 indicates the deteriorating social standing of the Paterson neighborhood. More Baptist churches and increased numbers of sect systems in this neighborhood are the reasons for the positive correlation of total denominational variation and areal density with the factors of social class: general housing conditions, Negro population, lower income. The Paterson neighborhood is a major blight area of Kalamazoo. The conditions in that neighborhood are creating the many problems of urban renewal, civic improvement, and social welfare. In this area where vertical mobility is extremely difficult for most of the citizens, the churches are most active in selective and protective measures that assure a continuance of location. Several specific examples of change alternatives show the adaptation of church systems

attempting to attain a state of normalcy within this socially-segregated urban neighborhood. Only under direct social pressure will the religious system change a church location. The change brings a location that is seen within the system as a new suburban community center even when spatial patterns indicate otherwise. Protection of the church site is achieved by accomodation or involvement. The Paterson neighborhood has the greatest concentration of churches. The area has those remaining from past eras as well as those that proliferate as temporary places of worship. The temporary churches are the homes of residents appearing in response to the need for organized action in the social and civic conflict. The oldest churches in the neighborhood will become normalized when urban renewal and social problems are resolved. Those locations will be the focal points of a new socially-structured neighborhood. The functions of the religious systems will be different.

The first church in Kalamazoo was the home of a resident. As the settlement began to develop into an undifferentiated and established community, the formal church buildings marked the center. Following traditional Protestant and Catholic views, the religious systems were active in the organization of a functional pattern ascribed to a meaningful religious community.

The immigration of the Dutch brought "determination" to this traditional view. They marked all the crossroads of Dutch communities with a church. The clustering of churches within the integrated communities continued until 1956. By that year, urban sprawl was a primary problem of city planners. The religious systems attempted to select new church sites that met the criteria of utility and economy yet could still be a community focal point. But the traditional meaning of community was lost in modern urban expansion. The religious systems struggled with a modern problem in a perspective of traditional ideas. To be a community church, the site must be a geographic center of the community area. The problem could not be resolved by rational organization. Patterns of church location became increasingly random. The distance between church and the economic activities of new service centers widened. New semi-autonomous religious systems follow the traditional ideas of the earliest systems. The churches are built "where the people are." Churches built since 1956 are once again symbols of occupance for the occupations of the residents of the area become less distinct in the complex associations of the modern urban community.

Some Kalamazoo churches are still active in the cultural functions of the city. Some attempt new involvements

with the modern urban community. Others have become "islands" within dense residential areas, their own church-communities randomly dispersed with extremely varied religious-cultural personal environments. The church pattern of Kalamazoo was first a sign of occupance. The activities of church and urban community remained articulated for a long period of normal metropolitan growth. The randomness of today's churches can be interpreted as a manifestation of tradition. The crossroads position of Kalamazoo in an ever-broadening service area is now emerging as a modern form of initial occupance.

The Dutch-Reformed churches have dominated the Kalamazoo cultural landscape since the first one was built at the "heart" of the settlement. From the first immigration, the Dutch people have been a major contributing element in the character of the city. Their cultural traits, based on strong religious belief, have been modified by the new associations of an area very different from their homeland. But the strong independence, thriftiness, and diligence they brought with them became the characteristics of the church systems they formed at cross-road locations throughout the Kalamazoo area. The residential patterns of the Dutch church-communities have become more randomly dispersed. Although the form of their church is changing and the church-community no

longer is of Dutch ancestry, the basic religious beliefs brought to the area by the first immigrants are still distinctly pronounced. Dutch-Reformed churches no longer cluster at the "heart" of Dutch-family communities. In the change toward randomness, the Dutch-Reformed systems become autonomous and distinct religious systems within urban residential areas. They offer the church as a religious elective to all individuals. The religious system once set apart by ethnic and cultural traits is now separated from the urban community by religious belief. Commitment to the church is the identifying process that characterizes the urban residents as Dutch-Reformed.

The spatial patterns of the churches in Kalamazoo reveal evidence of the concept of sacred space in the spatial meaning some men give to the location of a church. That site is not only an element of the cultural community but the religious community as well. Although not conclusive, the interpretations of this study give added significance to the manifestations of religious belief. The meaning of sacred space, a universal center of the religious system can be found within the personal environment through the processes of revelation or validation of authority. That authority which is revealed outside of personal environments is "proven" by the existence of the public place of worship.

The religious systems of Kalamazoo are continuously searching for alternative roles that will adapt, organize, or separate a place so that it can be seen as the community center. The community is defined within the church-system.

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