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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Walter H. Bramkamp entitled "Some Aspects of the Geography of Religion in Knoxville, Tennessee." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Geography.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF RELIGION
IN KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Walter and Helen Bramkamp, without whose encouragement and assistance it would not have been possible. Grateful appreciation is expressed to Dr. Leonard Brinkman who spent many hours reading the thesis and making suggestions for improvement. I would also like to thank Drs. John Rehder and Theodore Schmudde for reading the thesis and serving on my committee. Finally, thanks are due to Beth Bolton, Manik Hwang and Steven Kimbrel for their assistance with the typing, cartography and fieldwork involved in the preparation of this thesis.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the geographical relationships present on the religious landscape of Knoxville, Tennessee. Three levels of study are used: the total pattern of churches in the city, the patterns of leading denominations and the membership patterns of selected churches. The Knoxville City Directory was used to plot church locations and individual church membership rolls to plot membership patterns.

Between 1950 and 1975 the number of churches in inner city Knoxville declined significantly. Fifteen churches were in existence in the central business district in 1950; today there are five. Many of the churches which remain in the inner city, but outside the CBD, are small, closely spaced churches. The decrease in the number of inner city churches has been compensated for by a large increase in the number of churches with suburban locations. The Kingston Pike church row is perhaps the most striking example of this suburbanization of churches.

Based on denominational location patterns five church types have been identified. Churches of the three major denominations, Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian, are located in all different income neighborhoods. Denominations with a small following in Knoxville but a large national one, such as the Lutheran church, tend to locate their churches along the major thoroughfares. Denominations which have only one church in the entire city, such as the Christian Science church, tend to have their churches situated on major thoroughfares, close to downtown.

Black churches, such as the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, are concentrated in areas of the city with a dense black population. Finally, fundamentalist churches, such as the Church of God, are usually found in the low income neighborhoods. Because of their large numbers, both in terms of total adherents and number of different groups, and because of the self autonomous nature of all local churches, Baptist churches are usually located in close proximity to each other. In contrast, Methodist and Presbyterian churches are spaced further apart because they have a smaller number of followers and also, have a central authority which has jurisdiction over local churches. In terms of locating new churches, there is no interdenominational cooperation in Knoxville.

Based on the location of the church and residential pattern of the congregation, a classification of Knoxville churches has been developed. A sample of the ten churches was used. The downtown church is located in the central business district and has the most dispersed membership pattern with a congregation spread throughout the city. The suburban-highway church is located on a major highway outside the downtown area and is characterized by a membership pattern in which the majority of members live in one general section of the city. The modified neighborhood church differs from the traditional type in that the membership pattern is less compact; some type of disruptive force has caused members to relocate and hence the more dispersed membership pattern. The suburban church is located in a suburban type area and is characterized by a compact membership pattern. The traditional neighborhood church is located in a relatively stable inner city neighborhood and exhibits the most compact membership pattern.

In analyzing the religious landscape of Knoxville, Tennessee, this thesis has examined a wide variety of factors. Because many of these factors differ from city to city, one can expect significant variation among urban areas in terms of their religious landscapes. There is therefore a need for more studies dealing with the religious geography of individual cities so that regional patterns may become apparent.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Few subjects have been so neglected by the geographer as the study of religion. This lack of research in the field of religious geography, and some of the reasons for it, is discussed in detail by Zelinsky in his article on the religious geography of the United States (Zelinsky, 1961).

Of the many subfields of religious geography, urban religious geography has probably received the least attention. The first work to explore the geographical patterns of religion in the American city did not appear until 1948 and had as its theme the geography of Chicago churches (Hotchkiss, 1948). Two years later the same author completed a study dealing with the patterns of religious institutions in Cincinnati, which was published as Research Paper no. 13 by the University of Chicago, Department of Geography (Hotchkiss, 1950). In addition to this study, only two other works on the subject of urban religious patterns appeared during the 1950's (Mays, 1956, and Fish, 1959). Since 1963, however, the amount of literature in the field has increased. Between 1963 and the present fourteen studies in urban religious geography, all of them either masters theses or doctoral dissertations, were completed. This is an average of only one study per year and indicates that there are few published works dealing with the geography of religious institutions at a local or metropolitan level.

Of the eighteen works in urban religious geography completed since 1948, five are concerned with the study of a single denomination in the city (Clark, 1971; Haag, 1973; Hinshaw, 1975; Kendall, 1970; Stewart, 1965), three with specific types of churches (Fish, 1959; McNeal, 1970; Mueller, 1967), two with an analysis of church sites (Duke, 1965; Osrunn, 1971), one with the church as a central place (Hebert, 1964), one with the journey to worship (Witmer, 1972), one with the effects of freeways and urban renewal projects on churches (Saydam, 1963), one with the factors influencing the movement of churches (Mays, 1956), one with factors affecting churches and church membership (Moore, 1967), and one with the socioeconomic patterns in churches and their service areas (Hokanson, 1973). Only two studies, those done by Hotchkiss in 1948 and 1950, deal with the overall pattern of religion in a metropolitan area. As these studies were undertaken almost thirty years ago, there is no clear geographical treatment of the present religious patterns in the modern American city. It is hoped that this study will be a step towards the filling of this void.

A. Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the spatial organization of religious institutions in Knoxville, Tennessee. Three different levels of study will be used: the total pattern of churches in the city, the patterns of the leading denominations, and membership patterns of specific congregations. Comparisons and contrasts with the findings of Hotchkiss in Cincinnati will also be made. It should be noted, however, that in many cases, 1950 Cincinnati religious patterns are contrasted with 1975 Knoxville patterns. Discretion is therefore advised as changes in Cincinnati's religious patterns must have taken place between 1950 and

1975. This point will be elaborated upon further in the methodology section of this chapter.

1. The Total Pattern of Churches in the City

In reviewing the literature on urban religious patterns in the United States, one of the most debated points concerns the degree to which churches are declining in number in the old central city. Although there is general agreement that the number of churches in the downtown area has declined in recent years, there is controversy concerning the extent of this decline. In Boston it was noted that during a ten year period, five of ten inner city Methodist churches closed their doors (Wicklein, 1959, p. 70). In another study conducted in Birmingham, England, it was found that in the past twenty years nineteen inner city Anglican churches had closed their doors, only ten still surviving (Nelson, 1971, p. 108). Wicklein believed the decline was based on the exclusive acceptance of middle and upper class whites, a part of the population which has been declining in the old central city (Wicklein, 1959, p. 1). This rather pessimistic view of the downtown church has been summed up by Winter (1962, p. 40):

Unless this tide is reversed, White Protestantism will have few remaining churches within the perimeter of the central cities by 1975; moreover, those remaining churches will be supported by upper-class groups in high rent apartments or by clusters of middle class people in selected areas of the city.

On the other hand, a number of authors have stated that decline in central city churches is not nearly as great or widespread as sometimes thought. Hart, in a study of churches in Kalamazoo, Michigan, found

eleven churches still in operation in the central business district (CBD). Only one church had closed down and that was in 1849. Although Hart did not give any concrete reasons for this survival, he speculated that it was due to a high quality ministry and an adjustment of church services (Hart, 1969, pp. 182-90). In a study of Seattle churches, Myers found that there had been movement out of the downtown area prior to 1950; since 1950 there were as many churches moving inward as were moving outward (Myers, 1962, pp. 354-63).

In this thesis the central city churches of Knoxville will be studied in an attempt to determine the extent, if any, of their decline. Is the situation in Knoxville similar to that found by Wicklein in Boston or is it more like the situation found by Hart in his study of Kalamazoo? If there has been a decline in the number of downtown churches, what factors are responsible? Furthermore, why might some downtown churches be forced to close or relocate while others have been able to survive?

Concomitant with this change in the pattern of churches in the central city, there has been a phenomenal growth in the number of suburban churches. While U.S. population increased 18.5 percent between 1950 and 1960, the total membership in churches increased 63 percent (Daiute, 1963, p. 17). As there has been a decline in the population of most central cities in recent years, coupled with the fact that there have been few documented cases in which an overall increase in the number of central city churches was reported, it must be assumed that most church growth is occurring at suburban locations.

A review of the literature shows this to be the case; suburbia has in fact been experiencing a building boom in churches (Daiute, 1963; Hart, 1969). On the basis of his study in Kalamazoo, Hart dates the start of this boom as 1956 (Hart, 1969, p. 184). That many new churches with no former location in the city are being built in suburbia was elaborated upon by Meyers, who stated that if denominations are to keep up their membership, they must constantly build new facilities in areas experiencing new housing development (Myers, 1962, p. 363). This thesis will investigate the extent to which suburban Knoxville has been affected by this church building boom.

The density of churches in low income areas is another interesting point which has been alluded to in the literature. Although it has never been directly stated, the literature suggests a large number of small, closely spaced churches in low income areas. Lundberg states that well-to-do-people, who have the financial means to engage in a wide variety of activities other than church attendance, can be expected to attend church less often than poor people (Lundberg, 1935, pp. 200-01). Dynes states that the larger the church membership, the higher the socioeconomic status of the congregation. Since high income people often are engaged in many activities in addition to church attendance, a church with a large membership, and presumably therefore a large number of different activities, allows them to participate only in those activities which they choose. Among low income people, on the other hand, religion is a more important aspect of their lives. They want to become totally immersed in church activities, which can best be done in a small church where the number of activities may be more limited (Dynes, 1959, p. 262).

Therefore, low income areas can be expected to have a large number of small, closely spaced churches. This hypothesized relationship between low income areas and a large number of small, closely spaced churches will be tested in this thesis.

2. The Patterns of Leading Denominations

In his study of Cincinnati churches, Hotchkiss found that the numerical representation of each denomination in the general population of the city was related to the locational pattern of churches for that denomination. Among the major Protestant denominations in Cincinnati - Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist (Northern Convention), Disciples of Christ, Protestant Episcopal, and Evangelical and Reformed - there was a high degree of cooperation and membership interchange, hence the major Protestant denominations were considered as a single group. This group tended to locate its churches on a neighborhood basis as there were enough people in each neighborhood to support a church of one of the major Protestant denominations.

"Comity" is the term usually used to denote inter-denominational religious cooperation. As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, it was found to be characteristic of the major Protestant denominations in Cincinnati. A review of the literature, however, suggests that comity is found not only in Cincinnati but rather is common in most American communities today. Perhaps the best definition of comity was given by Winter when he stated:

Denominations have joined forces for the development of new churches through federations and councils of churches; they have set up planning staffs for cooperative church extension, usually called comity. Although comity programs for church extension vary considerably, all of them attempt to allocate new residential areas to different denominations in order to avoid duplication in expenditure and prevent overchuraching of particular areas (Winter, 1962, p. 31).

Lenski, in a study of Detroit churches, stated that half of the Protestants interviewed in his study commented favorably on the idea of their denomination merging with one or more of the other Protestant denominations (Lenski, 1961, p. 20). Ramsden noted that people today are primarily interested in attending a church in which they can associate with people of the same socioeconomic status, regardless of denomination (Ramsden, 1971, pp. 169-70). This thesis will investigate the extent, if any, of cooperation among the various religious groups in Knoxville.

The largest churches of the smaller denominations in Cincinnati were black and their location was coincident with the areas of black population. The smaller denominations which had members spread throughout the city tended to locate their churches along the major transportation arteries, the best location from which to serve a dispersed membership. Finally, there were those groups which had only one or two churches in the entire city. These denominations usually located their churches in or close to downtown, the convergence point of the transportation routes (Hotchkiss, 1950, pp. 37, 50-56). The locational strategy of the different Protestant religious groups in Knoxville will come under investigation in this thesis. Comparisons and contrasts will then be made with the findings of Hotchkiss in

Cincinnati. Do the major Protestant denominations in Knoxville act as a single group in the location of their churches as they did in Cincinnati?

The displacement of the regular Protestant denominations from the inner city and their replacement by black, sectarian and cult religious groups is a phenomenon which has received attention the literature (Myers, 1962, p. 362; Winter, 1962, pp. 40, 44-45, 47-48). This is a reflection of the population shifts which have been occurring in the city; middle and upper class whites are moving to the suburbs leaving the central city to lower class whites and blacks. As sectarian and cult groups usually draw the majority of their members from low income groups, this growth in the number of sects and cults in the inner city is to be expected. Dynes has shown that the lower the socioeconomic status of a group, the greater the importance that is attached to evangelism, emotionalism and other sectarian characteristics (Dynes, 1955, p. 559). In discussing the differences between sect and cult groups, Winter explains why they are often attractive to people in the inner city:

The cult is a momentary escape from the hopelessness of innercity life; it releases feelings of frustration without organizing life in a constructive direction. The sect, however, is a grooved path to a new life; members of sectarian groups are held to a straight and narrow path despite the temptations which beset them (Winter, 1962, pp. 119-120).

This study will explore the degree to which sect, cult and black religious groups have displaced the regular Protestant denominations in inner city Knoxville.

The hierarchical ordering of religious denominations has been of great concern to many sociologists. In discussing this hierarchy they have related membership in a particular denomination with socioeconomic status. Packard states that in the United States, the Methodist Church is usually the leading denomination among the middle class, although in the south Methodism is often the religion of the upper class. At the same time, the Baptists are associated with the lower socioeconomic classes (Packard, 1959, pp. 196-200). In a study of churches in Maryville, Tennessee, by this author, it was shown that while 49 percent of the sampled Methodists were from the higher socioeconomic classes, only 11 percent of the Baptists were (Bramkamp, 1976). Cowgill, in a study of Wichita churches, has shown that while the Methodists are usually associated with the middle class, being below average in numbers in the most affluent sections of the city and lowest in the poorest areas, the Baptists are drawn, for the most part, from the lower economic classes (Cowgill, 1960, pp. 93-94). This thesis will examine the residence patterns of members of Methodist and Baptist congregations in order to test the hypothesis that a larger percentage of Methodists are drawn from the middle and upper socioeconomic classes than are Baptists.

3. Membership Patterns

One of the major changes that has occurred in our society since the Second World War is the shift from areal to functional communities.

Ramsden spoke about this when he stated:

The old way, which has been dominant for millenia, has located a person's identity primarily in terms of place - both the physical site and the persons resident there (neighbors). The new way, which may be moving toward dominance, locates identity primarily in terms of function and fellow worker (Ramsden, 1971, p. 167).

This change has had a profound impact on membership recruitment. Rather than attracting their congregations on the basis of the area in which the church is located, churches now attract their worshippers on the basis of a wide variety of factors such as socioeconomic status, type of doctrine, racial identity, etc. According to Hotchkiss, membership patterns exhibit a geographical identity only when one or more of the above factors are restricted to a specific area (Hotchkiss, 1950, p. 34). Winter further elaborated on this point when he stated:

The chaotic crisscrossing of worshippers on Sunday morning as they seek out the churches of their choice is an expression of the principle of economic integration. Protestants pass by churches of their own denomination which are higher or lower in social status than their own in order to worship with their economic peers (Winter, 1962, p. 68).

This thesis will examine the membership patterns of individual churches, testing the hypothesis that churches are now attracting more of their members on the basis of socioeconomic, doctrinal, and racial factors, rather than on the basis of the geographical area in which the church is located. If this is so, what might be the reasons?

In reviewing the literature on urban religious membership patterns, it is apparent that many scholars have attempted to develop classifications of city churches. One of the earliest typologies was proposed by H. Paul Douglass in 1926. According to Douglass, the church is basically a rural institution and the types of city churches reflect varying stages of adaptation to the urban environment. The more complex the church program, the more highly adapted the church. On this basis Douglass identified five church types: unadapted, slightly adapted,

internally adapted, socially adapted and widely variant types. The unadapted church was located in the city but had not yet made adaptations to the urban environment; it was a remnant of the former rural landscape. The slightly adapted church had undergone a small amount of adaptation to the urban environment. The internally and socially adapted churches were both highly adapted to the urban environment but whereas the internally adapted type served only its own congregation, the socially adapted type provided a service to more than just the immediate congregation. Widely variant churches did not conform to any of the above types (Douglass, 1926, pp. 1-91).

Writing in 1932, Sanderson noted that there were a considerable number of churches whose progress was not in keeping with the general condition of the neighborhood in which they were located. Sub-modal churches were defined as churches which retrogress in spite of their location in a favorable social environment. Super-modal churches, on the other hand, were located in an unfavorable social environment, but were still moving ahead. The typical sub-modal church had 85 percent of its congregation living within one mile of the church and was composed largely of groups whose numbers were decreasing in the neighborhood. There were two basic types of super-modal churches; those which were city wide in scope and thus little affected by the neighborhood in which they were located, and those whose primary ministry was to the underprivileged living in the vicinity of the church (Sanderson, 1932, pp. 112-126).

Compactness of parish was the criterion used by Chapin in describing his five city church types. A parish was judged to be very

compact when at least 90 percent of the congregation lived within a mile of the church, compact when 75 to 89 percent lived within a mile, medium when 45 to 74 percent lived within a mile, scattered when 15 to 44 percent lived within a mile, and very scattered when less than 14 percent lived within one mile. Chapin found that as a general rule, the older the parish, the more scattered the congregation. He also noted that the greater the degree of deterioration of the neighborhood in which the church was located, the more scattered the congregation (Chapin, 1935, pp. 364-65).

Linear distance between church and residence and population served are the two primary factors utilized by Shippey in his classification of churches. Widely dispersed parish and selected clientele, and compact neighborhood parish and a dominant neighborhood penetration were the two major types identified by Shippey. The four subtypes of the widely dispersed parish were: 1) downtown church, 2) prestige church, 3) one of a kind church, and 4) church for the handicapped. The six subtypes of the compact neighborhood parish were: 1) traditional church, 2) institutional church, 3) store front church, 4) sect church, 5) foreign language church, and 6) suburban church. Shippey also identified seven church types which he termed churches in transition. Although not true types, they were more similar to the compact church than to the dispersed church. The seven types were: 1) local church merger, 2) bilingual background, 3) merged denominations, 4) theological eccentricity, 5) stranded church, 6) relocated recently, and 7) federation (Shippey, 1960, pp. 8-19).

Leiffler, in his 1961 classification of churches, identified five city church types based on the type of area in which the church was located. Accordingly Leiffler identified churches located in stable communities, the downtown district, areas of underprivileged, the homeless man area and developing communities (Leiffler, 1961, pp. 63-123).

In examining the effects of highway interchanges on church locations in Washington, D. C., Stein recognized a church as city wide if at least 25 percent of the congregation utilized the belt highway in traveling to church and if the denomination associated with the church represented two percent or less of the total congregations in the Washington area. If the church did not meet these criteria it was classified as a neighborhood church (Stein, 1968, pp. 9-17).

In the only classification of churches devised by a geographer, Pillsbury recognized four basic types: clustered, elongated, multiple nucleated and highly dispersed. Although he indicated that the downtown church was formerly of the clustered type, the only contemporary example Pillsbury gave was of a church congregation clustered between a university and warehousing district. The elongated type of membership pattern is most often brought about by neighborhood change through either commercial strip development, racial change or housing deterioration. The multiple nucleated congregation is temporary because once the congregation starts to move, relocation of the church usually takes place sometime thereafter. Finally, Pillsbury recognized three basic subtypes of the dispersed congregation: the suburban church, the prestigious downtown church and the churches of very small denominations (Pillsbury, information supplied by the author from research in progress).

One of the goals of this thesis will be to find or develop a classification of churches that can be applied to Knoxville. After studying the membership patterns of selected Knoxville churches, it will be determined whether or not any of the classifications just discussed are applicable to Knoxville. If not, how does the spatial organization of church congregations in Knoxville differ from those studied by other authors?

While almost all authorities agree that the downtown church has a dispersed membership pattern, there is a diversity of opinion concerning the composition of the downtown church. According to Winter, the prestigious downtown church draws high and upper middle class people from throughout the city, while attracting few from the lower middle class who live near the church. Winter believes that in order for the downtown church to survive this is a necessary requirement; the downtown church must consist of members having in common a similar sociological background (Winter, 1962, pp. 68-70). In his study of central city Methodist churches, Wicklein found that most downtown churches have refused to accept any but upper and middle class whites who drive in from the suburbs (Wicklein, 1959, p. 1). Shippey also mentions that the prestigious downtown church serves only a selected clientele (Shippey, 1960, pp. 12-14). Leiffler, on the other hand, talks about the wide variety of people served by the downtown church. He lists seven major functions of the downtown church: 1) service to older people, 2) a church for the transient, 3) a gathering place for young people 4) a church for the hotel population, 5) a center for the emotionally unstable, 6) the denominational center of the city - an appropriate place for denominational meetings, and 7) a sign of lifes unending values

(Leiffler, 1961, p. 76). This thesis will seek to determine whether the downtown churches in Knoxville serve only the middle and upper classes as has been suggested by Winter, Wicklein and Shippey, or different groups of people from throughout the city as Leiffler suggested.

While almost all studies agree that the downtown church is characterized by a dispersed membership pattern there seems to be little consensus of opinion regarding the type of membership pattern associated with the suburban church. Pillsbury states that the low density housing found in the suburbs precludes the possibility of suburban churches having compact parishes (Pillsbury, information supplied by the author from research in progress). Hinshaw came to a similar conclusion when he found that suburban Church of Christ congregations in San Diego did not tend to have parishes that were any more compact than those of churches near the CBD (Hinshaw, 1975, pp. 137-38). Hotchkiss also spoke about the proclivity for suburban areas to be less related to the community church than areas located closer to the CBD which would imply a more dispersed membership pattern for suburban churches (Hotchkiss, 1950, p. 70). In contrast to the views just expressed, Daiute argues that the greater the proportion of a congregation residing within one mile of a church, the greater the chances for survival and growth of the church. He goes on to state that suburban churches have been thriving due to their compact parishes (Daiute, 1963, p. 17-18). In a study of suburban churches near Hartford, Connecticut, Nash found that for suburban people with children, proximity to church is the most important factor affecting their decision of which church to join. It can therefore be inferred that suburban churches tend to have compact parishes (Nash, 1962, p. 109). Finally Shippey also believes

that suburban churches are characterized by compact parishes and states that in suburbs of differing economic attainment the churches may be expected to display various economic levels (Shippey, 1960, pp. 14-16). This thesis will examine suburban churches on the periphery of Knoxville in an attempt to discover whether they have a dispersed parish as Pillsbury, Hinshaw, and Hotchkiss have argued, or a compact parish as argued by Daiute, Nash, and Shippey.

In addition to the downtown and suburban church, various other church types have been identified in the literature. The prestige church, according to Shippey, is located in the wealthiest sections of the city and attracts many important business and professional people. It has a dispersed membership pattern but not as dispersed as that of the downtown church (Shippey, 1960, pp. 12-14). Both Shippey and Pillsbury have identified a multiple nucleated type membership pattern which is usually associated with churches that have or will undergo relocation. Shippey explains that while some of the members live near the new church location, others continue to reside in the vicinity of the old church site (Shippey, 1960, pp. 16-18). Usually relocation of the church takes place after a substantial proportion of the congregation has already moved (Pillsbury, information supplied by the author from research in progress).

Neighborhood churches, located somewhere between the suburban periphery and the CBD, tend to have compact membership patterns according to Leiffler and Sanderson. At least half of the super-modal churches identified by Sanderson are of this type, with 50 percent or more of the membership residing within one half mile of the church (Sanderson, 1932, p. 126). Although Leiffler does not give an exact figure, he

believes that about half the members are usually within walking distance of the church (Leiffler, 1961, p. 64).

Finally Pillsbury and Sanderson have identified churches with elongated membership patterns. As previously mentioned, Pillsbury believes that this type of membership pattern is the result of neighborhood change brought about by commercial strip development, racial change or housing deterioration. The Confederate Avenue Baptist Church in Atlanta is an example of such a church. Black in-migration forced most of the mobile parishioners to move east along a major interstate and 30 percent of the members lived in a sixty degree vector east of the church (Pillsbury, information supplied by the author from research in progress). While Sanderson does not assign a specific name to this type of parish he states that churches located on major arteries, relatively close to the CBD, have a membership scattered in one area of the city (Sanderson, 1932, p. 120). In this thesis a number of churches which are neither downtown or suburban will be examined. An attempt will be made to determine whether their membership patterns are similar in form to any of those just described.

