

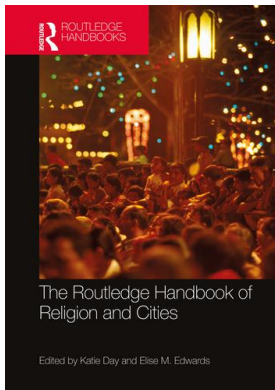
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8

RELIGION, CULTURE, AND URBAN SPACE

Chicago and American religious history beyond 1893

Isaiah Ellis

When the French missionary Jacques Marquette first ventured into the region later known as the State of Illinois in the early 1670s, the Illinouiek (Illinois) people offered him a ceremonial welcome. This encounter was not an invitation to conquest, but rather a moment of contact showcasing Illinois territorial dominance and it was fraught with religious and political implications. It was unthinkable at that time that a viable Anglophone commercial metropolis might emerge anywhere near that meeting point. Yet works such as Donald L. Miller's *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America* place Marquette's story at the beginning of a tale of American imperial expansion and capitalism culminating in just such a metropolis. Marquette, in particular, has served as the "perfect founding hero for a city at times anxious to prove that it was devoted to more than money and merchandising."¹ This enduring narrative has made it nearly impossible to write a profane history of Chicago; the "thrilling tale[s] of origins and adventure" that begin the story often transform mundane historical chapters into verses comprising "a Chicago Aeneid."²

Chicago's narrators still struggle to reconcile the mean and the meaningful, commerce and high culture, and vice and religion. This bivalent way of seeing the city has fundamentally shaped its popular imagining, including in Erik Larson's famous work of nonfiction, *Devil in the White City*. The book places Chicago's ultimate spectacle, the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, and its first known serial murderer, H.H. Holmes, side by side as an example of the blurred lines between urban allure and urban danger, "the White City and the Black."³ The Chicago it presents is a theater of lustrous facades concealing lurking murderers.

Chicago's prominent place in the American imagination forces us to consider not only the staggering breadth of religious and cultural phenomena it and other large metropolises have hosted, but also how cities themselves can become the holy objects of history, gloriously created yet needing redemption, fraught with moral meaning yet dogged by the specter of sin. This essay suggests that the story of American religion and American urbanism intersected formatively in Chicago in ways sometimes concealed and oversimplified by the glow of the Exposition and the black-and-white reading toward which that spectacle often points. Consequently, this essay goes "beyond" 1893 by drawing historical threads around and through that moment. Without

claiming to cover Chicago's history comprehensively, this essay highlights moments in that history that reveal the complex entanglements of urban fabrics and the lives lived within them.

The Portage: A fragment in space and time

The myth of Chicago's origins often fails adequately to describe the forces at multiple scales that shaped its regional landscape. Marquette arrived in a landscape still settling out in the aftermath of the Mississippian metropolis of Cahokia, whose emptying 500 years prior had left a massive, "vacant corridor" in the heart of the North American continent, filled first by Siouan-speaking groups from the west, and then by the Illinois, who submitted other regional tribes militarily and then economically, by controlling trade in furs, captives, and other goods.⁴ In the face of these large-scale forces, it is ironic that the region's history would later turn on a discrete and relatively small fragment of this territory: a muddy, six-mile land crossing between the Chicago and Des Plaines Rivers, later known as the Chicago portage, that afforded boat traffic a passage from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River and thus the means to connect the Atlantic with the continent's interior.

To Indigenous, French, and American actors alike, the portage spoke a universal language of economic mobility and political power. The portage constituted the stakes of the 1795 Greenville Treaty, which saw the Potawatomi—newly empowered in the region after defeating the Illinois in collaboration with the French—cede a "six miles square" plot of land at the mouth of the Chicago River to the recently arrived Americans. Potawatomi hegemony over the shores of Lake Michigan did not survive the succession of treaties that followed the Greenville Treaty, although early non-Indigenous settlers continued to feel their presence in important ways. By the 1780s, citizens of the new American nation had begun pouring westward into and through the Ohio River Valley. There, a Confederacy of Potawatomi, Huron, Shawnee, Miami, and Odawa halted their progress through military actions that persisted into the 1790s. Stretched thin first by these conflicts and then the treaties, by the Autumn of 1833, the Potawatomi had ceded the last of their land abutting the portage, and were removed north of what would become the incorporated town of Chicago in 1837. Though some went as far as present-day Wisconsin, most Potawatomi remained close.⁵