B. The Study Area

Knoxville, Tennessee, a city of 181,527 people located in the Southern Appalachian Ridge and Valley region will serve as the study area in this thesis. Figure 1 shows the major transportation arteries and neighborhoods in Knoxville. Over 300 city churches representing twenty-eight denominations are located here. Although statistics concerning the percentage of total church members in each denomination

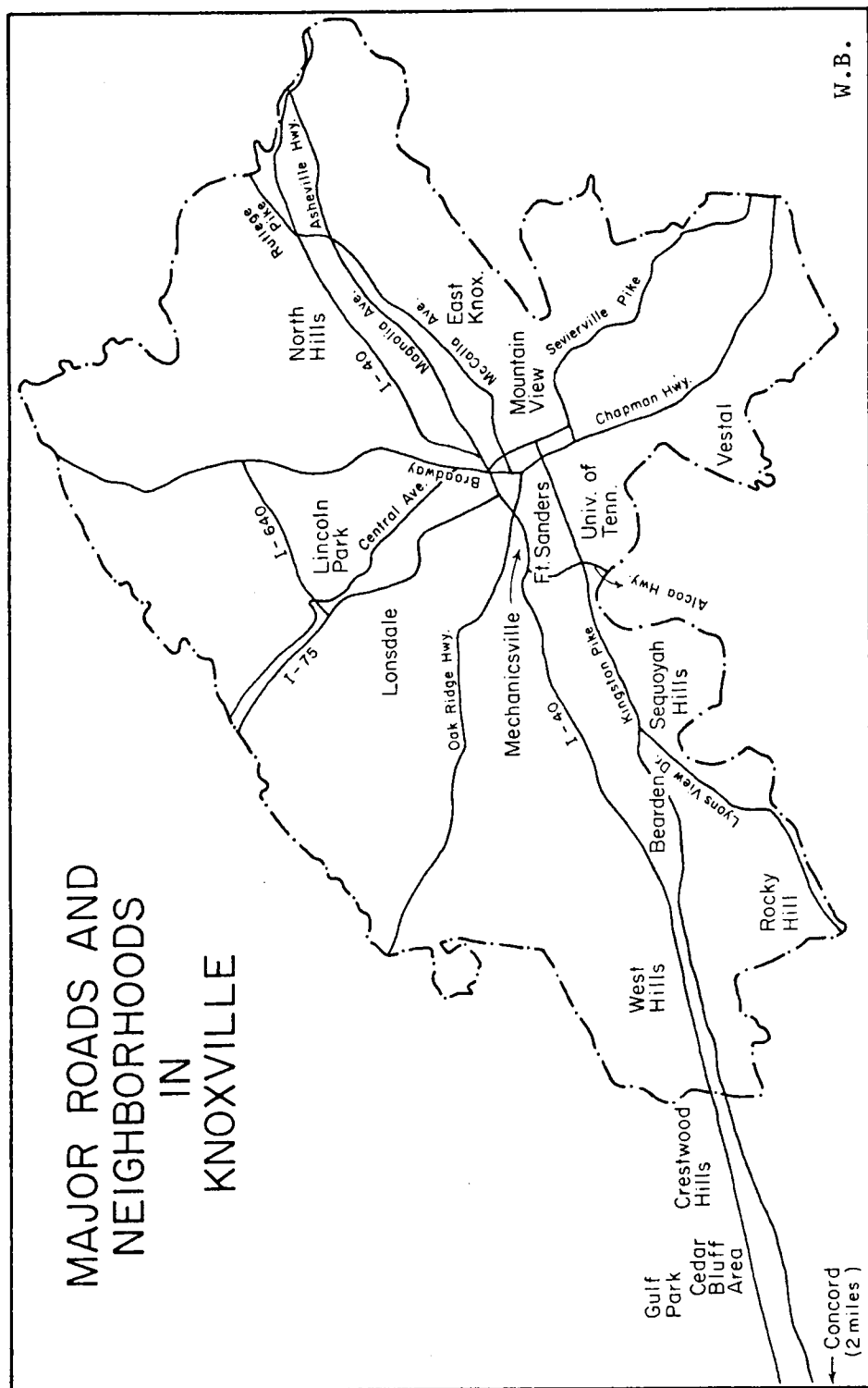


Figure 1. Major Roads and Neighborhoods in Knoxville, Tennessee.

are not available for the city of Knoxville, such data are available for Knox County. In 1971, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America compiled a listing which showed, on a percentage basis, the number of adherents claimed by most of the major denominations in each county of the United States (Johnson, Picard, and Quinn, 1974). A shortcoming of the study was that a number of denominations, most notably the black denominations and the Eastern rite churches, did not participate. While this should not seriously influence the results of this study, because of the relatively small number of blacks residing in the Knoxville area, discretion should be used in applying the results of this study to other Southern cities which have a much larger black population, such as Memphis or Birmingham. According to the Johnson study 64.4 percent of all church adherents in Knox County attend Baptist churches, 15 percent attend Methodist churches, and 8.6 percent attend Presbyterian churches. The remaining 11.8 percent belong to a wide variety of denominations, none of which account for the more than 3.9 percent of the total.

Focusing the study on religious patterns in an urban area raises problems of delimitation. Should the Knoxville city limits be used as a boundary for the study, or should some other line or boundary be used which would encompass those built up areas lying outside the city limits?

For the first two levels of study, total pattern of churches and the patterns of the leading denominations, only those churches within the Knoxville city limits will be included. This is because a complete listing of county churches is unavailable and those which are listed are often extremely difficult to locate. Furthermore, even if such a

listing was available, it would be almost impossible to delineate an exact boundary separating the urban and rural parts of Knox County. For the third level of study, the membership patterns of individual churches, a somewhat broader scope will be used. Some churches located outside the Knoxville city limits will be included in the selected number of congregations studied. These churches are situated in what might be called the "rural-urban fringe" or the "suburban periphery." Examination of these membership patterns is important in assessing whether these churches are functionally related to the city or are dependent on the local communities for their congregations.

C. Methodology and Data Sources

1. The Total Pattern of Churches in the City

This section of the thesis will be based on the analysis of two maps which show the total pattern of churches in Knoxville for 1950 and 1975 (Chapter II, pp. 26-27). The year 1950 was chosen because a portion of this thesis involves a comparison and contrast of religious patterns in Knoxville and Cincinnati, and the only study to examine religious patterns in Cincinnati was completed in 1950. The year 1975 was used because it is the most recent year for which data were available.

For both time periods the Knoxville City Directory was used in obtaining and plotting church locations. In determining church locations, two problems were encountered. A number of churches are listed as located on a rural route, but the specific location on the route is not given. Also, a few churches are included in the church

listing section of the directory, but not in the street index. Such churches have been omitted from the study unless their exact location could be learned, usually by contacting the church. For the 1950 period, 205 (97 percent) out of a total of 212 city churches have been plotted and for 1975, 307 (97 percent) out of 317. In cases where churches have changed from a rural route to a street address between 1950 and 1975, their 1950 location has been inferred on the basis of their 1975 location, provided their rural route and street names are the same. On the 1975 map, the denomination of each church is given. For those churches not associated with a specific denomination, a non-denominational category has been utilized.

2. The Patterns of Leading Denominations

Separate maps have been prepared which show 1975 church locations for the three major denominations in Knox County: Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian (pp.48, 56, 59). The study of the church locations of the smaller denominations will be based upon the map showing the total pattern of churches, on a denominational basis, for the city (p. 64).

Also included in this chapter will be the analysis of a map showing changes in the location of Knoxville's Baptist churches between 1950 and 1975 (pg.52). Three categories of churches are depicted on this map: those churches which came into existence between 1950 and 1975, those churches which were present in 1950 but not in 1975, and those churches which have changed their location between 1950 and 1975. This last group has been further divided on the basis of whether the congregation is white or black. The Baptist church was

selected because it is the largest religious group in Knoxville and its churches are more widespread than the churches of any other denomination. Therefore, if there are any factors responsible for the movement of churches, they should be reflected in the movement of Baptist churches.

3. Membership Patterns of Specific Congregations

In an attempt to test a classification of churches developed on the basis of work in the Knoxville area, the membership patterns of ten churches, six Baptist and four Methodist, will be examined. In selecting the ten churches for this part of the study, churches that have different types of locations were chosen. First Baptist and Church Street United Methodist were chosen because of their downtown location, Calvary Baptist and First United Methodist because of their suburban-highway location, Euclid Avenue Baptist, Bell Avenue Baptist and Magnolia Avenue United Methodist because of their neighborhood location and First Baptist of Concord, West Knoxville Baptist and Middlebrook Pike United Methodist because of their suburban location. Three churches: Calvary Baptist, First United Methodist, and Bell Avenue Baptist, have relocated since 1950 and another, Magnolia Avenue United Methodist, while not having undergone relocation itself, has seen, since 1950, tremendous changes in the character of the neighborhood in which it is located. The selection of these ten churches allows comparisons to be made according to both denomination and location.

As used here membership pattern means the areal distribution of individuals in a congregation. In order to plot membership patterns a percentage sample of the membership units in each church will be obtained

from the church directory. For churches having from one to 150 membership units, a 20 percent sample will be taken, a 30 percent sample for churches with between 151 and 250 membership units, a 15 percent sample for churches with between 251 and 500 membership units and a 10 percent sample for churches with over 500 membership units.

In order to give a quantitative description of 1975 church membership patterns a system of concentric circles will be used. The church building will be located at the center and circles will be drawn at one mile intervals outward from this point. Preliminary work indicates that there are few members living further than eight miles from the church, so all members who live beyond the eight mile circle will be considered as one group. The percentage of the total sample of each congregation living within each circle will then be computed, thus giving a quantitative description of membership patterns.

The average income of church members will also be taken into account in this study. This information will be computed by obtaining the mean average income for each membership unit based on the figure for the 1970 census tract in which the unit is located. In cases where the unit is located on the boundary between two census tracts, the average of the two tracts will be calculated. Membership units located in the three census tracts covering the Fort Sanders-UT area will be omitted from this part of the study. This is because most of these people are students and therefore cannot be considered permanent members of the church they attend. The income distribution within each congregation will also be shown. A five thousand dollar interval will be used in the establishment of categories for this section.

D. Justification for Study

There has been only one published study done by a geographer in which religious patterns in Southeastern cities were investigated (Clark, 1971). This thesis is therefore being undertaken in a part of the country in which there is an especially great need for studies of this sort, since the religious composition of the Southeast is so different from that in other parts of the country.

In addition to helping fill a void in the geographical literature, this study has applications that are of a more practical nature. In interviews conducted by this author it was discovered that church leaders often have only a limited knowledge of the spatial organization of their congregations. They are frequently unaware of the fact that their church is failing to attract people from certain sections of the city. Accordingly, many of the ministers interviewed in this study have stated that they are very much interested in seeing the results of this study as an aid in the development of their ministries. Hopefully, if religious leaders can be shown that studies of this type are useful to them, churches in the future might be more efficiently organized than they are at present.

CHAPTER II

TOTAL PATTERN OF CHURCHES IN THE CITY

A. Analysis of the Pattern of Churches

The pattern of churches in the city of Knoxville in 1950 is shown in Figure 2. A dense clustering of churches in the central city is the most significant aspect of the 1950 pattern. The large majority of churches are located within two miles of the central business district. In 1950 limited mobility was an important factor hindering the suburban growth of the city. This was before the annexation of large areas in 1961 and 1962, and suburbanization of churches had not yet become an important factor. In order to give a statistical description of the 1950 pattern, use was made of nearest neighbor analysis. The computed nearest neighbor statistic of .73 indicates that the 1950 distribution of Knoxville churches was between clustered (.23) and random(.90), but leaning towards the random end of the continuum. The computed nearest neighbor statistic of 1.4 for the present pattern of churches in the city of Knoxville indicates that the distribution of churches is midway between random (.90) and dispersed (2.01). The pattern of churches in Knoxville has become much less clustered than it was in 1950. A decline in the number of inner city churches and an increase in the number of suburban churches are the major changes in the pattern of Knoxville churches which have occurred between 1950 and 1975 (Figures 2 and 3).

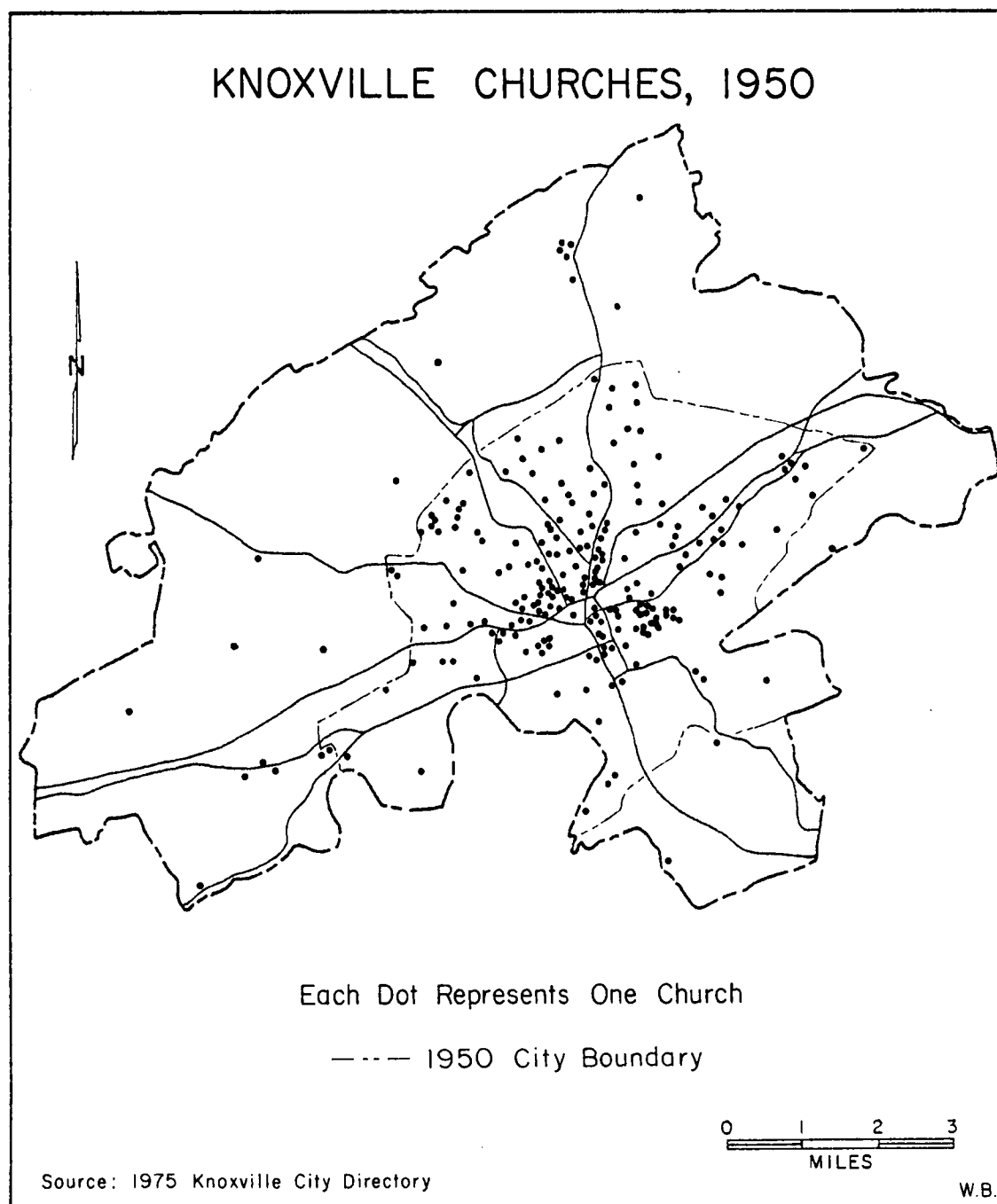


Figure 2. Pattern of Knoxville Churches, 1950.

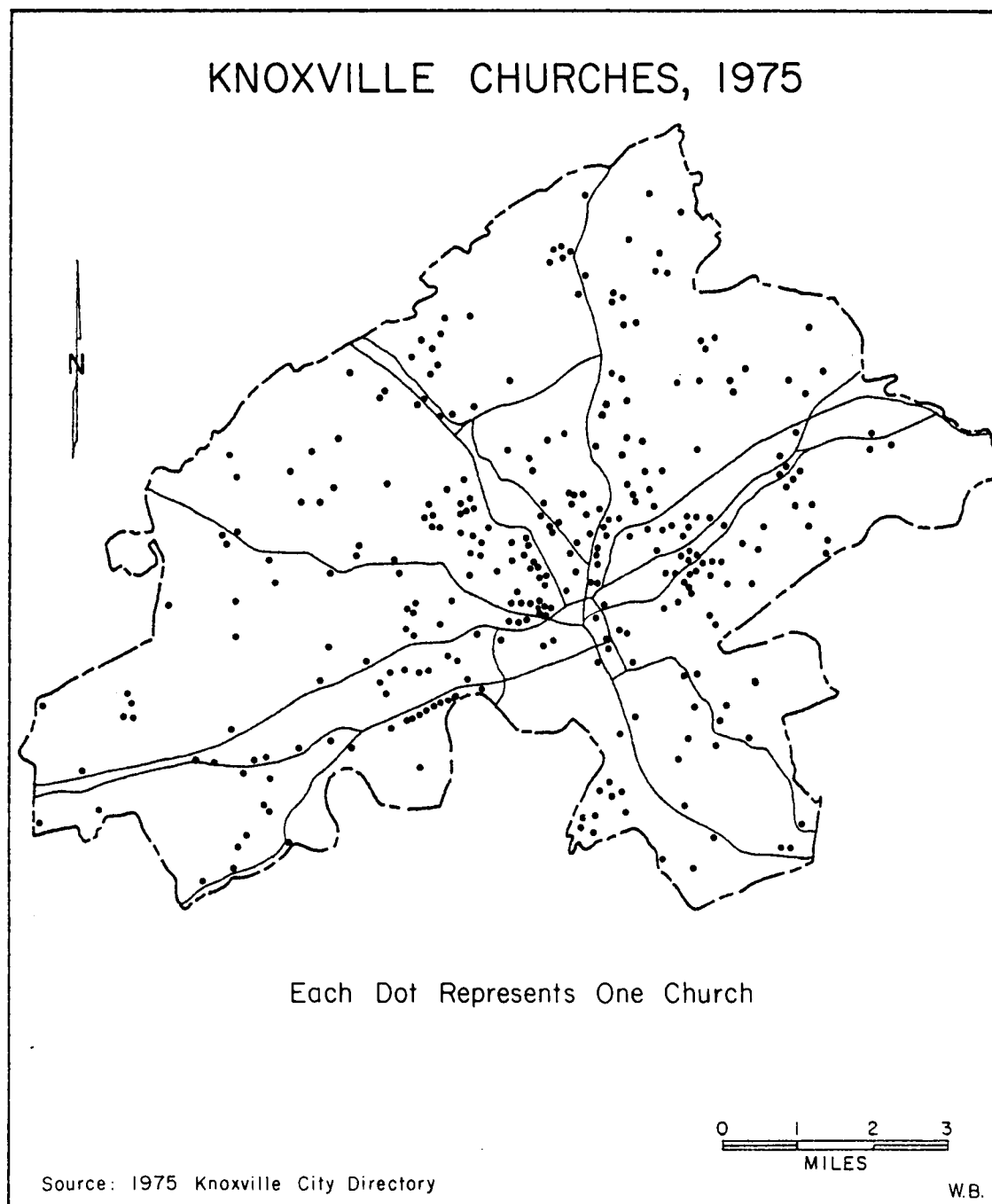


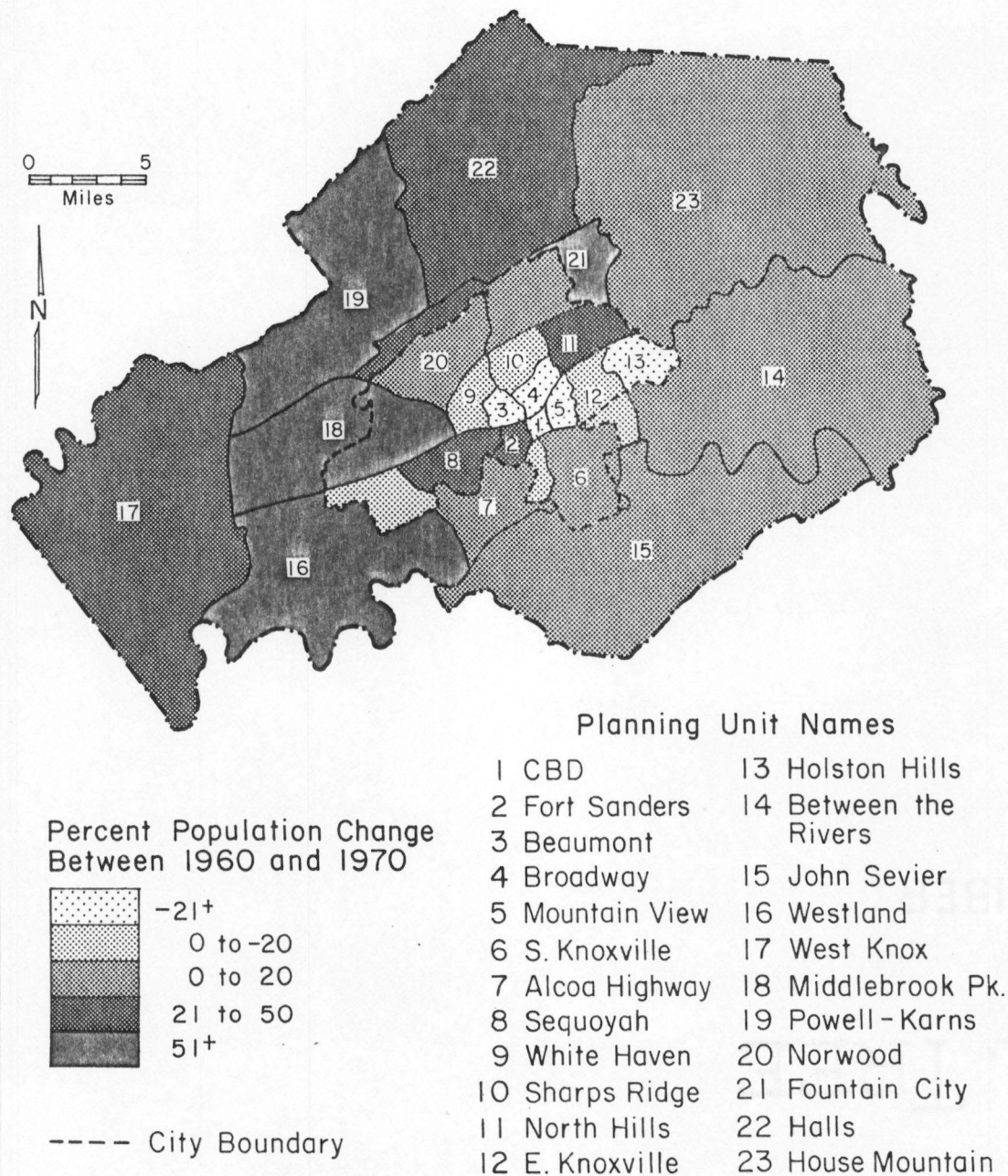
Figure 3. Pattern of Knoxville Churches, 1975.

B. Decline in the Number of Churches in the CBD
and in the Areas Adjacent to the CBD

The major reason for the great decline in the number of churches in the central business district and in areas adjacent to the CBD is the suburbanization of Knoxville's population, especially towards the west. Other important factors include the expansion of the University of Tennessee and the subsequent conversion of Fort Sanders from an area of private residences to a student ghetto, the construction of the interstate highway system, urban renewal in the Mountain View area immediately east of the CBD during the period 1956-1976, and increased problems with parking, security and neighborhood change in the old central city.

A map of the Knox County planning units is shown in Figure 4. For each unit, the percentage gain or loss of population during the period 1960-70 is also shown. Unfortunately, data for the period 1950-60 were not collected, hence population changes which occurred between 1960 and 1970 must be compared with changes in churches between 1950 and the present. In those units in which there was a marked decline in the number of churches, the overall population also declined. The Central Business District, Mountain View, Beaumont and Broadway planning units all lost large numbers of churches and people, 27 percent, 42 percent, 21 percent, and 25 percent of their total population respectively, during the post war period. Only in the Fort Sanders area was there a decrease in the number of churches coupled with an increase in population. This is because most of the new residents were students.

POPULATION CHANGE IN KNOX COUNTY, BY PLANNING UNITS, 1960-1970



Source: Knox County M.P.C. Map

W.B.

Figure 4. Percent Population Change, 1960 to 1970, by Knoxville and Knox County Planning Units.

The permanent residents, who worshipped at the local churches, left the community as their homes were subdivided into apartments to accommodate the expanding student population.

The decline in the number of churches has been especially severe in the old central business district, that area defined by the Metropolitan Planning Commission as bounded on the north by Interstate Highway 40, on the south by Fort Loudon Lake, on the west by the Louisville and Nashville railroad tracks and on the east by First Creek. In 1950 fifteen churches, representing thirteen denominations, were located here. Today there are only five churches, representing five denominations. In addition, two nondenominational churches were located in the CBD in 1950 and today there are still two such churches in the CBD.

On the basis of interviews conducted with ministers representing churches which have remained in the CBD and churches which have left downtown, no single factor can explain why certain churches have left the CBD while others have stayed. Inadequate facilities and lack of adequate parking are the factors most often mentioned as responsible for the movement out of downtown. First United Methodist Church, formerly located on Clinch Avenue in the heart of the CBD and now in the Kingston Pike "church row," needed additional room. However, the church walls were made of heavy stone and could not be expanded, which prohibited enlargement. At the same time the church was in need of parking facilities, but could not afford to buy high priced CBD land. A decision was therefore made to relocate, and in 1963 First United Methodist Church left the downtown. Second Presbyterian Church left its old downtown location on Church Avenue in 1957 for similar reasons. Parking was inadequate and

the church was hemmed in on all sides by other land uses, leaving no room for expansion. First Church of Christ Scientist, while having sufficient room for its congregation to worship, found it necessary to abandon its downtown Hill Avenue location because it lacked off street parking. Since the overwhelming majority of people who attend downtown churches are well-to-do and utilize their automobiles in traveling to and from church, and also because of the poor quality of public transportation on Sundays, adequate parking is absolutely essential if a downtown church is to survive. Reverend Frank M. Bostick, Associate Pastor of Church Street United Methodist Church, has stated that the downtown church should only count on as many people in its congregation as can be accommodated in the church parking lot (Bostick, interview, May 1977).

While inadequate facilities and parking were acting as push factors forcing churches to leave downtown, the westward movement of Knoxville's population acted as a pull factor. Of the eight downtown churches that have relocated since 1950, five are now in West Knoxville. Many ministers felt that in order to best serve their congregations they should follow them westward.

Although inadequate facilities and parking were the most frequently mentioned reasons for leaving downtown, in specific cases other factors were responsible. In 1950, there were four black churches in the CBD; today there are none. Two of the churches closed in 1959 and in 1965 the other two relocated. During this same period urban renewal in the Mountain View area, immediately east of the CBD, resulted in the

demolition of hundreds of black occupied structures. When these people were relocated in other parts of the city, their churches were either forced to close or to relocate in areas to which the congregations had been displaced. The Logan Temple African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church moved to Lonsdale and the True Vine Baptist Church to East Knoxville, both to areas which received substantial numbers of blacks displaced by the Mountain View Urban Renewal Projects. Two churches, Temple Beth El and the Salvation Army Citadel, were forced to vacate their downtown locations because the government took over the land on which the churches were located and they could not find or afford an alternate CBD location.

There are two small non-denominational churches in the CBD; Peoples Tabernacle on Central Street and the Faith Home Mission on Gay Street. Although these churches are located in the CBD, they are not characteristic "downtown churches" in that they serve only the underprivileged and do not have city wide parishes. They are able to remain in the CBD because of their minimal space requirements; parking is not a problem because the worshippers lack automobiles.

In addition to the two, small non-denominational churches, both of which are specifically geared toward serving the underprivileged, there are five churches remaining in the Knoxville CBD; First Baptist, Church Street United Methodist, First Presbyterian, Immaculate Conception Roman Catholic and Saint Johns Episcopal. In order to ascertain why these churches have been able to remain and prosper in the downtown, interviews were conducted with ministers representing these five churches (Bostick, interview, May 1977; Davis, interview, January 1978; Helmich, interview,

January 1978; Hoglan, interview, February 1978; Ward, interview, May 1977). All five churches are able to provide adequate parking facilities for their congregations. Immaculate Conception has built a parking lot which can accomodate 135 cars on the former site of the old Catholic elementary school, adjacent to the church. In 1970 Saint Johns acquired the Mann property next to the church for use as a parking lot. First Baptist, Church Street United Methodist and First Presbyterian also own property adjacent to their churches which is used for off street parking. Although there is a considerable amount of on street parking available in downtown Knoxville on Sunday morning, this is not the case at other times of the week. As the downtown churches are sponsoring many programs during the week, they must also be able to provide sufficient parking at other times. If a church is not able to provide this service it will, in all probability, not be able to remain in the CBD.

Because the downtown churches are the "First Churches" of their respective denominations they have a long history and their development is interwoven with the development of Knoxville. First Presbyterian Church, for example, has stood on its present site since the founding of Knoxville in the late 1700's, and the adjacent church cemetery is the oldest in the city. Many of the early settlers of Knoxville are buried here including William Blount, first governor of the Territory South of the River Ohio and signer of the United States Constitution. Immaculate Conception Church is the oldest Roman Catholic church in East Tennessee having stood at its present Vine Street location since 1855. Father Abram Ryan, one of the many priests who has served Immaculate Conception, achieved fame during the Civil War as the

"poet-priest" of the Confederacy. Similarly the other three major downtown churches have a long history of a downtown location, all of them having been in the CBD for at least 120 years. There is therefore a strong desire for these churches to continue in their historical role as downtown churches.

At present, all the downtown churches are experiencing growth, both in their memberships and in the number of people attending services. None of the downtown ministers feel that lack of adequate facilities is in any way a major problem. Two of the downtown churches, First Presbyterian and Saint Johns Episcopal, embarked on extensive church renovation programs in the 1960's and 70's, which can only be viewed as a commitment on their part to remain in the downtown.

The long history of the downtown Knoxville churches, combined with the high quality programs offered at these churches, enables them to attract people from all sections of the city. Downtown churches have traditionally attracted many of the wealthier Knoxvillians who live in various parts of the city. Also, as prestige attracts prestige, many well-to-do people attend the downtown churches in order to worship in the company of their socioeconomic peers. The downtown churches therefore have the financial resources necessary to offer a high quality program in terms of music, recreational, and educational programs. Also, a downtown congregation may have talented members and this further enhances the quality of the programs. Downtown churches have the means to offer very diversified programs which enable them to attract different groups from throughout the city. First Baptist Church, for example, offers special ministries to the deaf, college students and single people, as well as to the poor.

Downtown Protestant churches draw their congregations from all sections of the city. A downtown location is therefore most desirable in terms of accessibility. Especially since the completion of the Business Loop, which permits easy entrance and exit to and from the major downtown thoroughfares, this has been the case in Knoxville. Because of the parish structure of the Roman Catholic Church, people usually attend church in the parish in which they live. In the case of Immaculate Conception Church, therefore, accessibility is not as important a factor as it is with the four major downtown Protestant churches.

It appears that the five downtown churches will continue to remain in the CBD. This was the view expressed by all the downtown ministers and there is little reason for doubt. All five churches are experiencing membership growth, all have adequate building and parking facilities and are well situated with respect to their city-wide parishes. It is, however, highly doubtful that any new churches will be constructed in the CBD. Even if a congregation were able to find and afford the purchase of a downtown site, it would still have to cope with the parking problem. According to the Building Inspector's Office, the requirements for new church construction state that the church must provide one parking space for every three seats or one parking space for every twenty-five square feet of useable space, whichever is greater. In view of the high price of CBD land it is doubtful that any new church would be able to meet this requirement.

C. Growth of Suburban Churches

Ezra Earl Jones spoke of the period following the Second World War as one in which there was a great increase in the number of suburban churches:

At the edge of small towns and large cities alike, subdivisions with hundreds of new houses grew rapidly. It was not unusual for houses to be built at the rate of one a day in a subdivision. As new communities were built, American Protestant churches organized hundreds of new suburban congregations. Few cities in America were without three or four new churches and many witnessed the founding of a score or more (Jones, 1976, pp. 1-2).

Comparison of Figures 2 (pg. 26), 3 (pg. 27), and 4 (pg. 29) shows that those areas of Knoxville that had a large increase in the number of churches between 1950 and the present also had a large increase in population during the period 1960-1970. The North Hills, Norwood, Middlebrook Pike, Sequoyah and South Knoxville planning units all gained large numbers of churches and people, 23 percent, 14 percent, 54 percent, 24 percent, and 6 percent of their total population respectively, during the post war period. In summary, the results of this investigation lend support to the views of Daiute, Hart, and Myers, all of whom reported a large increase in the number of suburban churches during the post war period.

D. Dense Church Concentration in Low Income Areas

In examining Figures 3 (pg.27) and 5, one of the most striking features is the dense concentration of churches in most of the low income areas, those in which the average annual income is below eight thousand dollars. The Vestal area of South Knoxville has both the

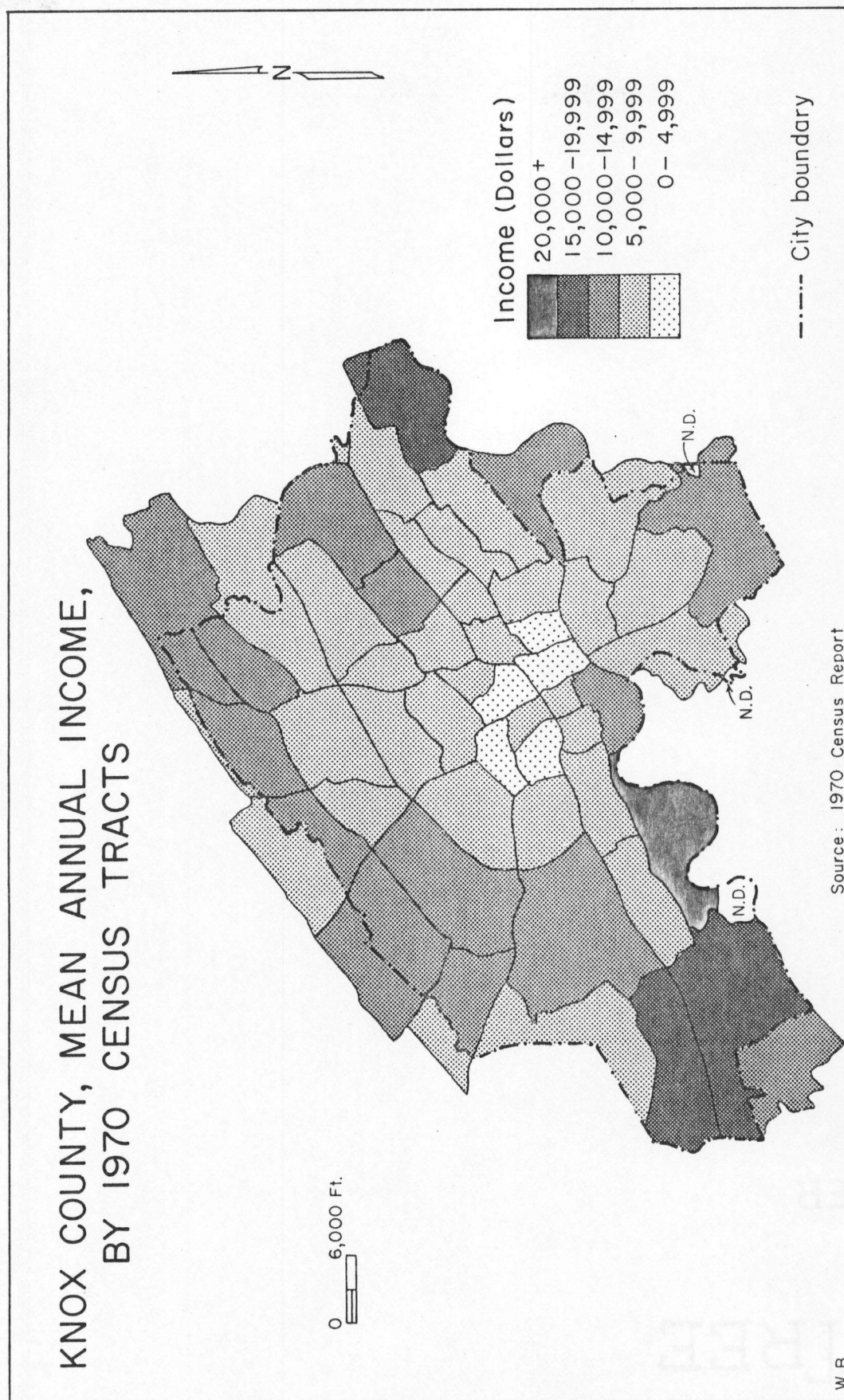


Figure 5. Mean Annual Income by 1970 Census Tracts, Knoxville, Tennessee.

lowest average income of all census tracts in South Knoxville (\$6,668) and the heaviest concentration of churches in that part of the city. Park City, Lonsdale and Mechanicsville also have especially dense church concentrations. The average incomes for these areas are \$6,956, \$6,140, and \$4,727 respectively. Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient with a transformation to a value of "t," because the sample size is greater than ten, was used to test this relation between mean income and number of churches in the city of Knoxville. Excluded from this test were those census tracts which include the CBD, the University of Tennessee, Fort Sanders and the Kingston Pike church row. Fort Sanders and the UT areas have been excluded because of the transient nature of the population in those areas and the CBD and Kingston Pike areas because, as will be shown in Chapter IV, the churches in these areas are not closely related to the communities in which they are located. The result of this test shows a correlation of $-.371$ ("t" value of 2.5) between average income per census tract and number of churches per census tract. As the average income per census tract increases, the number of churches per census tract decreases. This result is significant at both the .95 and .99 levels.

In Chapter I, a relationship was hypothesized between low income areas and a large number of small, closely spaced churches. Lundberg and Dynes have shown that high income people can be expected to attend church less often than low income people and the larger the church size, the higher the socioeconomic status of the congregation (Dynes, 1959, p. 262 and Lundberg, 1934, pp. 200-01). This would explain a large number of small churches in low income areas. The close spacing

is because each small church can serve only a limited number of people. Since there are so many more churchgoers in low income areas, the churches would have to be located close to each other in order to serve the entire population. Limited mobility and low income would tend to discount the idea of large numbers of people going outside their community to worship. Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient with a transformation to a value of "t" was used to test the statistical relationship between dense church concentrations and limited mobility in the city of Knoxville. A correlation between percentage of people without automobiles and number of churches per census tract was run. The result is a correlation of +.437 ("t" value of 3.14). As the percentage of people without automobiles in a census tract increases, the number of churches in a census tract also increases. Again, the result is significant at both the .95 and .99 levels.

Although both the literature and examination of Figures 3 (pg.27) and 5 support the idea of a large number of small, closely spaced churches in low income areas, there is no way to measure the size of a church without actually going to the church. Therefore a field check was made to verify the hypothesized relationship between low income areas and small churches. Churches located in both high and low income areas throughout the city of Knoxville were examined. The results of this field check clearly support the hypothesized relationships between low income areas and small churches and between high income areas and large churches. Figures 6 and 7 show the Faith Southern Methodist Church, a white church, and the Church of God in Christ, a black church, both typical examples of low income area churches. The Faith Southern



Figure 6. Faith Southern Methodist Church



Figure 7. Church of God in Christ

Methodist Church is located in the Lincoln Park area, a neighborhood in which the average annual family income is \$7,353. Residential land use is dominant in the area with the church itself tightly sandwiched between two homes. The total absence of off street parking indicates that, in all probability, a large percentage of the congregation walks to church. The lack of room for expansion is probably not a problem as the area in which the church is located experienced a 9 percent decline in population during the period 1960-1970. This out-migration of population is typical of Knoxville's older central city neighborhoods. The Church of God in Christ is situated in Lonsdale, a community in which the average annual family income is \$6,140. The lot which adjoins the church has never been converted into a parking area indicating that there are probably not many people who drive to church. Also, in view of the substandard condition of the church, it is doubtful that many members possess sufficient financial resources with which to purchase an automobile. Again, a 14 percent decline in Lonsdale's population between 1960 and 1970 helps to explain why the church has never been expanded.

The spacious West Hills Presbyterian Church (Figure 8), located on Bennington Drive in West Hills, offers a sharp contrast to the small churches just described. The relatively low population density in the surrounding area and the large parking lot suggest that there are few, if any, worshippers who walk to church. Although the present church can accommodate a large number of people, there is room for expansion if the need should arise. A 54 percent increase in the population of



Figure 8. West Hills Presbyterian Church.

the WestHills area between 1960 and 1970 indicates that expansion may be necessary in the future.

In terms of church size, two zones can be identified. Surrounding the CBD is a zone in which there is a dense concentration of small, closely spaced churches. Many of these churches lack off street parking and those which do provide parking often have only a very limited number of spaces available. This is understandable, however, in view of the relatively high population densities and low rates of automobile ownership in these areas. Lack of room for expansion, typical of many churches in this zone, is not a major problem as most of these areas have undergone population decline in recent years.

A second zone, consisting of rather widely spaced large churches, surrounds the first zone. This zone extends outward to include the rural-urban fringe but stops where the landuse changes to predominately rural, where churches tend to be small, country churches. Almost all churches in this zone have large parking lots in response to the high automobile ownership rates and the relatively low population densities. Most of the churches are surrounded by lots into which the church could expand. In view of the large population increases which are occurring in suburban Knoxville, many of these churches will probably be forced to enlarge their facilities in the future.

E. Displacement of Regular Protestant Denominations
From the Central City and Their Replacement
by Black and Sectarian Groups

A phenomenon which has received considerable attention in the literature is the displacement of the regular protestant denominations from the

inner city and their replacement by black and sectarian religious groups. This has occurred in Knoxville but perhaps not to the degree to which it has taken place in other cities. In 1950 East Knoxville, the area east of Mountain View, was dominated by mainline protestant churches, but today the large majority of churches in this area are black. Black in-migration in the late 1950's and early 1960's forced most of the white churches to relocate in other parts of the city. In many other sections of the inner city such as Lonsdale and Mechanicsville, there were already a large number of black and sectarian churches in 1950. These areas did not undergo any great changes between 1950 and the present. With the exception of parts of East Knoxville, there are no areas in Knoxville that were dominated by mainline protestant denominations in 1950 but are dominated by sectarian and black religious groups today.

F. Development of the Kingston Pike Church Row

An interesting feature shown in Figure 3 (pg. 27) is a "church row" on Kingston Pike between the Aloc Highway and Western Plaza. Ten churches, all substantial in size, are located along this approximately one and a half mile stretch of Kingston Pike. This concentration has developed entirely since 1950 and is indicative of the westward spread of the city. Of the ten churches located here, eight were in existence in 1950, but all at locations further east. Four were in the downtown area, one on what is now the University of Tennessee campus, one in Fort Sanders, one on Broadway and one on West Fifth Avenue.

A number of factors must be examined in explaining why so many churches have chosen this area for their location. By the late 1950's

many of the older homes along Kingston Pike had reached the end of an era; they were either ready to be torn down or renovated. The large size of the lots along Kingston Pike was an incentive for churches to locate along the highway. While many churches were forced to leave the central city because of inadequate parking facilities, the lots along Kingston Pike provided plenty of room for parking. In view of the Metropolitan Planning Commission's ordinance which requires new churches to provide a certain minimum number of off street parking spaces, this was a very strong incentive to locate along the Pike.

The construction of churches along Kingston Pike was encouraged by area residents. In many instances the lots along the Pike could have been used for apartment construction and there was fear that if this happened the whole area would become commercial. The construction of churches has allowed development of many of the vacant lots while at the same time maintaining the scenic charm of the highway.

Visibility is another factor helping to explain the Kingston Pike location of many churches. Reverend Don E. Ferguson of First United Methodist Church, stated that studies have shown that if people drive past a church in their daily commuting from home to work, school or shopping, the tendency will be for them to check out the church and perhaps start attending (Ferguson, interview, June 1977). On the other hand, if their home is located only a few blocks from the church but they do not drive past it, the likelihood is that they will never attend the church. This explanation is understandable in view of the heavy daily traffic along Kingston Pike.

Between 1950 and 1975 the number of churches in inner city Knoxville declined greatly. Fifteen churches were in existence in the central business district in 1950; today there are five. Many of the churches which still remain in inner city Knoxville are small, closely spaced churches. The decrease in the number of inner city churches has been compensated for by a large increase in the number of churches with suburban locations. The Kingston Pike church row is perhaps the most striking example of this suburbanization of churches.

CHAPTER III

PATTERNS OF LEADING DENOMINATIONS

A. Patterns of Churches of the Three Leading Denominations in Knoxville

Of those denominations which took part in the 1971 study by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, the Baptist had the largest share of members (64.6 percent) followed by the Methodist church with 15 percent and the Presbyterian church with 8.6 percent. The Baptists and Methodists draw their congregations from all different income groups, and consequently their churches are found in low, middle and high income neighborhoods. The Presbyterians, however, seem to have a special affinity for the higher income groups and consequently the majority of their neighborhood churches are situated in the higher income neighborhoods.

1. Baptist

The Baptists, accounting for 64.6 percent of all church adherents in Knox County according to the 1971 NCCCA study, are by far the leading denomination in Knox County. The distribution of Baptist churches in Knoxville is shown in Figure 9. The churches outlined by squares are affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention, the largest Protestant religious body in the United States. The remaining churches belong to a variety of other Baptist bodies such as the Free Will Baptists, National Baptists, Independent Baptists, and Missionary Baptists. Although almost

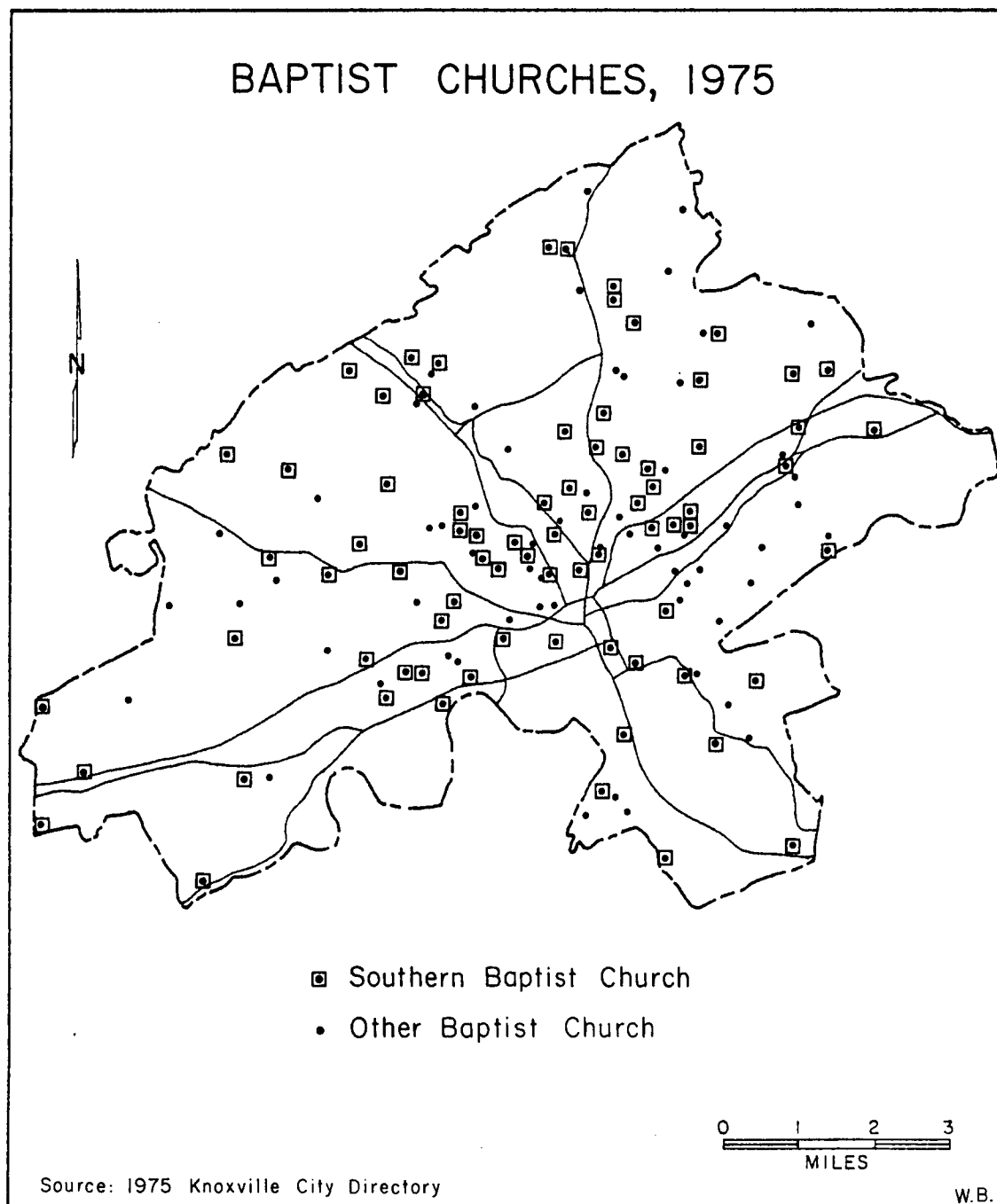


Figure 9. Baptist Churches in Knoxville, 1975.

all Baptist churches in Knoxville are characterized by fundamentalist beliefs, the "other" Baptist churches tend to be even more fundamental than those affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention.

One of the most striking features in Figure 9 is the absence of Southern Baptist churches in the black communities of the city. This is especially evident in East Knoxville and Mechanicsville. With the exception of two churches, all the black Baptist churches in Knoxville are members of the National Baptist Convention, the national organization of black Baptists. The Mount Olive Baptist Church is the only black Baptist church in Knoxville which is a member of the Southern Baptist Convention. It is, however, also affiliated with the National Baptist Convention. This unwillingness of the black churches to join the Southern Baptist Convention, in spite of the Convention's "open door" policy, is indicative of the still very segregated conditions which exist in the large majority of Knoxville churches.

Very much in evidence in Figure 9 is the fact that Baptist churches are often located in close proximity to other Baptist churches. This is true of both Southern Baptist and non-Southern Baptist churches. The reason for this is the way in which new Baptist churches are organized. Unlike most other denominations, Baptist churches are usually not established as missions of sponsoring churches or through financial support from the denominational offices. According to Clarence Jett, Director of Missions of the Knox County Association of Baptists, a judicatory of the Southern Baptist Convention, two out of every three Southern Baptist churches in Knox County are established as a result of a split in an existing Baptist church (Jett, interview, January, 1978).

Nonsupport of the pastor, personality problems within the congregation and differences over the type of music or program were all cited as factors which might cause a group of people to leave a church and begin their own. Very often, the church started by the breakaway group will be located close to the church from which they split because both congregations live in essentially the same area. In the opinion of Mister Jett, this phenomenon of "church splitting" is at least as prevalent in Baptist churches not associated with the Southern Baptist Convention as it is in Southern Baptist Convention churches because of the more fundamentalist beliefs of the non-Convention churches.