A Francophone, Afro-Caribbean man named Jean-Baptiste Point du Sable is rumored to have been the first non-Indigenous settler in the vicinity of the portage, representing for some historians the "mixed blood" that would make Chicago a great "conglomeration of races and breeds."⁶ He purchased some land and set up a trading post with a Potawatomi woman around 1790, which he sold ten years later to a Métis trader, who was later supplanted by merchant John Kinzie, Chicago's *Ur* white settler.⁷ Kinzie fled when a band of Potawatomi burned the nearby Fort Dearborn in August 1812, returning a few years later to find small trading posts like his being swallowed up by the much larger operations fueling the early speculative economy that preceded Chicago's incorporation. In the following decades, Kinzie's family and other settlers would seize the opportunities the ongoing treaty negotiations presented to claim damages from the Potawatomi for their 1812 actions, in the process beginning to craft the colonial history of the area as the balance of regional power shifted in their favor.⁸

Neither Kinzie nor Point du Sable was born in Chicago, nor had Chicago been founded when they lived there. Neither transcended the Indigenous histories of the region, as early Chicagoans are sometimes thought to have done, and neither has escaped the narrative demands of historical memory, which has firmly rooted them, along with Jacques Marquette, in the mythological landscape of Chicago's founding. Chicago's Museum of African-American history and a prominent downtown monument each bear Point du Sable's name, while Kinzie's name

serves to brand real estate companies, schools, and venture capital firms. The prodigal settlers Kinzie and Point du Sable, respectively, have come to represent sanctified speculation, capitalist hegemony, and the play of difference in that complex spatial web. They serve as stand-ins for a complicated urban history often delineated in black and white.

The “Daemon” of innovation: Speculation, migration, and the urban

In the early- and mid-nineteenth century, the United States’ most intense concentrations of Anglo-American religious enthusiasms moved off the Eastern Seaboard in tandem with settlers colonizing the Western Reserve, Ohio River Valley, and other territories lying between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River.⁹ Cities in the continental interior mattered a great deal throughout this period as sites fueling economic accumulation and religious experimentation.¹⁰ Chicago’s population ballooned from around 5,000 residents in 1840 to nearly 300,000 in 1870, serving not only as a venue for industry but, also, and in step with its economic transformations, as a hub for religious communities, both well-established and emergent.¹¹ Yet it hardly looked the part. As late as the 1870s, Chicago’s urban environment was as disgusting as it was bustling. Its streets were mostly unpaved at that time, and innovative engineers wielding cutting-edge hydraulic jacks were sometimes all that kept its larger structures standing atop the thick, swampy mud of the portage. Though physically an impediment to orderly movement, the muddy streets and slapdash built environment also signaled metaphorically and experientially a lack of fixity that, according to historian of Judaism, Tobias Brinkmann, left the city “well suited for a religious experiment.”¹² Between 1833 and 1893, newcomers would shape the city by experimenting with religious, social, and architectural forms, marking the presence of what early Chicago historians Lloyd Lewis and Henry Justin Smith have called Chicago’s “Daemon,” the spirit inhering in its very identity as a place: “Innovation.”¹³

The 1850s saw the early emergence of what historians St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton call the “black metropolis,” which began as a smaller “black belt” operating as a “city of refuge” during enslavement. Numbering only several hundred permanent residents, black Chicago’s homes and churches often swelled with fugitive bodies heading north. By the 1850s, churches such as Quinn Chapel AME and Xenia (now Olivet) Baptist Church made Chicago one of the most important points of transit for the underground railroad outside of the east coast “metropolitan corridor.”¹⁴ The nationwide growth of cities during this period did not free black Americans from the effects of racism, but cities did provide venues for political organizing, gainful labor, and “community consciousness.” In nineteenth-century Chicago those venues, that community, and that consciousness proved exceptionally strong.¹⁵

Another “metropolis” was emerging on the margins of the white and the black metropolises. Prussian Jews, some of them fleeing a failed 1848 revolution, flocked to North America by the hundreds of thousands.¹⁶ While many stayed in the eastern cities where they had landed, others took advantage of new canal, rail, and road networks, making their way to such places as St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Chicago. Marcus Spiegel, one such migrant, arrived in Chicago in 1850.¹⁷ He peddled various goods in Chicago and around rural Ohio before settling down with Caroline Hamlin, a Virginian Quaker. Some of Spiegel’s kin ascended in Chicago’s emerging banking and garment sectors. Another of his kin, Bernard Felsenthal, became the first rabbi of the controversial Sinai congregation, founded in 1861.¹⁸ The Spiegels returned to Chicago, where they helped found a Hebrew Benevolent Society, and campaigned for Stephen Douglas in the presidential election of 1860.¹⁹ When the War came, Marcus enlisted for the Union, rising to the rank of Colonel.