That there are so many different Baptist types within the city of Knoxville is another factor helping to explain why two Baptist churches might be located close to each other. A Missionary Baptist church located across the street from a Southern Baptist church would be such an example. Because the two churches appeal to different types of people within the same community it cannot really be said that they are in competition with each other. They are simply responding to the need for a variety of churches within a given area. Finally, there are far more Baptists in Knoxville than there are members of any other denomination and hence a greater chance that two churches will be located in close proximity to each other. This fact, coupled with the phenomenon of "church splitting" so characteristic of the Baptists, and the existence of so many different groups all calling themselves Baptists are responsible for the pattern of Baptist churches in Knoxville which is often characterized by churches situated in close proximity to each other.

Figure 10 shows changes that have occurred between 1950 and the present in the pattern of Baptist churches in Knoxville. As the Baptist church is by far the leading denomination any forces which have been responsible for changes in the patterns of churches between 1950 and the present should be reflected in the Baptist patterns. Three categories of churches are shown in Figure 10; those churches which have come into existence since 1950, those churches which were present in 1950 but are gone today, and those churches which have changed their location between 1950 and the present. This last group has been further broken down on the basis of whether the congregation is white or black.

Ignoring for a moment churches which have changed their location since 1950, two zones are readily apparent in Figure 10. One includes downtown Knoxville and areas adjacent to it. While few new churches have been built in this area, a large number have closed their doors. Surrounding this old, inner city zone is an area, largely suburban in character, in which there has been a large increase in the number of churches. In this entire zone there is only one church, located in Bearden, which has closed since 1950. Again this shows the shift in population away from the old downtown area to more suburban locations.

The pattern of churches which have changed their location between 1950 and the present largely reflects changes in the racial structure of Knoxville's neighborhoods. In the late 50's and early 60's the Mountain View Urban Renewal Project caused many black churches to relocate further east. As these East Knoxville neighborhoods changed from predominately white to predominately black there was, in turn, an exodus of white churches away from East Knoxville, primarily towards

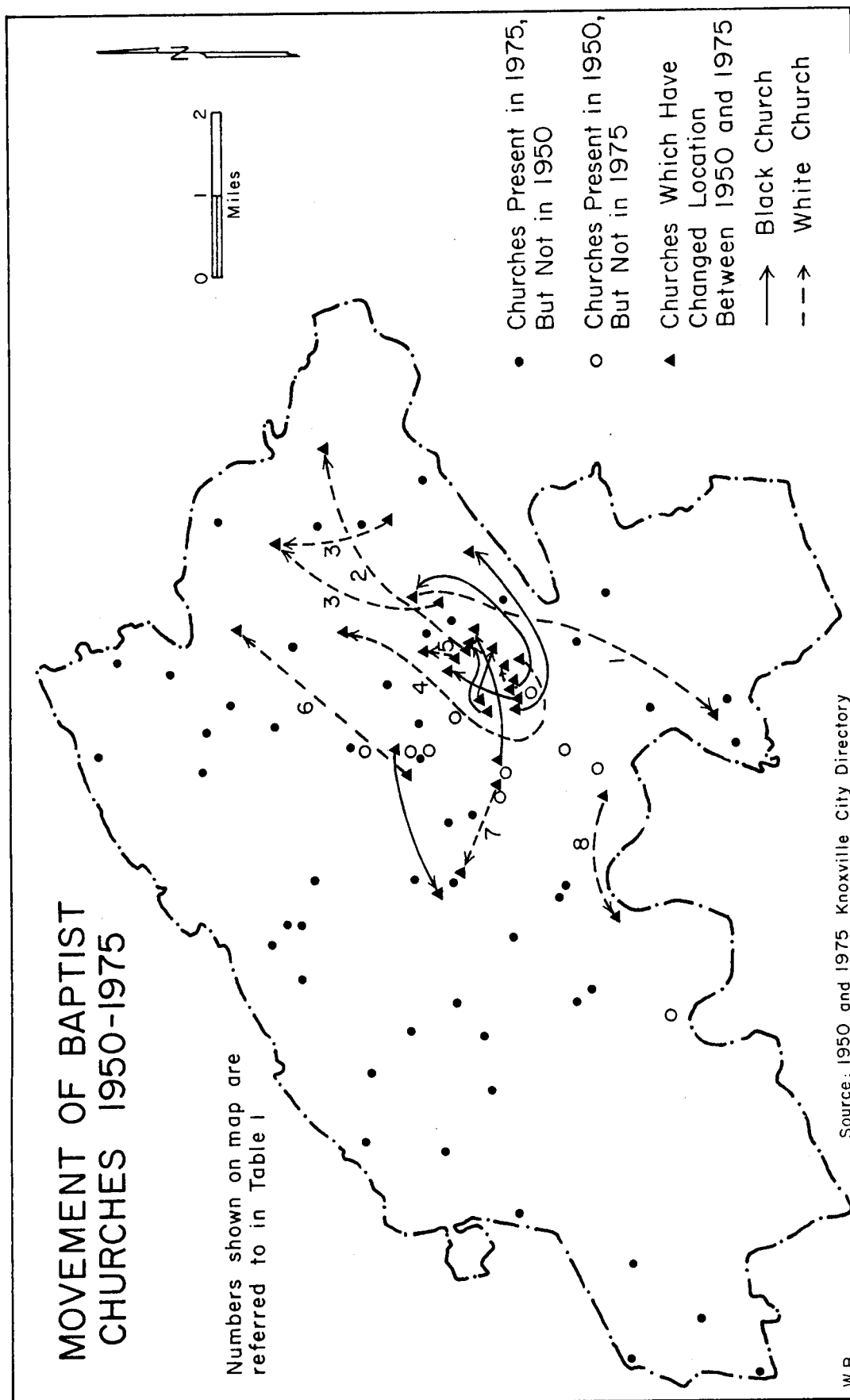


Figure 10. Baptist Church Changes in Knoxville, 1950-1975.

the northeast. Table 1 shows the movement of white Baptist churches between 1950 and the present. For each church the percentage of black population in the census tract in which the church was located in 1950 is shown, as well as the percentage of black population in the census tract in which the church is located today. In five out of eight cases there was a movement from a predominately black area to an area with a very low percentage of blacks. One church (No. 8) was forced to relocate due to the expansion of the University of Tennessee and another (No. 5) moved away from an area of black in-migration but remained in the same census tract.

Although most of Knoxville's growth between 1950 and the present has been in the west, Figure 10 shows only one case in which a Baptist church relocated to an area in West Knoxville. There are still considerably fewer Baptist churches in West Knoxville than there are in East Knoxville. When asked about this in an interview, Reverend Frank M. Bostick replied that he feels that this has a lot to do with the identity people have with their neighborhood. As most of West Knoxville has developed rather recently, there has been little time for a sense of "neighborhood identity" to develop. As a result people are not all that interested in attending churches in their own neighborhood and there is a large amount of commuting to the downtown and suburban highway oriented churches. On the other hand, many congregations in East Knoxville developed along the lines of the streetcar in the late nineteenth century. As such these churches have been in existence for a long period of time and people take pride in attending them. There is therefore a greater degree of participation in neighborhood churches in East Knoxville and less commuting downtown.

TABLE 1
MOVEMENT OF WHITE BAPTIST CHURCHES IN KNOXVILLE
BETWEEN 1950 AND THE PRESENT

Church #	1950 Location - % black	Present location - % black
1	55.9	1.6
2	65.2	19.7
3	90.3	0.1
4	96.4	2.7
5	34.1	34.1
6	0.1	--
7	55.5	6.8
8	2.3	0.8

2. Methodist

The Methodists, accounting for 15 percent of all church adherents, are the second largest religious group in Knox County. The distribution of Methodist churches in Knoxville is shown in Figure 11. Unlike the Baptists, the Methodists are not characterized by frequent church splitting and therefore there is usually considerable distance between Methodist churches. If a problem arises within a Methodist church, an official who has authority over the local church will usually intervene and settle the problem. The Baptists do not have, or want, that kind of central authority; the Southern Baptist Convention is only an advisory body. In the Methodist church there is usually a central authority, the Knoxville District of the United Methodist church in the case of Knoxville, which takes the responsibility for organizing new churches. The establishment of Methodist churches is therefore usually characterized by a much higher degree of planning than is involved in the establishment of Baptist churches and consequently this is another reason why Methodist churches are usually spaced further apart than are Baptist churches. Finally there are simply far fewer Methodists than there are Baptists in Knoxville and thus less of a chance that two churches will be located in close proximity to each other.

There are a few instances in which Methodist churches are located rather close to each other. Usually this is the result of the 1968 merger of the Methodist church and the Evangelical United Brethren church which resulted in the formation of the United Methodist church. The Fairview United Methodist Church (formerly an Evangelical United Brethren church)

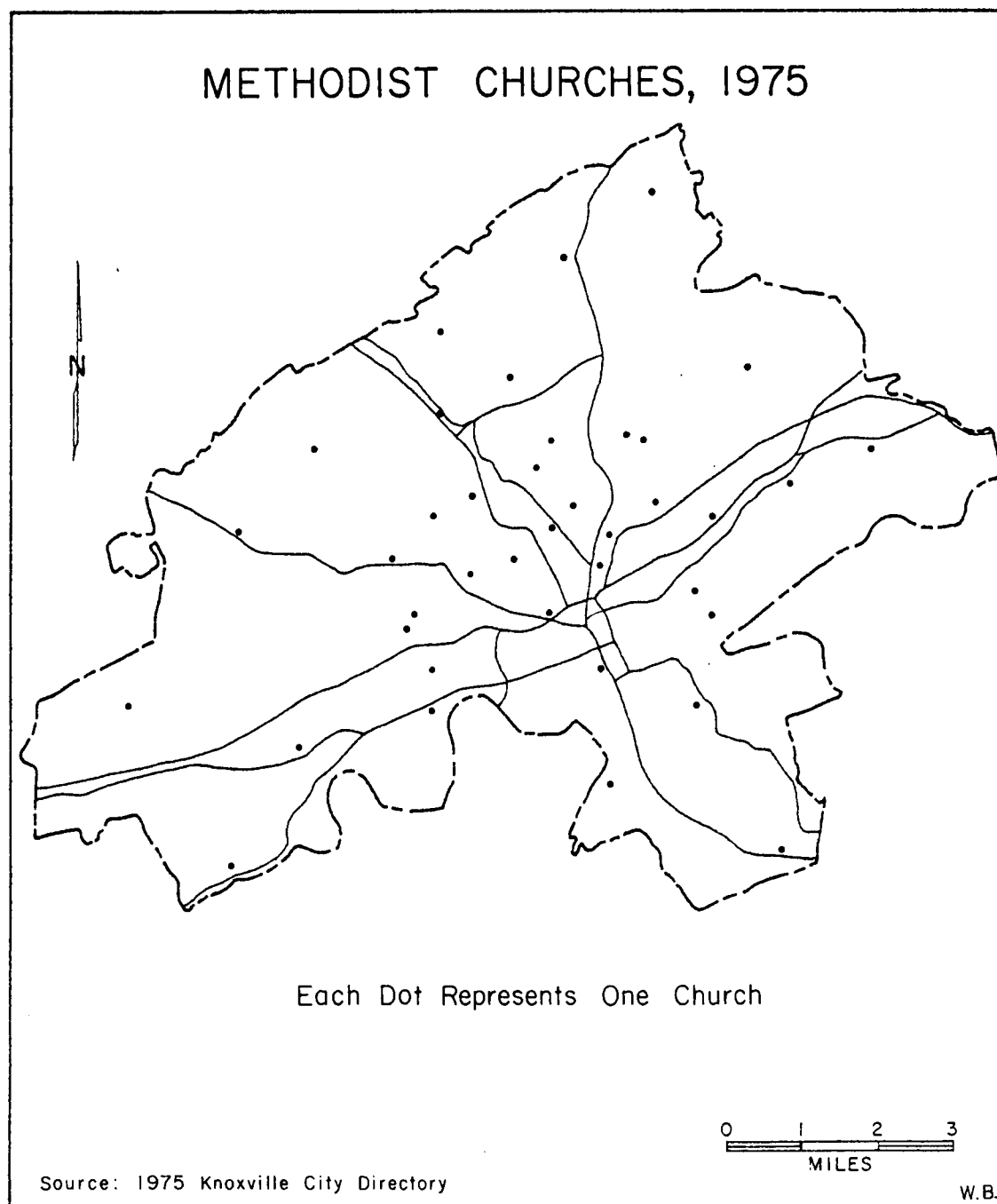


Figure 11. Methodist Churches in Knoxville, 1975

on Fairview Avenue and the Washington Pike United Methodist Church on Washington Pike, located only a few blocks from each other, provide an example of this.

Another factor which helps to explain the close spacing of some Methodist churches is that there are a few Methodist churches in Knoxville which are not members of the United Methodist church, such as the Faith Southern Methodist Church, shown in Figure 6 (pg. 40). For the most part they are fundamentalist churches which tend to appeal to a much more conservative group of people than those attracted to the United Methodist church. For this reason they can be located close to a United Methodist church without being in competition with it; it is simply another case of two churches appealing to different segments of the community.

In an interview with Ben Sinclair, District Superintendent of the United Methodist church in Knoxville, it was learned that the pattern of Methodist churches in Knoxville was once quite different (Sinclair, interview, February, 1978). Prior to the 1939 merger of the northern and southern branches of the Methodist church, and even for a period after the merger, northern and southern branch churches would often be located very close to each other. An example of this in Knoxville is Central and Trinity Methodist churches formerly located one block apart on the northern periphery of the downtown. Trinity was a northern church and Central a southern church. Since the merger Trinity has relocated to a suburban location on Oak Ridge Highway.

3. Presbyterian

With its churches accounting for 8.6 percent of all church adherents the Presbyterians are the third largest religious group in Knox County.

The pattern of Presbyterian churches in Knoxville is shown in Figure 12. The relatively long distances separating Presbyterian churches indicates that in terms of establishing new churches the Presbyterians are more like the Methodists than the Baptists. In common with the Methodists, there is little church splitting among the Presbyterians and there is also a central authority involved in the location of new churches. Furthermore, the total number of Presbyterians in Knoxville is small in comparison with the number of Baptists and Methodists.

Most of the Presbyterian churches in Knoxville are affiliated with either the Presbyterian Church in the United States (southern church) or the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (northern church). That the large majority of Presbyterian churches in Knoxville are so well spaced would seem to indicate a high degree of cooperation between the two groups. This view was supported by Reverend John L. Davis, Associate Pastor of First Presbyterian Church, who stated that there has been a history of cooperation between the Presbyterians and United Presbyterians in Knoxville (Davis, interview, January 1978).

In only two instances are Presbyterian churches located in rather close proximity to each other; First Cumberland Presbyterian Church and Westminster Presbyterian Church in the Rocky Hill section and the Bible Presbyterian Church and the North Hills Presbyterian Church in the North Hills section. In the former case one church is affiliated with the Presbyterian church and the other with the Cumberland Presbyterian church, a much more conservative group. In the latter case neither church is affiliated with either the Presbyterian or United Presbyterian churches. Although three churches in East Knoxville are spaced about the

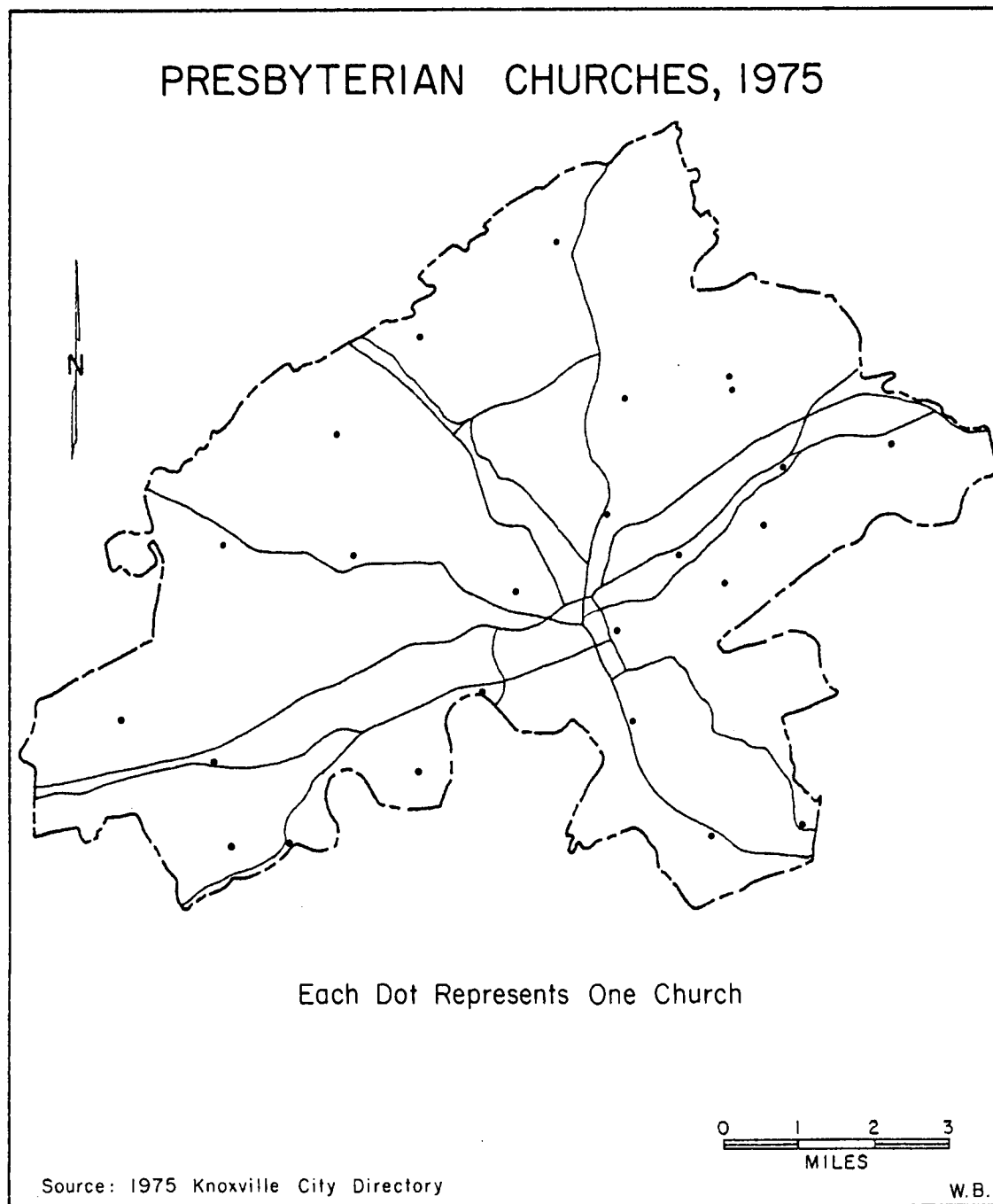


Figure 12. Presbyterian Churches in Knoxville, 1975

same distance apart as the two churches in Rocky Hill, one must take account of the much higher population densities in East Knoxville.

4. Relationship Between Income Level and Church Affiliation

This section will investigate the relationship between income level and church affiliation among the three major denominations in Knoxville; Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian. Because it is difficult to ascertain the income levels of church members, the average income of the census tract in which they resided was used as a surrogate. Census tracts covering the CBD, University of Tennessee, Fort Sanders and the Kingston Pike church row area were omitted for the same reasons for which they were excluded from the correlation coefficient analysis. As will be shown in Chapter IV, most Knoxville churches are related, although in varying degrees, to the communities in which they are located. Of the ten churches whose membership patterns were examined in detail only those located in the CBD and the Kingston Pike church row were found to be unrelated to the areas in which they are located. While this study is not meant to be an exact measure of the relation between church affiliation and income level it might shed some light on the relative positions of the three major denominations in terms of congregational income levels.

Based on the census tracts in which the churches are located, the average income of the members of a Presbyterian church in Knoxville is \$10,425, of a Methodist church, \$8,128, and of a Baptist church, \$8,029. While the difference between Methodists and Baptists is only \$99; there is a \$2,297 difference between the Presbyterians and Methodists. These results lend support to the idea that the Presbyterian church is most

commonly associated with the higher income groups. However, they do not support the idea that the Baptists are usually drawn from a lower income group than the Methodists, as the income difference between Methodists and Baptists is only \$99.

B. Patterns of Churches of Other Denominations

As a second group of churches, there are those denominations which have a large national following but a rather small membership in Knoxville dispersed throughout the city. They do not have enough followers concentrated in one part of the city to support a neighborhood church, and, in order to best serve a dispersed membership, these denominations usually locate their churches along the major thoroughfares. The Lutheran church is an example of a church serving a dispersed population. Two of Knoxville's Lutheran churches are located on Broadway, two are on Kingston Pike, one on Central Avenue, one on Chapman Highway and one on Gulf Park Drive. The Church of Jesus Christ Latter Day Saints, Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches and the Jewish faith are other examples of religious groups with this type of locational pattern.

The third group of Knoxville churches is similar to the second group in that it consists of denominations which have a substantial national following, but are unlike the second group in that they have such a limited following so that each denomination has only one church in the entire city. Included in this group are the following denominations: Christian Science, Friends, Greek Orthodox, Unitarian and United Church of Christ. Because members of these denominations are also scattered throughout the city, they tend to locate their churches on major

thoroughfares close to downtown, the convergence point of the major transportation arteries. They are unable to locate in the CBD because of the high land values. Three of the five churches in this group are located in the Kingston Pike church row and one just beyond, on Weisgarber Road. Another church, First Friends, is situated on Washington Avenue, on the eastern periphery of downtown. The fact that four of the five churches in this group are located west of the CBD is another indication of Knoxville's growth towards the west.

Black churches comprise the fourth major grouping of Knoxville churches. Although the churches of Knoxville follow an "open door" policy, churches still tend to be segregated as a matter of choice. With only three exceptions, the black churches in Knoxville are located in the three major black communities of the city; Mechanicsville, East Knoxville, and Lonsdale. Mechanicsville has traditionally been the area of heaviest black population in Knoxville, East Knoxville recently changed from dominately white to largely black, and Lonsdale is at present undergoing the transition from white to black. The three black churches which are not found in these neighborhoods are located in three "pocket areas" of heavy black population. The New Hope Baptist Church is situated near the corner of Cecil Avenue and Crockett Street in the northeastern part of the city, The Oakland African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church on Oakland Drive in the Oakland neighborhood and the Wallace Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church on Homberg Drive in the Bearden section of Knoxville. There are no black churches in areas of the city which have a dominately white population. While

the large majority of black churches are affiliated with either the Baptist church or the African Methodist Episcopal Zion church, the following denominations also have black churches: Episcopal, Methodist, United Presbyterian, House of God, Church of God and Church of Christ. Because of the low rate of mobility of the black population, black churches follow the usual pattern of churches in low income areas previously described. They occur in dense concentrations with very little spacing between the churches.

A fifth and final grouping of churches consists of white fundamentalist sects. Shortridge's work on conservative and liberal Protestantism was used as a basis for classifying these religious groups (Shortridge, James R., 1976). These fundamentalist sects are shown on Figure 13 under the title "White Fundamentalist Sects" and include the following: Apostolic, Assemblies of God, Church of Christ, Church of God, Full Gospel, Holiness, Jehovah Witnesses, Nazarene, Pentecostal, Salvation Army, Seventh Day Adventist and Wesleyan. Churches in this group are largely neighborhood oriented with relatively few churches on the major thoroughfares. The fundamentalist churches seem to appeal to people with limited incomes and therefore tend to have their churches located in the lower income neighborhoods. The Church of God is an example of such a group. While there are no Churches of God on such major thoroughfares as Kingston Pike, Broadway, Central Avenue and Chapman Highway, there is quite a concentration in the low income Vestal and Lonsdale neighborhoods. The white fundamentalist churches are similar to the black churches in that they occur in dense concentrations with little spacing between the churches. They are unlike the black churches,

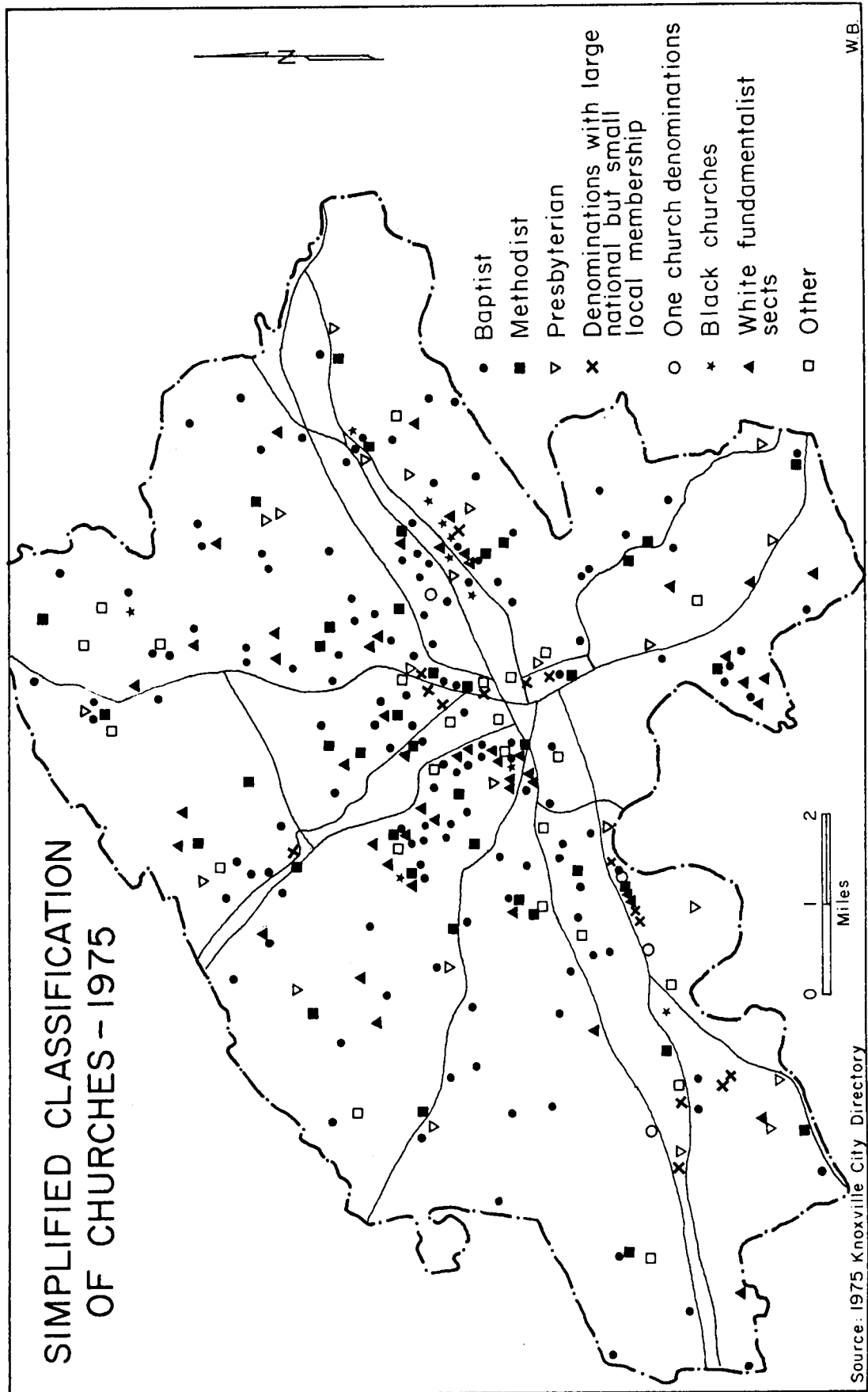


Figure 13. Simplified Classification of Knoxville Churches, 1975

however, in that they are not totally confined to low income areas. Although they are a minority, there are a number of white fundamentalist sect churches in relatively affluent communities, such as the Laurel Avenue Church of Christ on Kingston Pike. This is not surprising in view of the conservative nature of religion in the American South. Also, there has been a resurgence of evangelical christianity throughout the country in recent years which has affected all income groups.

C. Interdenominational Cooperation in Knoxville

"Almost nonexistent" are the best words that can be used to describe the extent of interdenominational cooperation in Knoxville. The Knoxville Inner City Churches United for People (KICCUP) and a hot lunch program for the aged are typical examples of the extremely limited extent of interdenominational cooperation in Knoxville. KICCUP is an organization composed of nine central city churches whose aim is to do those things; such as administering to the old and transient in the central city that one church could not do adequately alone. The hot lunch program is jointly sponsored by Saint Johns Episcopal Church and Immaculate Conception Roman Catholic Church and its aim is to provide a hot lunch for elderly people living in the downtown area. These programs are mentioned simply because they are representative of the limited extent to which interdenominational cooperation has evolved in Knoxville. Through interviews with leaders of the three major faiths it was learned that interdenominational cooperation does not exist with respect to locating new churches within the city of Knoxville. Many neighborhoods contain a large number of churches representing a wide variety of

denominations. This is different from the situation found by Hotchkiss in Cincinnati where the major Protestant denominations acted jointly in the locating of new churches.

To understand why there has been so little interdenominational cooperation in Knoxville, one must look to the religious composition of the city. As previously noted the Baptists are the largest religious group in Knox County accounting for 64.6 percent of all church adherents. Historically Baptists have had a tradition of non-cooperation with other denominations. This tradition has been summed up by Kelsey:

In their own environment Southern Baptists are a church. They are large, conservative, influential, puritanical, and sociologically accommodated to the regional culture. But in their relation to ecclesiastical movements, tendencies and ideas outside the southern region and in relation to other denominations in general, they react as a sect. They are aloof, defensive, sure of their orthodoxy (adherence to New Testament doctrines) and insist on the maintenance of the New Testament ecclesiastical structural principle (Baptist polity). As we have already seen, Southern Baptists fear and oppose Roman Catholics outright. While their attitude and action are not nearly as drastic toward the protestant bodies, nevertheless Southern Baptists are far from cooperative in relation to these groups. Through the years they have consistently refused to join any united and federated protestant efforts (Kelsey, 1973, p. 23).

One of the devices utilized by the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention in establishing priority areas for new church development is a statistic known as the New Testament Church Index. The higher the index for an area, the fewer the number of evangelical protestant churches and presumably therefore, the higher the priority of the area for new church development. In computing this index, the

the greater the value of the denominator, the lower the New Testament Church Index. In the denominator, Southern Baptist churches are given a weighting of 0.9, other Baptist churches 0.7, Evangelical Protestant churches 0.6, but other Protestant churches only 0.3 and Catholic churches 0.2. Therefore, if an area consists largely of Methodist and Presbyterian churches it will have a high New Testament Church Index and a high priority in terms of new church development. The point to be made here is that one can hardly expect the Baptists to be cooperative with the Methodists, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics and Episcopalians; the second, third, fourth, and fifth largest religious groups in Knox County respectively; as the greater the number of these churches in an area, the higher the priority of the area for new Southern Baptist church development.

Furthermore, even if the Southern Baptist Convention did work out a cooperative church extension program with other denominations it would be of only limited use because of the completely self-autonomous nature of all Southern Baptist congregations. If a group of Southern Baptists decided to construct a new church adjacent to an already existing Methodist church, the Southern Baptist Convention would be powerless to stop them even if there was an agreement between the Southern Baptist and Methodist churches prohibiting such construction.

Based on denominational location patterns five church types have been identified in this thesis. Churches of the three major denominations are located in upper, middle and lower class neighborhoods. Denominations with a small following in Knoxville but a large national one tend to

locate their churches along the major thoroughfares. Denominations which have only one church in the entire city tend to have their churches situated on major thoroughfares, close to downtown. Black churches are concentrated in areas of the city with a dense black population. Finally, fundamentalist churches are usually found in the low income neighborhoods. Because of their large numbers, both in terms of total adherents and number of different groups, and because of the self autonomous nature of all local churches, Baptist churches are usually located in close proximity to each other. In contrast, Methodist and Presbyterian churches are spaced further apart because they have a smaller number of followers and also, have a central authority which has jurisdiction over local churches. In terms of locating new churches. there is no interdenominational cooperation in Knoxville.

CHAPTER IV

MEMBERSHIP PATTERNS OF SPECIFIC CONGREGATIONS

This section of the thesis deals with an analysis of membership patterns or service areas, of specific Knoxville churches. By membership pattern is meant the area in which the members of a specific church reside. Four major categories of Knoxville churches, with at least two examples of each category, are identified. These four types are the downtown church, the suburban church, the suburban-highway church and the neighborhood church. In this chapter each type is related to work previously done in the field of church typology so that comparisons and contrasts can be made. Finally, some general conclusions regarding the classification of Knoxville's churches have been made. Table 2 presents information concerning the sample size of each church under consideration in this section of the thesis.

A. Downtown Churches

1. First Baptist Church

In 1844 the members of the First Baptist Church constructed their first church building in the city of Knoxville. Today, First Baptist is the only remaining downtown Baptist church in Knoxville. The location of the church and the residences of a 10 percent sample of the membership are shown in Figure 14. One of the most striking features in Figure 14

TABLE 2
SAMPLE SIZE

Church	Percent Sampled	Total Membership Units	Number Sampled
First Baptist	10	1450	145
Church St. United Methodist	10	960	96
Bell Ave. Baptist	10	820	82
First Baptist-Concord	10	700	70
First United Methodist	15	373	56
Euclid Ave. Baptist	15	340	51
Magnolia Ave. United Methodist	15	333	50
Calvary Baptist	15	313	47
Middlebrook Pike United Methodist	20	225	45
West Knoxville Baptist	25	104	26

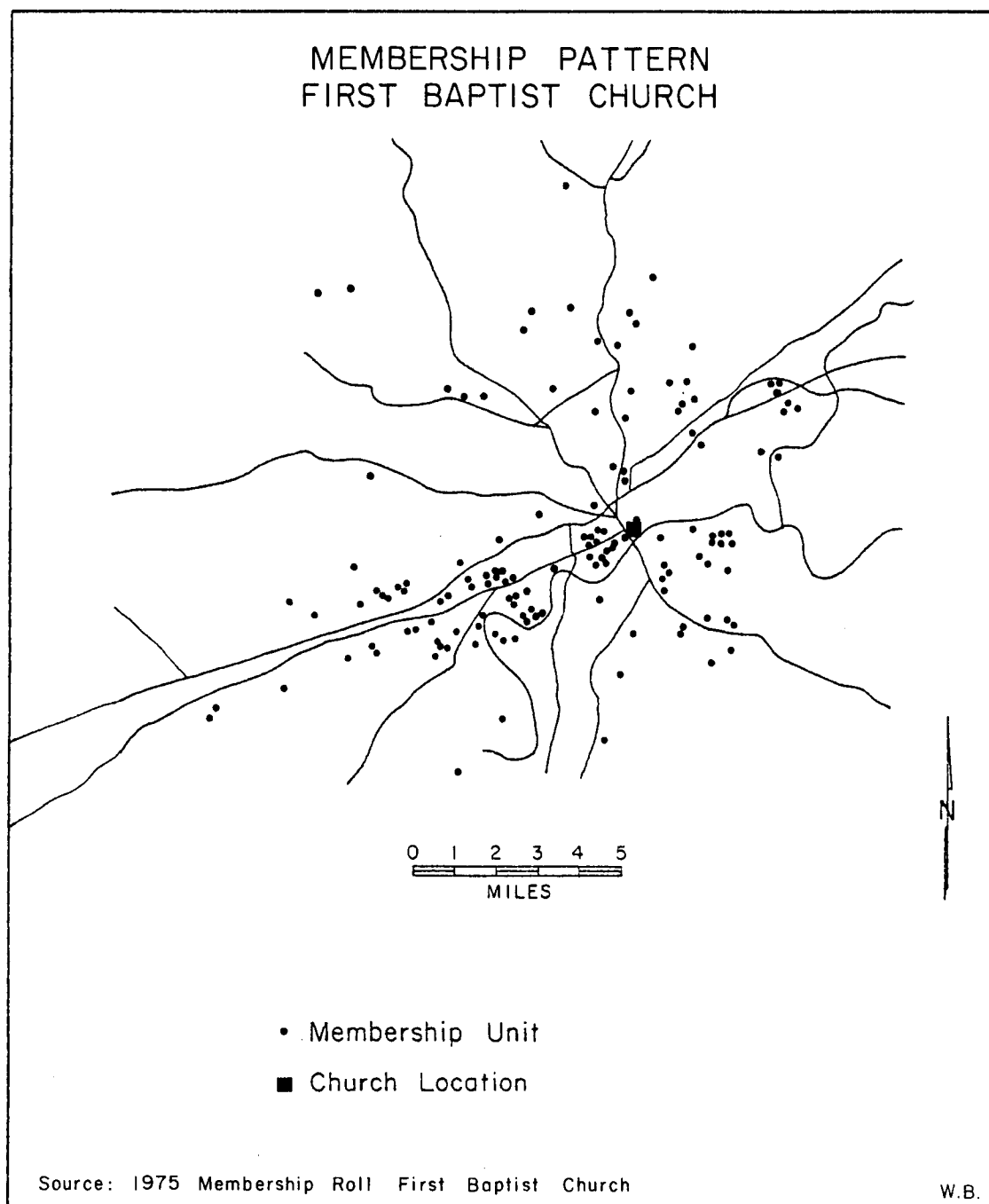


Figure 14. Membership Pattern, First Baptist Church.

is the dispersed nature of the membership pattern. As can be seen in Table 3, only 35.7 percent of the sampled members live within 2.9 miles of the church. The long history of First Baptist church, combined with the high quality programs offered at the church, enables it to attract members from all sections of the city.

Although the members of First Baptist Church reside in many different sections of the city, there is, nevertheless, a westward orientation to the membership pattern. In an interview with Reverend Dave Ward, Associate Minister of the church, it was learned that the members in the exclusive Sequoyah Hills area represent the older, more established people in the congregation. Many of their children, who still remain members of First Baptist, have since left their homes in Sequoyah Hills and are now living further west (Ward, interview, May 1977). Sixty to sixty-five percent of the congregation lives west of Western Plaza. To an extent, this reflects the westward growth of the city. On the other hand, as noted in Chapter III, there is less neighborhood identity in West Knoxville than in East Knoxville resulting in more commuting to downtown churches from West Knoxville than from East Knoxville. Finally, parts of East Knoxville have a heavy concentration of blacks, and since the churches of Knoxville are still largely segregated as a matter of choice, few blacks attend First Baptist. These factors help to explain why First Baptist has so many more members in West Knoxville than in East Knoxville.

As First Baptist is the most prestigious of the Baptist churches in Knoxville due to its downtown location, high quality programs and long history, it has traditionally attracted many of the wealthier Baptists

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLED FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH MEMBERSHIP UNITS
RESIDING IN CONCENTRIC RINGS SPACED AT ONE MILE
INTERVALS OUTWARD FROM THE CHURCH

Ring Location (in miles from the church)	% of Total Sample Residing in Each Ring	Cumulative Percentages
0 - .9	10.3	10.3
1.0 - 1.9	11.0	21.3
2.0 - 2.9	14.4	35.7
3.0 - 3.9	20.6	56.3
4.0 - 4.9	13.7	70.0
5.0 - 5.9	12.4	82.4
6.0 - 6.9	4.8	87.2
7.0 - 7.9	2.7	89.9
8.0 +	9.6	99.5

in Knoxville. Reverend Bostick has stated that people join a church partly for a social reason; they want to be able to associate with people having interests similar to their own. Therefore, if a large number of doctors, lawyers, professors and bankers attend a church, that church will continue to attract these kinds of people (Bostick, interview, May 1977). This is an important factor helping to explain why so many people with high incomes attend, and in all likelihood, will continue to attend, First Baptist.

In looking at the distribution of incomes within First Baptist, shown in Table 4, it can be seen that there are considerably more people in the combined low and high income categories (\$0-10,000 and \$15-30,000) than there are in the middle income category (\$10-15,000). This is because the parish for First Baptist is the entire city and the church therefore draws a cross section of all different income groups. Many of the wealthier Baptists in Knoxville attend First Baptist. On the other hand, the church has special ministries for single people and for students at the University of Tennessee and the State School for the Deaf. In addition, a large number of people on set incomes attend First Baptist. The majority of people in these groups are either young or old and consequently, tend to have low incomes. There is therefore a tendency for the high and low income groups to cancel each other out and the average income for the sampled members of First Baptist, shown in Table 5, is a middle income figure.

2. Church Street United Methodist Church

Church Street United Methodist Church is the only surviving Methodist church in the Knoxville CBD and is located but a few blocks

TABLE 4
INCOME DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE CONGREGATION*

Church	\$0-5,000	5,000- 10,000	10,001- 15,000	15,001- 20,000	20,001- 25,000	25,001- 30,000
Church St. United Methodist	1	30	36	19	0	13
Calvary Baptist	0	24	61	11	0	5
West Knoxville Baptist	0	12	77	12	0	0
First Baptist	3	40	31	17	0	9
First Baptist Concord	0	9	86	5	0	0
First United Methodist	0	34	47	17	0	2
Middlebrook Pike United Methodist	2	20	73	4	0	0
Magnolia Avenue United Methodist	0	66	24	10	0	0
Euclid Avenue Baptist	10	57	29	4	0	0
Bell Avenue Baptist	1	69	21	9	0	0

*Percentages are based on Congregational sample, shown in Table 2.

TABLE 5
AVERAGE INCOME OF SAMPLED CHURCH MEMBERS

Church	Average Income
Church St. United Methodist	13,130
Calvary Baptist	12,554
West Knoxville Baptist	12,149
First Baptist	12,136
First Baptist-Concord	12,106
First United Methodist	11,723
Middlebrook Pike United Methodist	11,518
Magnolia Avenue United Methodist	9,665
Euclid Avenue Baptist	8,780
Bell Avenue Baptist	8,763

west of First Baptist Church. The location of the church and the residences of a 10 percent sample of the membership are shown in Figure 15. Many of its geographical relationships are similar to First Baptist. As can be seen in Figure 15 and Table 6, the membership pattern is very dispersed, with only 31.2 percent of the sampled members living within 2.9 miles of the church. Other characteristics include a concentration of the membership in the west, a clustering of members in Sequoyah Hills reflecting the prestige associated with the old, established downtown church, relatively few members in East Knoxville due to the factors mentioned previously and a very high degree of dependence on the automobile on the part of the membership. Finally, as can be seen in Table 4, there is a higher percentage of members in the combined low and high income categories than in the middle income category resulting in the two groups canceling each other out with the average income figure for Church Street, shown in Table 5, in the middle income range.

A difference between the membership patterns of Church Street and First Baptist is that the number of University of Tennessee students attending Church Street is considerably lower than the number worshipping at First Baptist. This is because the Wesley Foundation on the University of Tennessee campus holds services for Methodist students whereas such services are not a part of the program at the Baptist Student Union, which encourages Baptist students to attend churches in the community. While First Baptist provides free bus service for University of Tennessee students, Church Street does not.

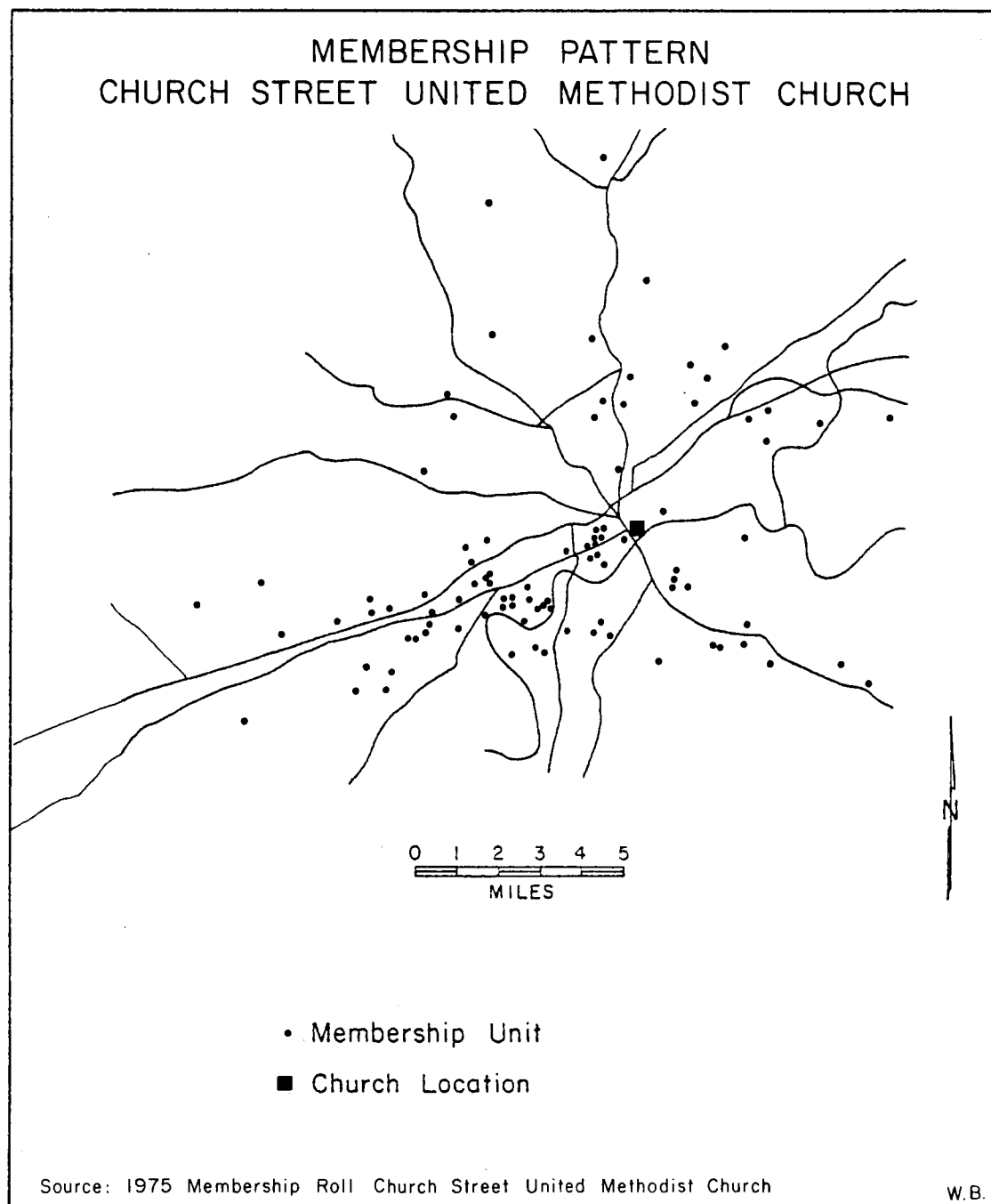


Figure 15. Membership Pattern, Church Street United Methodist Church.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLED CHURCH STREET CHURCH MEMBERSHIP UNITS
RESIDING IN CONCENTRIC RINGS SPACED AT ONE MILE
INTERVALS OUTWARD FROM THE CHURCH

Ring Location (in miles from the church)	% of Total Sample Residing in Each Ring	Cumulative Percentages
0 - .9	10.4	10.4
1.0 - 1.9	8.3	18.7
2.0 - 2.9	12.5	31.2
3.0 - 3.9	28.1	59.3
4.0 - 4.9	9.3	68.6
5.0 - 5.9	12.5	81.1
6.0 - 6.9	7.2	88.3
7.0 - 7.0	4.1	92.4
8.0 +	7.2	99.6

3. Conclusions Concerning Downtown Churches

The downtown church is characterized by a membership pattern which covers the entire city. Because of this, many different income groups are included in the congregation. While many of the wealthier people attend the downtown churches because of the prestige associated with them, they also include large numbers of people on set incomes. This results in the two groups balancing each other and the average income figure for the congregation is therefore in the middle income range.

Insofar as the type of membership pattern associated with the downtown church is concerned, the results of this study lend support to the findings of the wide majority of authorities who reported that the contemporary downtown church is characterized by a dispersed membership pattern. In terms of the composition of the membership pattern, however, the results of this study are not in agreement with the majority opinion. While Winter, Wicklein and Shippey found that the downtown church serves only the upper and middle, or upper middle, classes, such is not the case in Knoxville. Over 30 percent of the sampled members in both downtown Knoxville churches included in this study have annual incomes below ten thousand dollars. The ministers of both churches stated that a large number of people on set incomes attend their churches. That these people are encouraged to join in the fellowship of the church is witnessed by the fact that First Baptist has developed, in addition to the largest deaf ministry in the South, a special program for singles which meets on a weekly basis. While the singles group at Church Street meets once a month the pastor plans to look into the possibility of expanding the program. Apparently the

leaders of Knoxville's downtown churches have recognized their responsibility to serve the entire community to a much greater extent than have downtown ministers in other cities. The findings of this study would also seem to cast doubt on Winter's conclusion that in order for a downtown church to survive it must consist of members having a similar socioeconomic background (Winter, 1962, pp. 68-70). The downtown churches of Knoxville are experiencing growth both in total membership and in number of people attending services, while at the same time mixing different income groups. In listing seven major functions of the downtown church, discussed in Chapter I, Leiffler was the only authority to write about the downtown church as serving many different income groups and it would seem that the situation in Knoxville conforms to his findings rather than to those of Winter, Wicklein, and Shippey.

B. Suburban Churches

1. West Knoxville Baptist Church

Situated less than one mile west of the Knoxville city limits, West Knoxville Baptist Church is an excellent example of the suburban church. The residences of a 25 percent sample of the congregation show a strikingly compact pattern (Figure 16). As can be seen in Table 7, 65.3 percent of the sampled members live within two miles of the church and 76.8 percent within three miles.