Organizations such as Hebrew Benevolent Societies, which ministered to and helped assimilate newly arrived Jewish migrants, were one piece of a much larger landscape of Chicago Jewish philanthropy and cultural work that remained connected to Jewish congregational life well into the twentieth century. Prominent members of the Sinai congregation such as Julius Rosenwald (1862–1932), part owner of Sears, Roebuck, and Co., and Harry Hart, founder in 1887 of a menswear manufacturing empire, boasted particularly large philanthropic endeavors whose reach extended across the United States.²⁰ Philanthropy also provided avenues for elite Jewish women such as Sarah L. Hart, wife of Harry Hart, to involve themselves in congregational and civic life.²¹ Hebrew Benevolent Societies, along with Chicago's early congregations, including Sinai and the even older Kehilath Anshe Ma'ariv (KAM; est. 1847) would shape Chicago's landscape of the dead as well as of the living, maintaining their own cemeteries into the twenty-first century.

Another Civil War soldier from the Jewish metropolis is worth mentioning in this context: Dankmar Adler (1844–1900). Adler had arrived in Chicago in 1861 alongside his father, Liebman, who later became head rabbi of KAM.²² Dankmar served in the Illinois Light Infantry as an engineer, then returned to Chicago where he quickly became an architectural draftsman and acoustic engineer of note. He founded his own firm in 1879, and the next year he hired a talented young draftsman, Louis Henri Sullivan (1856–1924), who had come west from Massachusetts on hearing that a great fire at the beginning of the decade had initiated a boom in the architecture business that showed no signs of slowing. On arriving he was struck by Chicago's chaotic environs: he

thought it all magnificent and wild: a crude extravaganza, an intoxicating rawness ... The pavements were vile” and “they erupted here and there and everywhere in ooze ... But despite the panic, there was a stir; an energy that made him [Sullivan] tingle to be in the game.²³

Sullivan attributed this “intoxicating rawness” to something he would often call “Nature's Spirit,” whose relationship to contemporary American architecture and urbanism he tried to articulate using the maxim that would cement his place in the canons of modern architecture: “form ever follows function.”

Perhaps due to Adler's connection with KAM, the Adler and Sullivan firm spent much of their early partnership designing private homes and club houses for Chicago's wealthy Jews. Ultimately, however, their careers and reputations were made through opera halls, “tall office buildings,” and other famous civic structures such as the lavish and stately Auditorium Building, completed in 1889. Yet even these commercial structures were objects of Adler's and (more famously) Sullivan's transcendentalist-inspired theorizing, exemplary of an emerging “American style.”²⁴ Through their partnership, Chicago's commercial architecture came into its own—ironically—as a religiously inflected critique of capitalism's utilitarian aesthetics. Yet their critique of contemporary capitalism clearly had its limits, as Adler, Sullivan, and other commercial architects strove to elevate capital and all its benefactors aesthetically. The principles by which Adler and Sullivan did this were shaped largely by Sullivan's fascination with Walt Whitman and Theosophy (he was known to have attended lectures by noted expositor Annie Besant while living in Chicago). Sullivan thought of himself as a poet of architecture, relying on insights from nature and its “Inscrutable Spirit” to guide his hand in developing the American aesthetic he pursued.

Rings, loops, and grand courts: Sociology, migration, and religion on display

The interplay of commerce, architecture, and culture generated several other built environments touched by nineteenth-century religious histories, none more famous than the “White City” of the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition. Resentful of its Swedenborgian planner, Daniel H. Burnham, Louis Sullivan would later characterize the White City’s neo-Classical, European-inspired aesthetics as the death knell of Chicago’s nascent American style.²⁵ But the Exposition did much more than reference Europe. In this event, Kathryn Lofton writes, “every thread of subsequent historiography [on American religion] may be and has been read,” including progressivism, Orientalism, pluralism, and triumphalism in the arena of religious difference put on display there.²⁶ Expositions such as this one were, as President William McKinley would later say, “intended to record the world’s progress” and, amid many grand displays of artistic and technological prowess, spectators could also observe the fruits of American racial science and imperial conquest in the form of black and indigenous people displayed in their “traditional garb.”²⁷ Yet, for Sullivan, the Exposition’s architectural form revealed the illusory nature of its grandeur. In attempting to showcase Chicago’s status as a center of culture as well as commerce, Sullivan fumed, Burnham and his colleagues had forsaken the true spirit of the city itself. Chicago was America’s city, he reasoned, and European pretenses need not concern its art or its culture.