Well over half of the sampled West Knoxville Baptist Church members reside in the Crestwood Hills subdivision immediately north of the Walker Springs exit of Interstate Highway 40. The church itself is located at the entrance to the subdivision having been built there in 1972. Prior to 1972, the church was located on Paper Mill Road, however, this former

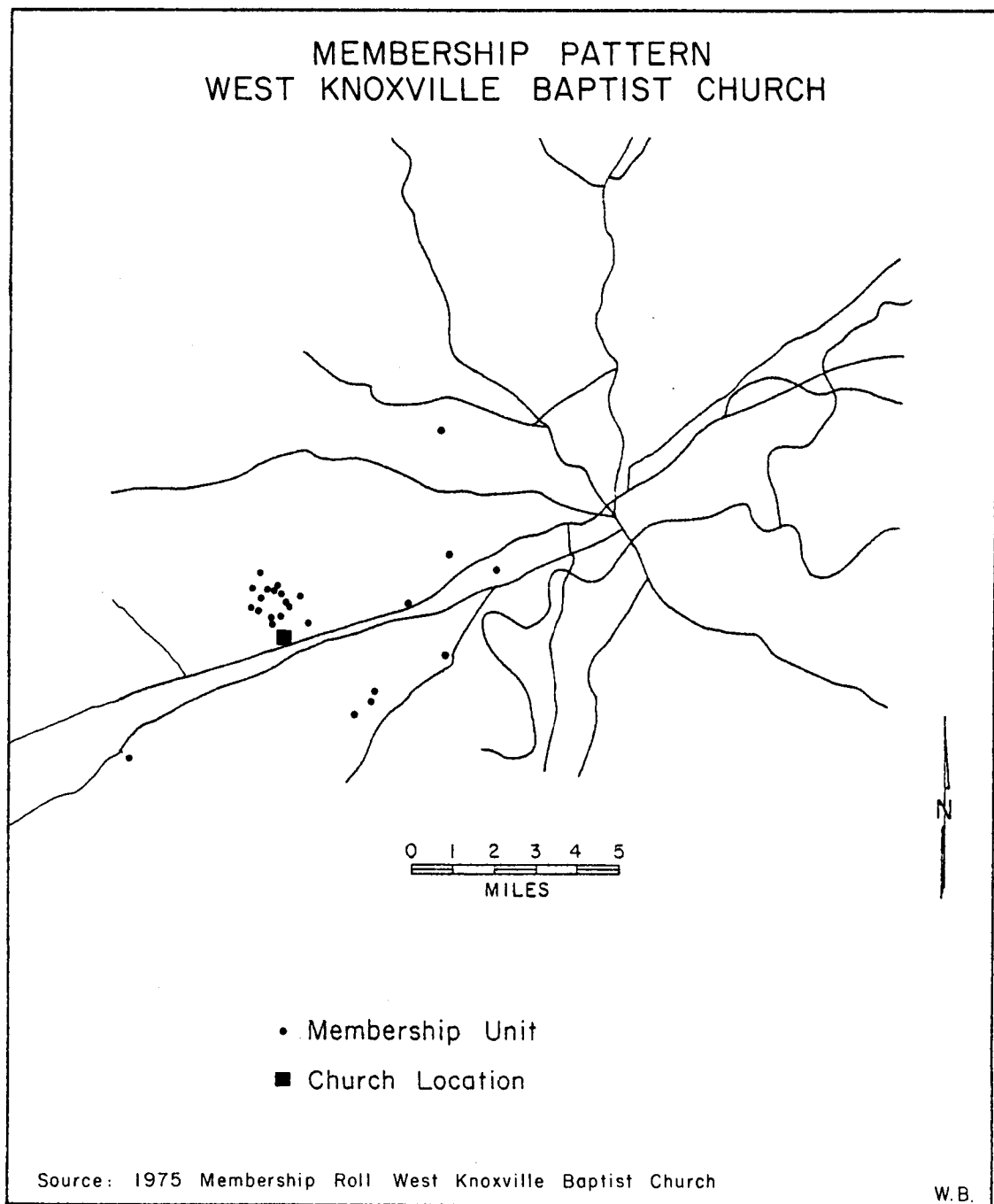


Figure 16. Membership Pattern, West Knoxville Baptist Church.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLED WEST KNOXVILLE BAPTIST CHURCH MEMBERSHIP UNITS
RESIDING IN CONCENTRIC RINGS SPACED AT ONE MILE
INTERVALS OUTWARD FROM THE CHURCH

Ring Location (in miles from the church)	% of Total Sample Residing in Each Ring	Cumulative Percentages
0 - .9	26.9	26.9
1.0 - 1.9	38.4	65.3
2.0 - 2.9	11.5	76.8
3.0 - 3.9	3.8	80.6
4.0 - 4.9	7.6	88.2
5.0 - 5.9	11.5	99.7
6.0 - 6.9	0	99.7
7.0 - 7.9	0	99.7
8.0 +	0	99.7

location is no longer reflected in the membership pattern. One explanation for this concentration of the membership is that, in the past, attempts at recruiting new members were largely limited to the Crestwood Hills area. At present, however, the church is trying to solicit members in two new areas; west of Cedar Bluff and north of Middlebrook Pike. If the church is successful in these efforts, the membership pattern should be somewhat less compact in the future. Also, expansion of the church may be necessary because the church is already fairly crowded during Sunday morning worship service.

That West Knoxville Baptist Church is closely related to the area in which it is located can be seen by the fact that the average income of the sampled church members, \$12,149, is almost a mirror image of the average income of the 1970 census tract in which the church is located, \$12,045. As shown in Table 4 (pg. 75), 77 percent of the sampled church members have annual incomes between ten and fifteen thousand dollars. West Knoxville pastor Gene Ray confirmed the fact that the congregation very much reflects the type of people living in Crestwood Hills (Ray, interview, August 1977). For the most part, the people are not native Knoxvilleans, many of them having been brought in from outside the Knoxville area by such employers as Union Carbide and the Tennessee Valley Authority. In terms of ministry, the emphasis is on young married couples as they are the dominant group in the subdivision.

2. Middlebrook Pike United Methodist Church

Although still within the Knoxville city limits, Middlebrook Pike United Methodist Church is located in an area that is definitely

suburban in character. The location of the church and the residences of a 20 percent sample of the membership are shown in Figure 17. In common with West Knoxville Baptist Church, the membership pattern of Middlebrook Pike United Methodist Church is compact. As shown in Table 8, 75.4 percent of the sampled members live within 2.9 miles of the church and 82 percent within 3.9 miles.

One of the most interesting features in Figure 17 is the fact that the large majority of people who worship at Middlebrook Pike United Methodist live in subdivisions situated west of the church. The West Hills area, located immediately south of the church, accounts for only two worshippers in the sample. The reason for this is twofold. When the West Hills area was undergoing development, many of the new residents looked upon the Middlebrook Pike Church as nothing more than a small country church. At the time, the church lacked an educational unit and the people reasoned that it had very little to offer. Accordingly these people began to attend other Methodist churches such as Bearden United Methodist, Church Street United Methodist and First United Methodist. Later on, Middlebrook Pike Church added an educational unit and expanded its program. At this time, many subdivisions were being developed west of the church, such as Gulf Park and Crestwood Hills, and it was the people in these areas who began to attend the Middlebrook Pike Church in large numbers and who today, make up the majority of the membership. According to Pastor Albert J. Bowles, the only people from West Hills who worship at Middlebrook Pike today are those who moved into the area after the expansion of the church (Bowles, interview, October 1977).

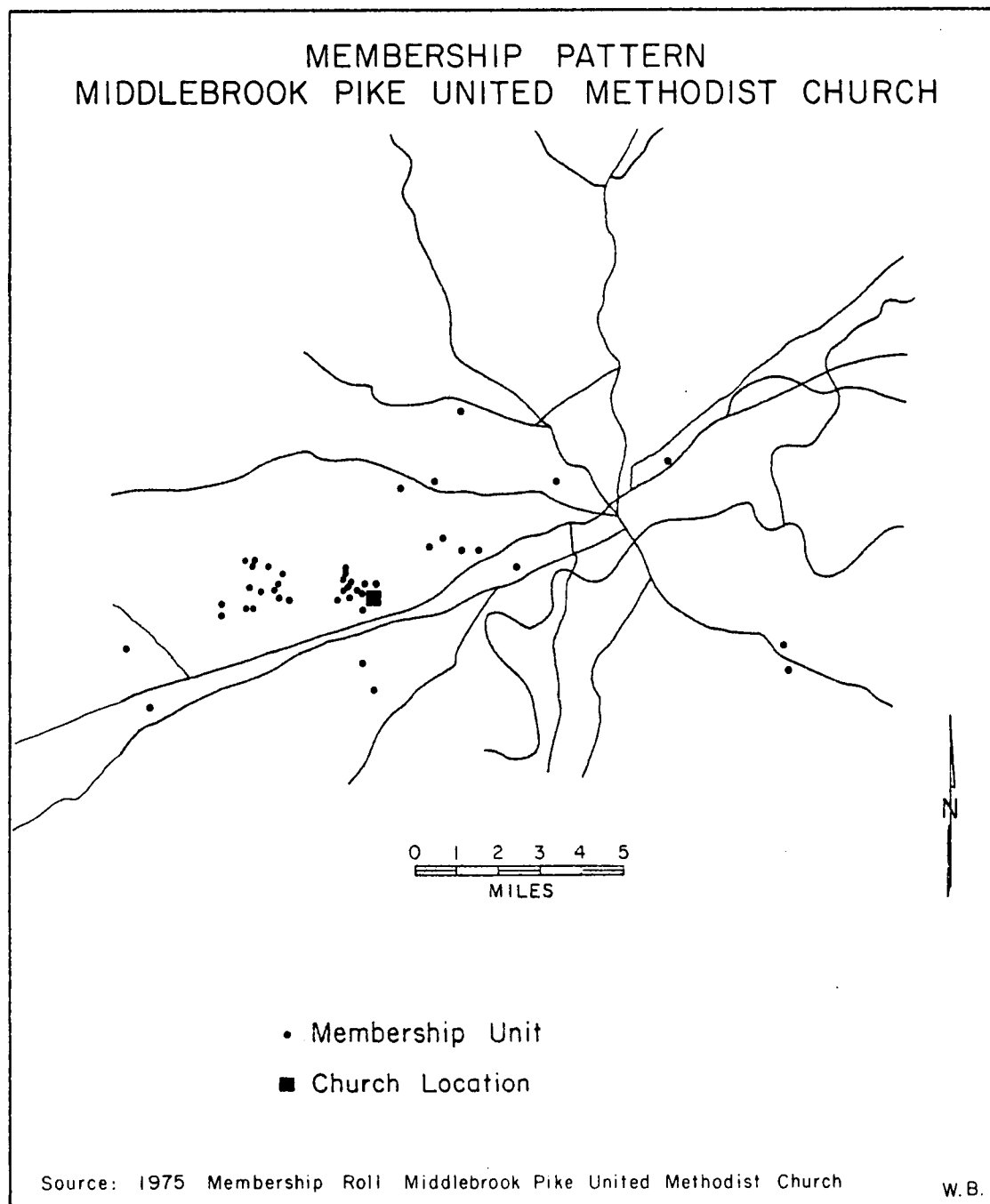


Figure 17. Membership Pattern, Middlebrook Pike United Methodist Church.

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLED MIDDLEBROOK PIKE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP UNITS RESIDING IN CONCENTRIC RINGS SPACED AT
ONE MILE INTERVALS OUTWARD FROM THE CHURCH

Ring Location (in miles from the church)	% of Total Sampled Residing in Each Ring	Cumulative Percentages
0 - .9	26.6	26.6
1.0 - 1.9	15.5	42.1
2.0 - 2.9	33.3	75.4
3.0 - 3.9	6.6	82.0
4.0 - 4.9	2.2	84.2
5.0 - 5.9	8.8	93.0
6.0 - 6.9	0	93.0
7.0 - 7.9	2.2	95.2
8.0 +	4.4	99.6

Because most people who worship at Middlebrook Pike United Methodist do not live in the West Hills area, the close relation between the average income of the sampled church members and the average income of the census tract in which the church is located, which characterizes West Knoxville Baptist Church, is not applicable in the case of Middlebrook Pike Church. The \$11,518 figure for Middlebrook Pike Church, shown in Table 5 (pg. 76), is considerably lower than the \$18,736 figure for the census tract in which the church is located. On the other hand, the \$12,045 average annual income figure for the Gulf Park-Crestwood Hills area census tract, the tract which accounts for far more members of the Middlebrook Pike Church than any other tract, is very close to the average income of the sampled churchgoers.

In terms of congregational makeup, Middlebrook Pike Church is similar to West Knoxville Baptist Church. Young married couples are the dominant group in the church and the pastor estimates the average church members age to be about thirty-five. Special programs are offered for married people, such as a mothers program, and young adults.

3. First Baptist Church of Concord

First Baptist Church of Concord is a very large suburban church located in the western portion of Knox County in an area that could best be classified as rural-urban fringe. The location of the church and the residences of a 10 percent sample of the membership are shown in Figure 18. First Baptist of Concord was founded in 1891 and was located along the Tennessee River in the old, and now largely defunct, Concord CBD. In 1962, the church moved to its present Kingston Pike location as studies projected this to be the area of

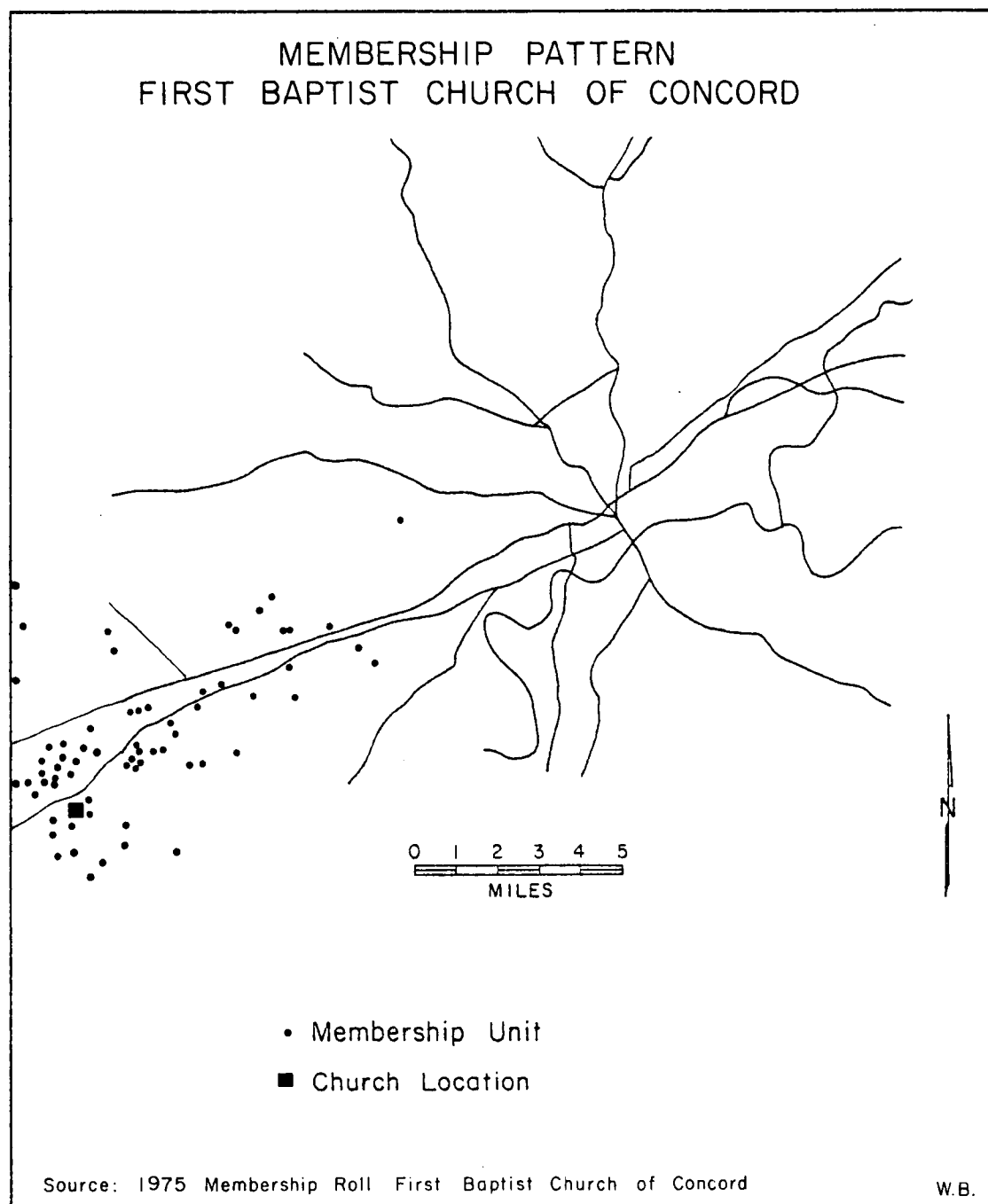


Figure 18. Membership Pattern, First Baptist Church of Concord.

greatest future growth. As can be seen in Table 9, the membership pattern of the church is compact with 64.2 percent of the sampled members living within 2.9 miles of the church and 74.2 percent within 3.9 miles.

Approximately 75 percent of the sampled members live to the east of the church, where there is a much greater number of subdivisions, and thus a higher population density. The area to the west is still largely rural and the church has not been able to attract many rural people. This is because young married couples with high levels of education are the dominant group in the church, the average educational level of the congregation is a college junior and there are many engineers who work at Union Carbide and the Tennessee Valley Authority in the congregation. As people attend a church partly because they want to associate with people similar to themselves it is not difficult to understand why rural farm people are not attracted to First Baptist Church of Concord.

Although First Baptist Church of Concord has a compact membership pattern, it still has more members who live a considerable distance away from the church than either West Knoxville Baptist or Middlebrook Pike United Methodist. As shown in Table 9, 11.3 percent of the congregation resides more than five miles from the church. While it would be more convenient for these people to worship at churches closer to their homes, such as West Knoxville Baptist or Grassy Valley Baptist, they have chosen to drive the extra distance and attend church at Concord. When asked about this in an interview, Reverend Larry Curtis, Minister of Education, feels that it is because First Baptist

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLED FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH OF CONCORD MEMBERSHIP
 UNITS RESIDING IN CONCENTRIC RINGS SPACED AT
 ONE MILE INTERVALS OUTWARD FROM THE CHURCH

Ring Location (in miles from the church)	% of Total Sampled Residing in Each Ring	Cumulative Percentages
0 - .9	21.4	21.4
1.0 - 1.9	32.8	54.2
2.0 - 2.9	10.0	64.2
3.0 - 3.9	10.0	74.2
4.0 - 4.9	5.7	79.9
5.0 - 5.9	8.5	88.4
6.0 - 6.9	2.8	91.2
7.0 - 7.9	1.4	92.6
8.0 +	7.1	99.7

Church of Concord has a more diversified program and also has the income to bring in outstanding visitors from all over the country (Curtis, interview, March 1978). While the average income of West Knoxville Baptist Church members is about the same as that of First Baptist members, First Baptist Church of Concord has seven times more total members than West Knoxville and therefore a much greater total income.

4. Conclusions Concerning Suburban Churches

Compactness of the membership pattern is the most noteworthy characteristic of the suburban church. The three suburban churches studied have more of their members living within 2.9 miles of the church and fewer of their members living more than 5.9 miles from the church than any of the other churches sampled. These findings are in agreement with those of Daiute, Nash, and Shippey, all of whom have argued in favor of the compact membership pattern as characteristic of the suburban church. They are contrary to the findings of Pillsbury, Hinshaw and Hotchkiss who have stated that suburban churches do not have membership patterns that are any more compact than the membership patterns of churches nearer the CBD.

This thesis lends support to Shippey's claim that because different suburbs have different income levels suburban churches are characterized by diverse economic levels (Shippey, 1960, pp. 14-16). In other words suburban churches may be expected to display the characteristics of the area in which they are located. In all three suburban churches studied in this chapter, a close relation was noted between the average annual income of the sampled church members and the average annual income of the area in or near which the church is located. Also, the ministers of all

three churches have stated that young married couples are the dominant group in their church. This is characteristic of western Knox County, an area that has undergone much development in recent years.

C. Suburban-Highway Churches

1. First United Methodist Church

A large number of members who live, for the most part, a considerable distance away from the church, but yet are located in one general sector of the city, is the dominant feature of the membership pattern of First United Methodist Church. The location of the church and the residences of a fifteen percent sample of the membership are shown in Figure 19. As seen in Table 10 a smaller percentage of the sampled members live in the 0-.9 mile zone than live in any of the next five zones.

First United is one of the two churches included in this study that are located in the Kingston Pike church row. Prior to 1963, First United was situated on Clinch Avenue in downtown Knoxville. Many of the members who reside in East and South Knoxville reflect this older location. Rather than joining a new church, they continue to attend First United even though it involves a considerable amount of travel.

The membership pattern of First United differs considerably from that of the suburban and downtown churches. In contrast to the suburban churches, the membership pattern is not compact and in contrast to the two downtown churches, the membership of First United is not spread throughout the city but rather is concentrated in West Knoxville. Although both First Baptist Church and Church Street United Methodist Church also have sizeable membership concentrations in West Knoxville,

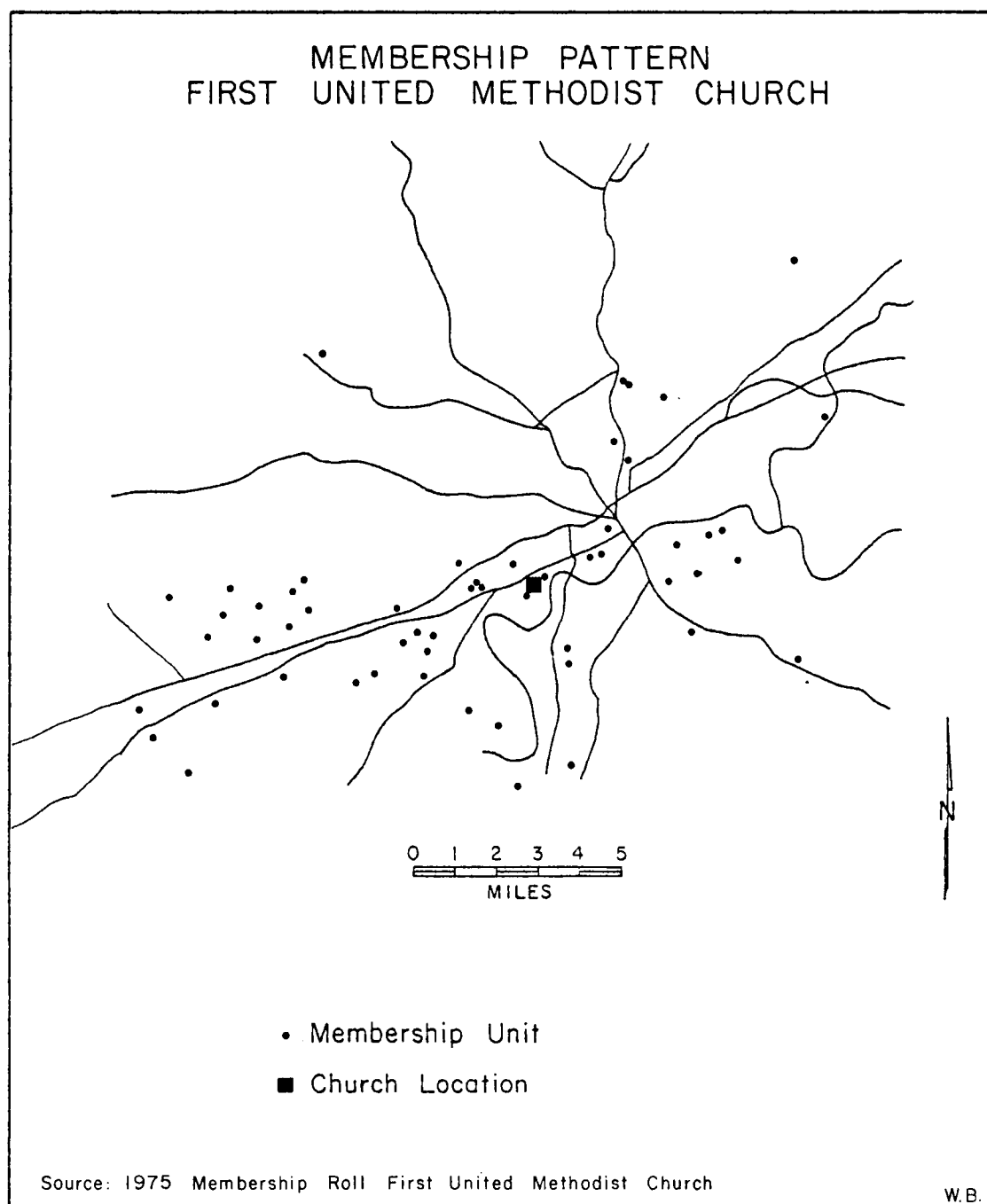


Figure 19. Membership Pattern, First United Methodist Church.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLED FIRST UNITED METHODIST CHURCH MEMBERSHIP UNITS
RESIDING IN CONCENTRIC RINGS SPACED AT ONE MILE INTERVALS
OUTWARD FROM THE CHURCH

Ring Location (in miles from the church)	% of Total Sampled Residing in Each Ring	Cumulative Percentages
0 - .9	7.1	7.1
1.0 - 1.9	10.7	17.8
2.0 - 2.9	10.7	28.5
3.0 - 3.9	17.8	46.3
4.0 - 4.9	17.8	64.1
5.0 - 5.9	10.7	74.8
6.0 - 6.9	7.1	81.9
7.0 - 7.9	8.9	90.8
8.0 +	8.9	99.7

they are not nearly as large, on a percentage basis, as that of First United. In addition to the neighborhood identity factor and the large number of blacks in East Knoxville, previously discussed, a number of other factors are also responsible for this concentration. First United is located on Kingston Pike and is thus easily accessible from West Knoxville. Prior to the reunion of the northern and southern branches of the Methodist church, First United was associated with the northern branch of the church. In recent years there has been a considerable amount of migration from the North to the South. As most of West Knoxville has developed rather recently, one would expect most of these in-migrants to be living there.

An interesting difference between the membership patterns of Church Street and First United is that while Church Street has few members in the Cedar Bluff area, this is the area where First United has its greatest concentration of members. When asked about this, Reverend Bostick of Church Street stated that the primary reason why people join a church is not because of the attraction of a particular minister but rather because they are told about the church by an acquaintance (Bostick, interview, May 1977). His hypothesis is that a few members from First United moved into the Cedar Bluff area and told others about the church who in turn told still others. Reverend Ferguson of First United supported this hypothesis when he stated that some of his most active members reside in the Cedar Bluff area (Ferguson, interview, June 1977).

When asked why a person might choose to attend First United rather than Church Street, Reverend Ferguson listed a number of reasons. He stated that people who prefer the friendliness of a small group rather

than a large crowd might be attracted to the smaller First United Church. Also, the less formal service and more modern architecture at First United were cited as other possible attractions.

With respect to the University of Tennessee, there are considerably more students in attendance at Church Street than at First United. Reverend Ferguson feels that one of the reasons for this is that until last year, First United had been paying off the debts on its new building and therefore did not have the personnel necessary to pursue a student ministry. Now that the debts on the church have been paid, First United is in the process of developing a strong student ministry. In the future the church even plans to run a bus between the University of Tennessee and the church. With a less formal service than at Church Street, which presumably would attract many young people, First United may be able to increase its student membership considerably in the future.

In terms of income distribution within the congregation, shown in Table 4 (pg. 75), the pattern for First United differs considerably from that of the downtown churches. The percentage of members in the middle income group is approximately the same as the percentage in the combined high and low income categories. This is because First United does not have a large number of members in all sections of the city and therefore does not include a cross section of all different income groups to anywhere near the extent that the downtown churches do. While there are few members in Sequoyah Hills, there are also few members in the poorer neighborhoods. Rather, most of the membership lives in the recently developed sections of West Knoxville which are largely middle income areas (\$10-15,000). This is directly reflected in the \$11,723 figure shown for First United in Table 5 (pg. 76).

2. Calvary Baptist Church

Calvary Baptist Church is another example of a church located in the Kingston Pike church row. The location of the church and the residences of a fifteen percent sample of the congregation are shown in Figure 20. Because of their suburban-highway location, Calvary Baptist Church and First United Methodist Church have many similarities. In both cases, there are few members who live very close to the church and also, there is a very high dispersal of the membership in West Knoxville. This is reflected in the middle income figure shown for Calvary Church in Table 5 (pg. 76). As is also true of First United, there are few members in either the high or low income groups.

A major difference between the two churches, however, is that while First United is only in the process of developing a student ministry, the student ministry at Calvary receives top priority. That the student ministry at Calvary is more important than at any of the other churches included in this study can be seen in Figure 20 and also in Table 11 which shows a heavy concentration of members in the 1.0 to 1.9 mile ring, the ring in which the University of Tennessee is located. This is understandable in view of the fact that prior to the move to Kingston Pike, Calvary Church was located on what is now the University of Tennessee campus. Although the church has changed its location, it continues to attract large numbers of students.

According to the church secretary, Calvary has changed from a neighborhood church to a suburban-highway church as a result of its move from the University of Tennessee area to Kingston Pike (Young, interview June 1977). Although a large number of University of Tennessee students

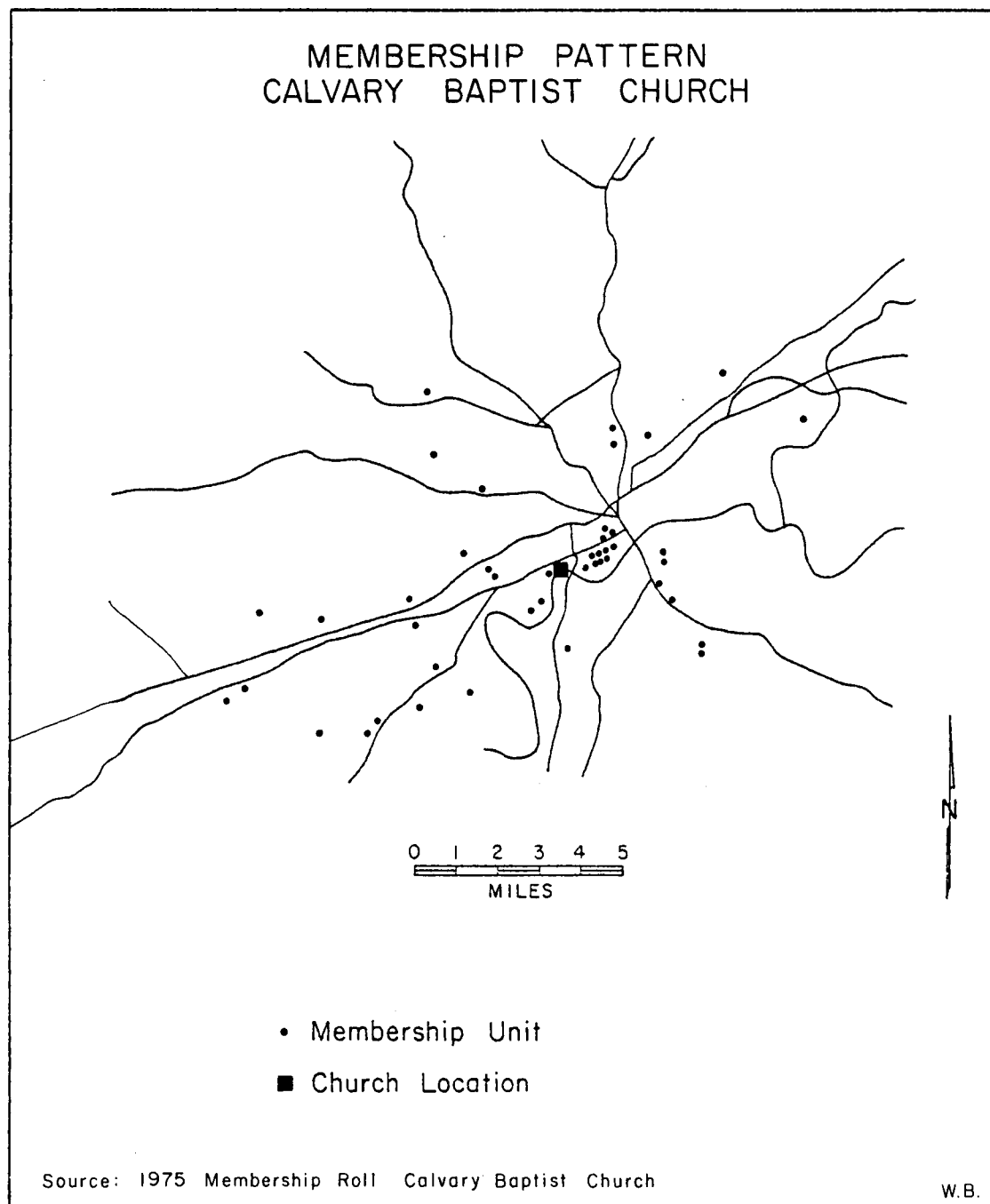


Figure 20. Membership Pattern, Calvary Baptist Church.

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLED CALVARY BAPTIST CHURCH MEMBERSHIP UNITS
RESIDING IN CONCENTRIC RINGS SPACED AT ONE MILE INTERVALS
OUTWARD FROM THE CHURCH

Ring Location (in miles from the church)	% of Total Sampled Residing in Each Ring	Cumulative Percentages
0 - .9	4.2	4.2
1.0 - 1.9	34.0	38.2
2.0 - 2.9	8.5	46.7
3.0 - 3.9	23.4	70.1
4.0 - 4.9	4.2	74.3
5.0 - 5.9	6.3	80.6
6.0 - 6.9	8.5	89.1
7.0 - 7.9	2.1	91.2
8.0 +	8.5	99.7

attended Calvary at its old location, the bulk of the congregation consisted of non-students living in the vicinity of the church. When the University of Tennessee expanded westward, approximately one hundred and fifty families were displaced and Calvary Church was forced to relocate. Apparently this resulted in the loss of a large portion of the congregation and the church compensated by intensifying its student ministry as well as by attracting large numbers of people from the rapidly growing sections of West Knoxville.

3. Conclusions Concerning Suburban-Highway Churches

The two suburban-highway churches studied in this chapter are characterized by membership patterns in which the bulk of the membership lives in a certain sector of the city. Also, there are very few worshippers who reside very close to the church. Suburban-highway churches are, as the name implies, very much oriented toward the highway. With the exception of bus service provided by Calvary Church for University of Tennessee students, both congregations studied in this chapter are entirely dependent on the automobile as a means of getting to church.

In terms of the average annual income of the sampled church members, both suburban-highway congregations are characterized by a middle income figure. This is because the majority of the members reside in West Knoxville, a predominately middle income area. Unlike the downtown churches, the suburban-highway churches do not include sizeable numbers of very affluent people on the one hand, and people on set incomes on the other hand.

Of all the church types mentioned in the literature, one identified by Sanderson comes the closest to approaching the suburban-highway church. Sanderson spoke about churches which have their congregations dispersed in one general section of the city. The church itself is located on a major artery, relatively close to the CBD (Sanderson, 1932, p. 120).

D. Neighborhood Churches

1. Euclid Avenue Baptist Church

Euclid Avenue Baptist Church is an example of a neighborhood church whose membership pattern was disrupted by the completion of an interstate highway. The location of the church and the residences of a fifteen percent sample of the congregation are shown in Figure 21. Prior to the construction of Interstate Highway 40, which today adjoins the church, almost the entire congregation resided in the immediate vicinity of the church. When the interstate was built, however, it cut through the membership pattern forcing many of the members to relocate in other parts of the city. This accounts for the large number of members shown in Figure 21 who live a considerable distance away from the church. As can be seen in Table 12, the 2.0-2.9 mile ring has the heaviest concentration of members.

According to the church secretary, many of the members who were displaced as a result of the construction of the interstate highway, continue to attend Euclid Church because of the strong ties they have there. Many are related to other people in the church and this helps keep the congregation together (Lyons, interview, June 1977).

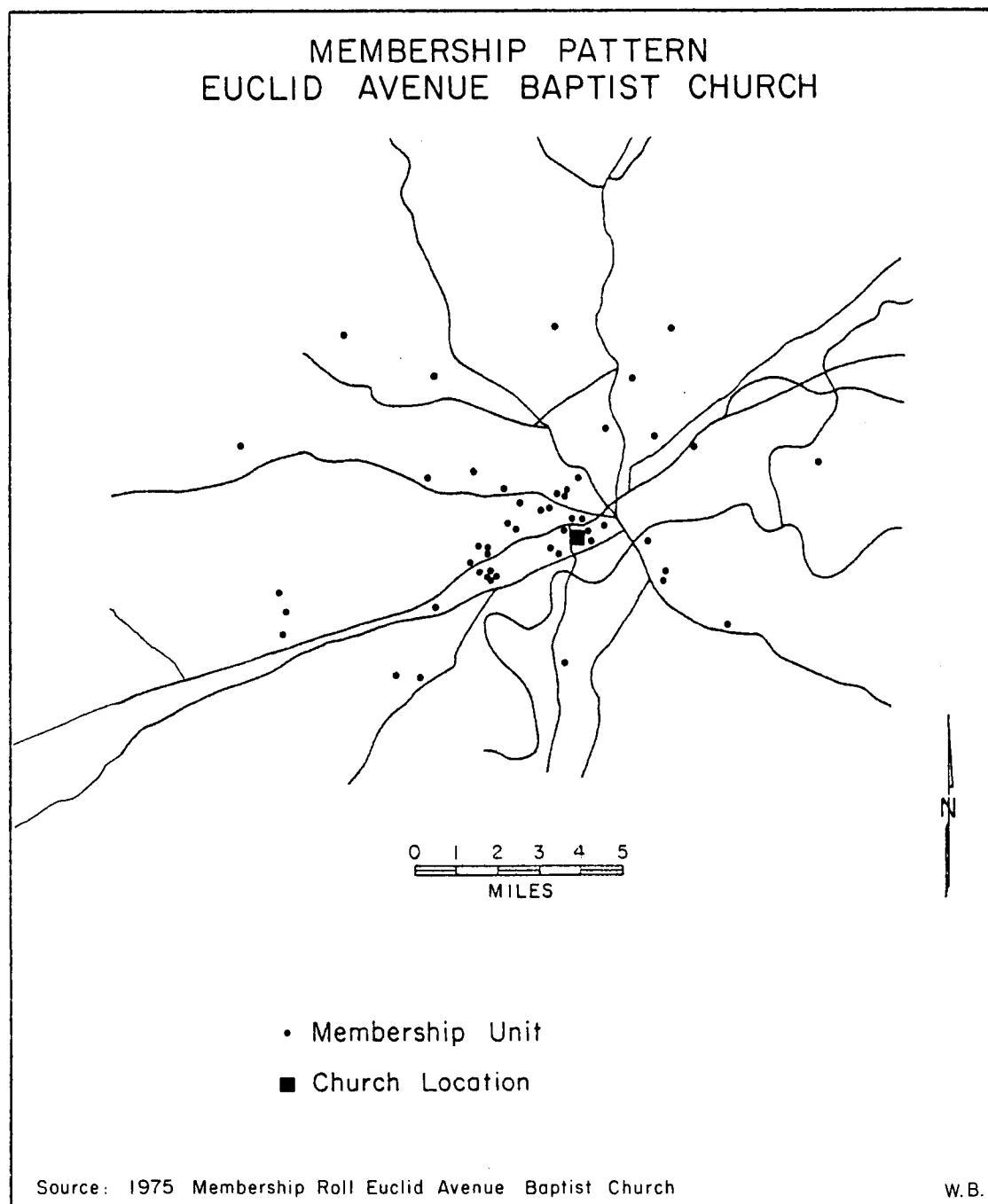


Figure 21. Membership Pattern, Euclid Avenue Baptist Church.

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLED EUCLID AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH MEMBERSHIP UNITS
RESIDING IN CONCENTRIC RINGS SPACED AT ONE MILE INTERVALS
OUTWARD FROM THE CHURCH

Ring Location (in miles from the church)	% of Total Sampled Residing in Each Ring	Cumulative Percentages
0 - .9	25.4	25.4
1.0 - 1.9	11.7	37.1
2.0 - 2.9	27.4	64.5
3.0 - 3.9	9.8	74.3
4.0 - 4.9	7.8	82.1
5.0 - 5.9	3.9	86.0
6.0 - 6.9	5.8	91.8
7.0 - 7.9	5.8	97.6
8.0 +	1.9	99.5

As seen in Table 5 (pg. 76), the average annual income of the sampled Euclid Church members is \$8,780. Table 4 (pg. 75) shows that although there are some middle income people in the church, the congregation is dominately low income. This is reflective of the poor neighborhood in which the church is located. The people who live a considerable distance away from the church are those with the higher incomes. Apparently these were the people who could afford to move to better neighborhoods when the interstate was constructed.

Of all the churches surveyed up to this point, Euclid is the only one which provides transportation for groups other than students. The church operates three buses which serve people living in the vicinity of the church. As this is a relatively poor area, many of these people probably have limited mobility and are therefore dependent on this service. Approximately 17 percent of the congregation utilizes this bus service.

2. Bell Avenue Baptist Church

In 1958 Bell Avenue Baptist Church moved from its old location on McCalla Avenue and Bertrand Street to its present Asheville Highway location. The location of the church and the residences of a 10 percent sample of the congregation are shown in Figure 22. Neighborhood deterioration and a large in-migration of blacks, accompanied by a large out-migration of whites, were the factors responsible for the 1958 move. As can be clearly seen in both Figure 22 and Table 13, there are two major clusters of members. The first cluster is situated in the immediate vicinity of the church and includes those members who left inner East Knoxville when the area changed from white to black. The second cluster

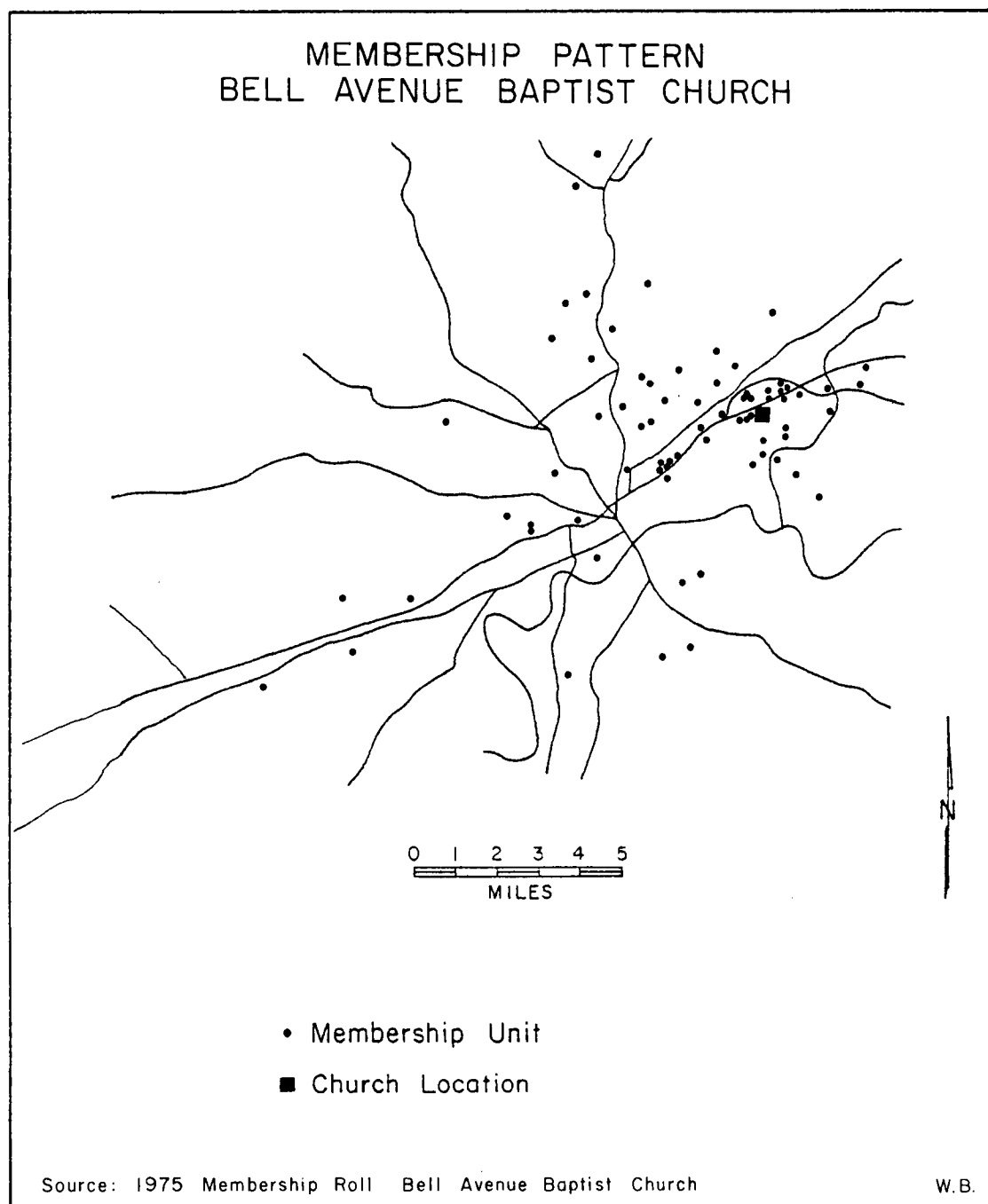


Figure 22. Membership Pattern Bell Avenue Baptist Church.

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLED BELL AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH MEMBERSHIP UNITS
RESIDING IN CONCENTRIC RINGS SPACED AT ONE MILE INTERVALS
OUTWARD FROM THE CHURCH

Ring Location (in miles from the church)	% of Total Sampled Residing in Each Ring	Cumulative Percentages
0 - .9	19.5	19.5
1.0 - 1.9	15.8	35.3
2.0 - 2.9	19.5	54.8
3.0 - 3.9	6.0	60.8
4.0 - 4.9	13.4	74.2
5.0 - 5.9	6.0	80.2
6.0 - 6.9	8.5	88.7
7.0 - 7.9	2.4	91.1
8.0 +	8.5	99.6

occurs in the vicinity of the old church location at a distance of approximately two and one half miles from the present church. It consists of old, very low income people who could not afford to leave the old neighborhood. The movement of the church, for the most part, followed the movement of the congregation. It had no major adverse effects on the church as only two families left Bell Avenue Church as a result of the location change.

Although still a neighborhood church, the membership pattern of Bell Avenue Church is very similar to one described by Shippey and Pillsbury; the multiple nucleated type membership pattern (Shippey, 1960, pp. 16-18; Pillsbury, information supplied by the author from research in progress). Both have linked this type of membership pattern with churches that have or will undergo relocation. While many members live near the new church site, others continue to reside near the old location. Also movement of the church, in most cases, occurs after a large percentage of the congregation has already moved. As all of these factors are characteristic of Bell Avenue Church, it can be viewed as a neighborhood church having a multiple nucleated type membership pattern.

As can be seen in Figure 22, there are a number of people in North, South, and West Knoxville who worship at Bell Avenue Church. These people attend the church because of family ties; they grew up in the church and although they no longer live in East Knoxville, they still come back to worship. In an interview with a minister of the church, he noted that none of these people have joined the church recently (Thomerson, interview, June 1977).

Table 13 shows a considerable percentage of members who reside at least eight miles from the church. Many of these people are children from poverty families in rural, East Knox County. In many cases, the fathers are absent and the mothers look upon the church as a way of "getting rid" of their children on Sunday morning. The children are brought to the church on four buses owned by the church. A special Sunday school class is held for these poverty children.

On the whole, the congregation of Bell Avenue Church is an elderly one with most of the members over fifty years of age. The children of these people have, for the most part, left East Knoxville and no longer worship at Bell Avenue Church. The average income of the sampled members, \$8,763, is the lowest of all churches included in this study. These facts are reflective of East Knoxville, a part of the city that has undergone a great deal of decline and out-migration in the last two decades.

3. Magnolia Avenue United Methodist Church

Magnolia Avenue United Methodist Church is another example of an East Knoxville Church whose membership pattern has changed as a result of changes in the composition of East Knoxville's neighborhoods. The location of the church and the residences of a 15 percent sample of the congregation are shown in Figure 23. Up until the late 1950's, the membership pattern of Magnolia Avenue United Methodist Church was very compact with most of the members living in close proximity to the church. Since that time, however, black in-migration has resulted in the eastward and northward movement of the majority of the congregation. As can be seen in Table 14, there are relatively large numbers of members living as far away from the church as five miles.

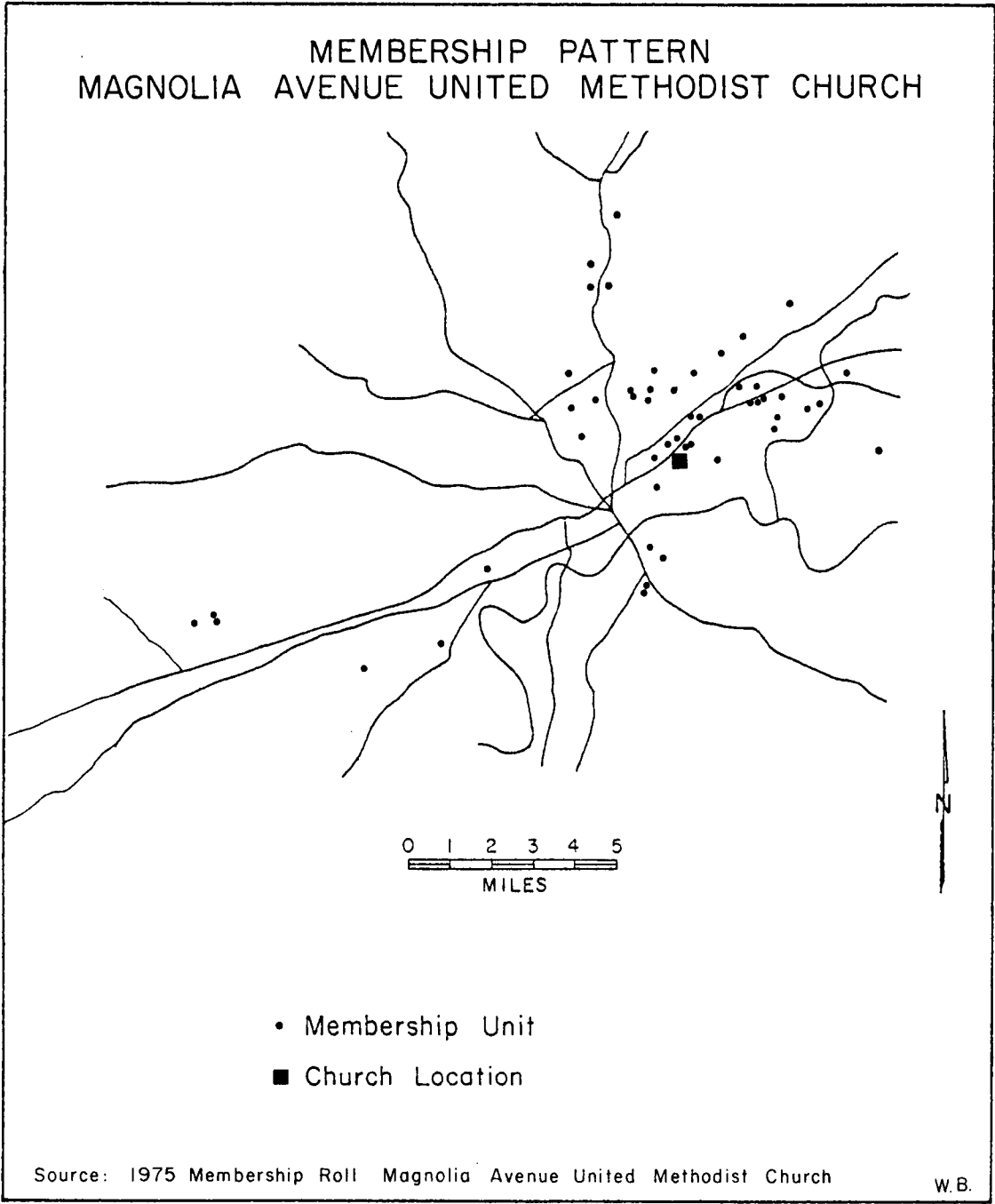


Figure 23. Membership Pattern, Magnolia Avenue United Methodist Church.