Sullivan was not the Exposition’s only critic. Fannie Barrier Williams (1855–1944) used the alabaster-colored spaces of the Exposition to navigate between the white and black metropolises, speaking on the subjects of religion, domesticity, and the lives of modern black women.²⁸ Born in Brockport, New York, well-educated, and raised in the only black family to attend the town’s First Baptist Church, Williams recalled feeling insulated from the country’s racial strife until 1867, when she joined the many northern (and mostly white) volunteer teachers who flocked to the deep South to play their part in sectional reconciliation. After teaching there, and then in Washington, DC, in 1887 she moved to Chicago with her husband, S. Laing Williams, where they both rose to social prominence, entertaining and befriending luminaries of wide repute, including famous anti-lynching advocate Ida B. Wells, and noted public figure Booker T. Washington. In 1892 she convinced the Exposition’s Board of Lady Managers, headed by Chicago’s most prominent white women, to include her and several Southern black women as speakers to the Exhibition’s Women’s Congress and the World’s Parliament of Religions, where she spoke on “The Relation of the Home and Christian Temperance.”²⁹ The Exposition and the Parliament allowed Williams to articulate her own path to respectability in black and white society, as well as to critique the failings of liberal Christianity in promoting racial justice after the Civil War—a failure she personally witnessed while living in the South.³⁰

Like Williams, many of the Parliament’s students of religion were also students of the city, bringing their social and moral concerns to bear on their study and their action. Yet it was not only Chicagoans who voiced skepticism at the Parliament’s triumphalism. In at least one case, the event’s Protestant-centered narrative found itself under fire from foreign visitors. In one instance, one Rev. George F. Pentecost accused “Some of the Brahmins of India” of judging Christianity by “what is outside the pale of [it]”—namely, he complained, the Indians “take the slums of New York and Chicago and ask why we do not cure ourselves.”³¹ Pentecost then set about comparing American urban vices to Indian ones, asserting that Hindu Temple Priestesses “were priestesses because they were prostitutes and were prostitutes because they were priestesses.” One A. Gandhi offered a reprisal the next day that cut Pentecost and his colleagues to the quick:

Some men in their ambition think that they are Pauls ... they go to India to convert the heathen in a mass, but when they find their dreams melting away ... they return back to pass a whole life in abusing the Hindu.³²

Gandhi's tactful critique of Christian missionary practice suggests what he may have thought the Parliament in its context represented: American Christians' inability to keep their own house in order while they attempted to missionize the world. Nowhere was this hypocrisy more evident, it seemed, than in America's cities.

This religious debate was an academic one, particularly for researchers at The University of Chicago. One such scholar, Albion W. Small, gave a paper at the Parliament of Religions entitled "The Church and City Problems." Small's presence there reflected a broad sociological concern about cities' impact on Christianity at the turn of the century, and vice versa, with points of focus ranging from the census to property law to American identity, the latter concern mirroring that of another famous 1893 oration: Frederick Jackson Turner's "The Significance of the Frontier in American History."³³ Smith's successors at The University of Chicago developed theories of urban growth and change that wedded the natural metaphors developed by the likes of Louis Sullivan to a social gospel-inflected concern about urban life in an industrial age of increased religious, cultural, and racial difference. In the famous 1925 volume, *The City*, often seen as emblematic of the "Chicago School" of urban sociology, Robert E. Park (1864–1944) defines the city as "the natural habitat of civilized man" that "takes on the characteristics and qualities of its inhabitants" and "shows the good and evil in human nature in excess."³⁴ Cities molded their inhabitants into urban subjects governed by systemic processes of economic change and a more or less stable mixture of countervailing social and religious forces.