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLED MAGNOLIA AVENUE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP UNITS RESIDING IN CONCENTRIC RINGS SPACED AT ONE
MILE INTERVALS OUTWARD FROM THE CHURCH

Ring Location (in miles from the church)	% of Total Sampled Residing in Each Ring	Cumulative Percentages
0 - .9	16	16
1.0 - 1.9	22	38
2.0 - 2.9	22	60
3.0 - 3.9	12	72
4.0 - 4.9	12	84
5.0 - 5.9	4	88
6.0 - 6.9	0	88
7.0 - 7.9	4	92
8.0 +	8	100

In common with Bell Avenue Baptist Church, the congregation at Magnolia Avenue Church is a senior one. In an interview, the pastor, Reverend George Armbrister, explained that the trend is toward an increasingly older membership. Because of the changes that have taken place in the racial composition of East Knoxville in the last two decades, the church is not getting young adults and children into the congregation. Young people are simply not moving into the East Knoxville area. As a result, the membership of the church is declining; many members are lost through either death or transfer. In the opinion of Pastor Armbrister, the problems that face his church, decreasing membership, an increasingly older congregation and little room for expansion, are problems common to most all the white churches in East Knoxville (Armbrister, interview, March 1978).

Another similarity between Bell Avenue and Magnolia Avenue Churches is that, in both cases, the average income of the sampled church members is low. The average annual income of the sampled Magnolia Avenue Church members is \$9,665. As in the case of Bell Avenue, this low figure reflects the depressed conditions present in East Knoxville.

A difference between Bell Avenue and Magnolia Avenue Churches is that, while both churches have been adversely effected by the community changes which have taken place in East Knoxville, Bell Avenue has relocated while Magnolia Avenue has not. An explanation for this is that while Magnolia Avenue Church is located relatively close to a large black neighborhood, the church itself is situated in an area that is still dominately white. The street on which Bell Avenue Church was formerly located, however, forms the border of a census tract which is almost entirely black.

It is doubtful that the position of the white churches in East Knoxville will improve considerably in the future. On the one hand, the churches have been losing members through transfer and death and, on the other hand, they have not been able to attract blacks into their congregations. Seven years ago there was a proposal to merge the white Magnolia Avenue United Methodist Church with the black Lennon-Seney United Methodist Church. The proposal was put to a vote and both congregations voted against merger. In conclusion, it can be stated that unless the white churches of East Knoxville are able to attract sizeable numbers of blacks into their congregations, something they have not been able to do to date, it is not difficult to foresee a day when they will no longer be able to sustain the membership losses they have been incurring.

4. Conclusions Concerning Neighborhood Churches

The three neighborhood churches studied in this thesis are characterized by membership patterns which, while not nearly as dispersed as the membership patterns of either the downtown or suburban-highway churches, are considerably more dispersed than the membership patterns of the suburban churches. In the past this was not the case. Because of the high population densities present in the inner city, these three neighborhood churches were formerly distinguished by very compact membership patterns. Changes in the composition of Knoxville's inner city neighborhoods and the construction of the interstate highway system, however, have since forced many of their members to relocate and as a result, their membership patterns are not nearly as compact as they once were.

The average incomes of the sampled neighborhood church members are low; as can be seen in Table 5 (pg. 76), they are below ten thousand dollars in all three cases. Again, this is because they reflect the depressed conditions present in Knoxville's inner city neighborhoods. With the single exception of the Sequoyah Hills area, one must travel a distance of at least three miles from the Knoxville CBD in order to reach a census tract in which the mean family income is at least ten thousand dollars.

A significant difference exists between the three neighborhood churches described in this thesis and those identified in the literature. Sanderson found that at least 50 percent of the members of neighborhood churches lived within one half mile of the church and according to Leiffler approximately half of the neighborhood church members resided within walking distance of the church (Sanderson, 1932, p. 126; Leiffler, 1961, p. 64). In the case of all three neighborhood churches in Knoxville examined in this thesis, the percentage of sampled members who live either within walking distance of the church or within one half mile of the church is much lower than 50 percent.

A number of factors can be used to account for the differences between the findings of this study and those of Sanderson and Leiffler. Perhaps most important is the fact that within the last few decades many inner city neighborhoods have undergone tremendous amounts of decay and resultant out-migration. As a result, the membership patterns of many neighborhood churches are not nearly as compact as they once were. Also, mobility rates are much higher today than they were in either 1932 or 1961 and although, as stated in Chapter II, there are still

large numbers of neighborhood churches, especially in the very low income areas, in which the majority of the congregation walks to church, still, such churches are not as numerous today as they once were. As both the Sanderson and Leiffler studies were undertaken at a time when there was much greater stability within the inner city and a lower rate of automobile ownership, it is to be expected that they found neighborhood churches characterized by membership patterns that were more compact than those described in the present study.

E. Churches Based on Areal Communities Versus Churches Based on Functional Communities

As noted in Chapter I, a dominant theme in the literature of church location in recent years has been the change from churches based on areal communities to churches based on functional communities. According to the literature, churches now attract worshippers on the basis of socioeconomic status, type of doctrine and racial identity rather than on the basis of the geographical area in which the church is located, as was formerly the case. To a large extent this is true of Knoxville's churches.

Examination of Table 4 (pg. 75) indicates that all eight of the non-downtown churches are quite homogeneous in terms of the average income of the sampled members. None of the eight churches includes large numbers of both low and high income people. Although there is considerable mixing of well-to-do and low income people in the downtown congregation, downtown churches, are nevertheless, associational to a large extent in that they attract large numbers of upper income people

because of their position as prestige churches. Also in interviews with the ministers of the churches, as well as through some personal observations, it was learned that the churches of Knoxville are still largely racially segregated institutions. All of these facts lend support to the idea that people join a church partly because they want to associate with people similar to themselves and thus, the associational church.

According to Hotchkiss, a membership pattern exhibits a geographical identity only when one or more factors, such as socioeconomic status or racial identity, are restricted to a specific area (Hotchkiss, 1950, p. 34). In other words, when the areal and associational communities become one and the same. The West Knoxville Baptist Church is an example of this. The large majority of the congregation lives in a relatively well defined geographical area, the Crestwood Hills subdivision. However, this is only because the people within Crestwood Hills have a great deal in common in terms of socioeconomic characteristics. In the case of First Baptist Church, the areal and associational communities are not the same. As previously stated, the church attracts members from well-to-do communities throughout the city rather than from one neatly defined geographical area.

F. Classification of Knoxville Churches

1. Problems with Existing Classifications

In terms of applicability to Knoxville, it is felt that shortcomings exist in all seven city church classifications described in Chapter I.

Three of the classifications were developed over forty years ago and are deficient in that they cannot take into account significant changes which have occurred between the time they were developed and the present (Douglass, 1926, Sanderson, 1932; Chapin, 1935). Greater mobility due to higher incomes and increased automobile ownership rates, as well as drastic changes in the composition of most inner city neighborhoods are two such changes. Writing in 1935, Chapin described a very compact membership pattern in which at least 90 percent of the congregation lives within one mile of the church (Chapin, 1935, p. 364). Although such a membership pattern may have been common in Chapin's time, when the rate of mobility was much lower than today, one would be hard pressed to find a considerable number of such compact membership patterns today.

Two additional classifications are rejected for use in Knoxville as they are either too simplistic or too detailed. In his classification of city churches, Shippey describes seventeen different church types (Shippey, 1960, pp. 8-19). Such a classification is overly detailed in that it borders on calling each individual church a unique type and does not do enough in the way of generalization. Also, many of the types developed by Shippey are not found at all among the churches of Knoxville, such as churches for the handicapped, foreign language churches, bilingual background churches and federation churches. Stein, on the other hand, has developed a classification which is too simplistic in that it recognizes only two church types; the city wide church and the neighborhood church (Stein, 1968, p. 9-17). Some important distinctions which need to be made, such as between the downtown church

and the suburban-highway church, are not provided for in Stein's classification.

The problem with Leiffler's 1961 classification of city churches is that it is based on only one factor, the type of area in which the church is located (Leiffler, 1961, pp. 63-123). Were this classification to be used in Knoxville, many suburban-highway churches would come under the category of churches that are located in stable communities. According to Leiffler, this kind of church is characterized by a membership pattern in which approximately one half of the members live within walking distance of the church. As previously shown in this chapter, this is not at all characteristic of Knoxville's suburban-highway churches, hence the danger inherent in using the area in which the church is located as the only basis for classification.

The shortcomings of Pillsbury's classification are that he does not fully explain his types and his description of the suburban church is exactly opposite that found in Knoxville (Pillsbury, information supplied by the author from research in progress). In terms of the first criticism, the only example of a church with a clustered membership pattern given by Pillsbury was of a church clustered between a university and a warehousing district. One wonders if Pillsbury recognizes any other cases in which churches may be expected to display clustered membership patterns. In terms of the second criticism, Pillsbury describes the suburban church as characterized by a dispersed congregation. Of the ten Knoxville churches studied in depth, however, it was found that of all types, suburban churches have one of the most compact membership patterns.

2. A New Classification of Churches

On the basis of the preceding material a system of classification of Knoxville's churches can be developed. Location of the church and residential pattern of the congregation are the two factors on which this classification is based. Four major church types are recognized: the downtown church, the suburban-highway church, the neighborhood church and the suburban church. In addition, two subtypes of the neighborhood church are provided for; the traditional neighborhood church and the modified neighborhood church. As most of these types have already been elaborated upon in considerable detail, only a short summary will be given here.

The downtown church is located in the central business district and has a congregation spread throughout the city. While the downtown church attracts many well-to-do people because of its position as a prestige church, it also includes large numbers of people on fixed incomes. Church Street United Methodist Church and First Baptist Church are examples of downtown churches.

The suburban-highway church is located on a major artery outside the downtown area. It is characterized by a membership pattern in which the majority of members live in one general section of the city. There is a correspondence between the average income of the church members and the average income of the area in which the majority of the members live. Calvary Baptist Church and First United Methodist Church are examples of suburban-highway churches.

The traditional neighborhood church is located in a relatively stable inner city neighborhood and is characterized by a compact

membership pattern. Population densities in the inner city are high and most of the members live in close proximity to the church. While this thesis has not examined any individual church of this subtype in depth, the fact that there are such dense church concentrations in many inner city Knoxville neighborhoods attest to the existence of this type.

The modified neighborhood church differs from the traditional neighborhood church in that it is characterized by a less compact membership pattern. In all cases of this subtype, some kind of disruptive force, such as changes in the racial composition of a neighborhood or the construction of an interstate highway system, has caused members to relocate and hence the membership pattern is no longer as compact as it once was. Magnolia Avenue United Methodist Church, Euclid Avenue Baptist Church and Bell Avenue Baptist Church are examples of modified neighborhood churches.

The suburban church is located in an outlying area and is characterized by a compact membership pattern, although not as compact as the membership pattern which characterizes the traditional neighborhood church as suburban population densities are lower. In terms of congregational makeup, the people who attend the suburban church are usually very similar, in terms of socioeconomic position, to the people who live in the immediate vicinity of the church or in an area relatively close to the church. West Knoxville Baptist Church, Middlebrook Pike United Methodist Church and First Baptist Church of Concord are examples of suburban churches.

In conclusion one can think of these five church types as arranged on a continuum from perfect dispersion to perfect compactness. The

downtown church is nearest the perfectly dispersed end of the continuum. Following it, in increasing order of compactness, are the suburban-highway church, the modified neighborhood church, the suburban church and the traditional neighborhood church.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

A. Conclusions

A classification of Knoxville churches based on two factors, location of the church and residential pattern of the congregation, has been developed. Four major church types have been identified as existing in Knoxville; the downtown church, the suburban-highway church, the neighborhood church and the suburban church. Two subtypes of the neighborhood church are the traditional neighborhood church and the modified neighborhood church. The downtown church is located in the central business district and has the most dispersed membership pattern with a congregation spread throughout the city. The suburban-highway church is located on a major highway outside the downtown area and is characterized by a membership pattern in which the majority of members live in one general section of the city. The modified neighborhood church differs from the traditional type in that the membership pattern is less compact; some type of disruptive force has caused members to relocate and hence the more dispersed membership pattern. The suburban church is located in a suburban type area and is characterized by a compact membership pattern. The traditional neighborhood church is located in a relatively stable inner city neighborhood and exhibits the most compact membership pattern.

The hypothesis that churches attract their members on the basis of socioeconomic status, type of doctrine and racial identity rather than geographical area has been confirmed through the study of membership patterns. With the exception of the two downtown churches, all of the churches studied in this section are quite homogeneous in terms of the average income of the sampled members. Although the downtown churches mix different income groups they can still be considered as associational churches because they attract large numbers of high income people due to their position as prestige churches. Only when a specific factor, such as racial identity or socioeconomic status, is restricted to a specific area does a membership pattern exhibit a geographical identity. The West Knoxville Baptist Church is such an example.

The results of this study lend general support to the findings of Hotchkiss in Cincinnati. In both Cincinnati and Knoxville the major Protestant denominations locate their churches on a neighborhood basis. In both cities the smaller denominations, which have a membership spread throughout the city, tended to locate churches along the major transportation arteries. Black churches, in both Cincinnati and Knoxville, were found to be situated in areas with a dense black population.

The most important characteristic of the Baptist church pattern is the close spacing between churches. A number of factors are responsible for this. The Baptist church has more than four times as many followers in Knox County than any other religious group and therefore has more churches. Most new Baptist churches are established as a result of a split in an already existing church as there is no strong central

organization in the denomination. Often the new church will be located very close to the church from which it split because both congregations live in the same area. Finally, there are a number of different groups all calling themselves Baptists, such as Missionary Baptists, Free Will Baptists, Southern Baptists, Primitive Baptists, etc. Very often a church of one group will be located in close proximity to the church of another group. The two churches are not in competition with each other; they are simply providing a service to different segments of the community.

In contrast to the Baptist pattern, the Methodist and Presbyterian churches are characterized by considerably wider spacing of churches. In both the Methodist and Presbyterian churches there is a central authority having jurisdiction over local churches which is not found in the Baptist church. If a problem arises within a church, someone who has authority over the local church will intervene and settle the matter; one group will not break away and start its own church as would be the case with the Baptists. Also, although there are a number of Methodist and Presbyterian groups, they are not nearly as numerous as the various Baptist groups. Finally there are far fewer Methodists and Presbyterians in Knox County than there are Baptists and thus less of a chance that two churches will be located in close proximity to each other.

In comparing the downtown churches of Knoxville with those in other cities a number of conclusions may be drawn. The decline in the number of downtown churches in Knoxville is not nearly as bad as that found by Wicklein in Boston (Wicklein, 1959, p. 1). Four very viable white Protestant churches in the Knoxville CBD have successfully adapted to the modern downtown environment. Because of the city wide parishes of

these churches and because they have space for facilities and parking, they are able to survive in an area from which they draw relatively few of their members. One cannot ignore the fact that the number of churches in the Knoxville CBD has declined from seventeen to seven between 1950 and the present. This is contrary to the findings of Hart and Myers who found little decline in the downtown churches of Kalamazoo and Seattle during this same period. For a number of reasons - inadequate facilities, lack of adequate parking, the westward movement of Knoxville's population, urban renewal in the Mountain View area and government take over of certain parcels of CBD land on which churches were situated - ten churches that were formerly located in the Knoxville CBD have found it necessary to either close or relocate. In relaying to the author a conversation he had with an eminent church planner who surveyed the downtown churches of Knoxville, Reverend John L. Davis of First Presbyterian Church stated that compared with other cities Knoxville is unusual in that it still has five very strong downtown churches. Accompanying the decline in the number of downtown churches has been an increase in the number of suburban churches. This finding is in agreement with those of Daiute, Hart, and Myers who also found extensive church building characteristic of post war suburbia.

The results of this study confirm the findings of studies which reported a dispersed membership pattern as characteristic of the downtown church, but do not agree with the majority opinion on the composition of the membership. The downtown churches of Knoxville include people from a wide range of income groups in contrast to the upper and middle, or upper-middle classes reported by other studies. Apparently the

leaders of Knoxville's downtown churches have recognized their responsibility to serve the entire community to a much greater extent than have downtown ministers in other cities.

In terms of the membership pattern associated with the suburban church the results of this study support those of Daiute, Nash, and Shippey who have stated that the suburban church has a compact membership pattern. They are not in agreement with those of Pillsbury, Hinshaw and Hotchkiss who have stated that suburban churches are not characterized by an especially compact membership pattern.

The hypothesized relationship between low income areas and a large number of small, closely spaced churches has been confirmed in this study. Spearmans Rank Correlation Coefficient showed that as the average income per census tract increased, the number of churches decreased. The hypothesis that most low income area churches tend to be rather small in size was verified through field observation. Low mobility rates in low income areas, which limits the distance worshippers are able to travel to church, is responsible for the close spacing of churches. In these areas people also lack the financial resources to engage in many other activities.

The displacement of regular Protestant denominations from the central city and their replacement by black and sectarian groups has been of only limited significance in Knoxville. These groups were well established in inner city Knoxville by 1950, and there has been little displacement since that time. An important exception is the East Knoxville area which in 1950 was dominated by mainline Protestant groups but has since seen the establishment of many black churches

as blacks moved east into East Knoxville from the Mountain View area.

Based on the average income of the census tract in which the church is located, the average income of the members of a Presbyterian church in Knoxville is \$10,425; of a Methodist church, \$8,128; and a Baptist church, \$8,029. These results support the idea that the Presbyterian church is the church commonly associated with the upper classes but cast doubt on the view that Methodists are generally drawn from a higher income group than are Baptists.

The results of the study of membership patterns do not support the hypothesis that Methodists tend to be more affluent than Baptists. If one compares the average incomes of the sampled church members, shown in Table 5 (pg. 76), for churches with similar types of locations it will be noted that while the Methodists may have a higher income than the Baptists in one category, the Baptists are just as likely to have a higher income than the Methodists in the next category. For example in the downtown category, the figure for Church Street United Methodist is higher than the figure for First Baptist but in the suburban-highway category, on the other hand, the figure for Calvary Baptist is higher than the figure for First United Methodist. In none of the categories are the differences between Baptists and Methodists very great.

B. Shortcomings of the Present Study

One of the shortcomings of the present study is that it does not present a precisely accurate description of the current religious patterns in the city of Knoxville. With respect to church locations the information

used in this thesis was obtained from the 1975 Knoxville City Directory and is therefore already a few years out of date. This also holds true for the various church directories which were used in plotting the membership patterns of the ten churches examined in Chapter IV. One can therefore expect some variation between the religious patterns analyzed in this study and those which actually exist as of today. This should not detract from the value of the study, however, as its major purpose was to examine the overall geographic relationships present in Knoxville's religious landscape which have not changed greatly over the past few years, rather than to present an encyclopedic listing of current church locations. Because the religious landscape in the city is constantly undergoing change such a task, in the hands of one person, would be a full time occupation leaving little, if any, time for analysis.

Another problem in this thesis concerns the way in which the average income of the church members was derived. This information was obtained by looking at the mean income of the census tracts in which the worshippers reside. This method assumes that the average incomes of the sampled churchgoers and the average incomes of the census tracts in which they live are one and the same. Also, the census tract figures used in this study are from 1970 and are therefore a number of years out of date. Had more time been available and had the author had permission to personally interview members of the various congregations studied, more precise information could have been gathered. In terms of the financial and time constraints the author was under, however, it is felt that the most practicable method possible was used.

The section of the thesis dealing with churches in low income areas is another part of the study in which more precision would have been desirable. As already noted, the relationship between small churches and areas with low average incomes was based largely on personal observations. Had congregational membership totals been available, this relationship could have been measured with more precision. Such figures, however, are not available in any printed source, and also, would have been almost impossible to obtain from the individual churches. Small churches, as a general rule, do not have their own secretary and are therefore very difficult to contact.

Another problem encountered in this thesis is one inherent in almost any historical type study. It concerns the reasons behind the relocation of many downtown churches which took place in the late nineteen fifties and early and mid sixties. It was often difficult to locate people who were personally involved in the relocation process and secondary sources of information had to be relied upon. Probably there were additional reasons behind the decision to relocate which have not been brought to light in the present study. Based upon a comparison of interviews conducted with officials of the relocated churches, however, it is felt that the most important reasons behind the exodus out of the downtown have been discussed.

C. Directions for Future Research

There are a number of lines along which future research in urban religious geography needs to be undertaken both in Knoxville and in other areas. This thesis has examined only two time periods, 1950 and

1975. The study of additional time periods would help to answer questions which the present study has left unanswered. It was noted that there has been a great increase in the number of suburban churches since 1950. Still unknown, however, is the exact period in which most of this growth occurred. Could it be that most of it took place in the fifties and sixties and has since leveled off due to a decline in the birth rate and new housing construction? The study of additional time periods could help to explain whether or not the church building boom has come to a halt.

This study, because of time and financial constraints, has examined only membership patterns of Baptist and Methodist churches. Additional information could be learned through the study of membership patterns of additional denominations. For example, Hotchkiss discovered that the majority of Cincinnati's Jews were concentrated in one sector of the city (Hotchkiss, 1950, pp. 33-34). Could a similar statement be made concerning the location of Knoxville's Jewish population? In the case of Knoxville's downtown Baptist and Methodist churches there is a considerable mixing of different income groups. To what extent does this mixing also characterize the downtown Presbyterian and Episcopal churches? Sociologists who have looked at the socioeconomic position of members of different religious groups have usually placed the Episcopalians and Presbyterians at the top of the ladder so perhaps there are not as many low income people attending Saint Johns Episcopal and First Presbyterian as attend First Baptist and Church Street United Methodist.

The present study has only touched on the subject of "church splitting" as an important reason for the close spacing of Knoxville's

Baptist churches. The field for future research is wide open and many questions need to be answered. Do people who break away from established churches tend to be at the lower end of the congregation in terms of income? Do they tend to reside in any geographically definable areas? Is church splitting more frequent in certain areas of the city and less frequent in other areas? Is church splitting encouraged as a means of establishing new churches? How long does it usually take for a splinter group to acquire the financial resources for the purchase or construction of a new church?

In the past many studies have stated that the Methodist church is usually associated with a higher socioeconomic group than the Baptist church. The present study, however, has not shown significant differences in income between Methodist and Baptist congregations. Is Knoxville an exception to the general rule and if so, why? Or, on the other hand, could it be that by becoming the largest protestant religious body in the United States, the Southern Baptist Convention has succeeded in broadening its appeal?

There is a great need for studies similar to the present one to be undertaken in other parts of the Southeast and other parts of the country. In no case is the religious composition of any two cities in the United States exactly the same. Given a certain religious composition, what patterns can we expect to find on the religious landscape? In 1950 Hotchkiss explained many of Cincinnati's religious patterns in terms of the religious composition of the city and the present study has attempted to do the same thing in Knoxville, but these are only two studies

separated by twenty-eight years. What types of patterns can we expect to find in Southern cities which have a large black population, such as Memphis and Birmingham? What about religious patterns in the Lutheran dominated upper Great Plains, in the Mormon culture region? How does the Catholic Northeast compare with the Catholic Southwest?

In an even broader context how do religious patterns in the United States compare with those in other parts of the world? It has been observed that inner city decline is, to a large extent, uniquely an American phenomenon. Does this mean that the exodus of churches out of the downtown area, so common in the United States, is not a problem in other parts of the world? Also in no part of the world are people so dependent on the automobile as they are in the United States. Is the great proliferation of suburban churches that we have seen since the close of World War II a uniquely American phenomenon? As the above examples have illustrated, the opportunities for future research in urban religious geography are wide open.

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