For Park, an essential function of an urban organism was to "metabolize" such forces. In an ethnological essay on Caribbean religions, Park connected current theories about racial difference and its links with illiteracy to the survival of folk rituals and epistemologies among urban African-Americans in the United States. Park's anxiety about the perseverance of "Negro magic" in this context likely reflected the black metropolis's recent explosive growth through northward migration, the broadening social and sensory visibility of black church activity, and the increasing fracture of the city into ethno-religious enclaves due to massive immigration since the 1870s.³⁵ Park also imagines the common early twentieth-century reformist impulse to engage in urban philanthropic and missionary work as a kind of ceremonial cure to the urban ills these changes had wrought, including widespread impoverishment, overcrowding, and corporate lawlessness. In his "organic" understanding of cities, urban issues were like "bodily and spiritual ailments."³⁶ Reformer Jane Addams' well-known work in Hull House, the lay mission she established with her childhood friend Ellen Gates Starr, provides one example of how religious projects dovetailed with the broader goals of urban reform to improve the "immigrant quarters" of the city.³⁷ This white magic of Reform worked to heal the urban body taken ill with difference. "Negro magic," by contrast, marked that difference.

Alongside Chicago sociologists were Chicago historians of religion. Frederick Jackson Turner's "frontier thesis," which held that the pioneer trails of westward expansion swept up Europeans and forged them into Americans, had nearly an immediate impact on historical study. This thesis birthed a generation of frontier-obsessed historians within the field of American religious history, including Peter G. Mode, who found a "frontier spirit" at the heart of American Christianity.³⁸ In the long term it inspired historians of religion to search for the essence of American religion at the very moment when it was released from the east coast into the continental interior.³⁹ In recent decades, these Chicago Schools' paradigms have been met with the more grounded perspectives generally associated with the "lived religion" paradigm.⁴⁰ Cities—

particularly Chicago—continue to serve as key sites for examining the “restructuring of religion” and for the role of religion in the “restructuring of cities.”⁴¹ Chicago’s role in the legacy of frontier-inspired and city-inspired scholarship in religious studies is likely to remain both strong and productively paradoxical on account of its dual status as both frontier and city, *urbs in horto*—“the city in the garden.”

Conclusion

Chicago is an unusually compelling point from which to view American religious history, particularly at its points of intersection with histories of race, capitalism, and theory and method in the study of religion.⁴² For historians as well as for historical actors such as Louis Sullivan, Chicago has oozed intangible qualities that seem *sui generis* to the city, yet were produced within the historical conditions of its development. William Cronon avers in his famous work, *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, that holding fast to “the urban–rural, human–natural dichotomy blinds us to the deeper unity beneath our own divided perceptions.”⁴³ Chicago’s religious and urban history since before its founding is best considered in light of a dialectic between urban life and urban fabric, a dialectic best expressed not only as a revelation of deep human connection or industrial alienation, but of productive relations between doctrine, practice, and religious innovation on the one hand, and the city and region’s material circuits of capital, nature, and culture on the other. Perhaps it is easy to understand why so many of Chicago’s narrators have resorted to the metaphysical to understand a place so unique in its allure and complexity.

Notes

- 1 Donald L. Miller, *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 41.
- 2 Miller, 30.
- 3 Erik Larson, *Devil in the White City: Murder, Magic, and Madness at the Fair that Changed America* (New York: Penguin, 2003), p. xi.
- 4 Those Siouan groups were the forerunners of the Winnebago, Ojibwa, and Ioway. Robert Michael Morrissey, *Empire by Collaboration: Indians, Colonists, and Governments in Colonial Illinois Country* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 20. The Illinois were hegemonic in the region until the 1760s, when French-backed Potawatomi drove them away from the lake shore. See James A. Clifton, *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture, 1665–1965*, Expanded Edn (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 1998), p. 97.
- 5 Michael A. McDonald, *Masters of Empire: Great Lakes Indians and the Making of America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2015), pp. 311–14; Clifton, p. 238.
- 6 Milo Milton Quaipe, *Checagou* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1933), p. 46. Also see Drake and Cayton, p. 32, and Christopher Robert Reed, *Black Chicago’s First Century: Vol. I, 1833–1900* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2005), pp. 27–35.
- 7 Kinzie’s possession of Point du Sable’s former land is recounted in a short, readable essay that covers many of the topics addressed in this essay. See R. David Edmunds, “Chicago in the Middle Ground,” *Encyclopedia of Chicago*, online, www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/300129.html. Also, see St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*, Revised and Enlarged Edn (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 31.
- 8 Kinzie’s heirs would claim damages in the amount of \$3,500 during the 1820s treaty negotiations. See Clifton, *Prairie People*, 230; Kinzie’s daughter later published a memoir of the massacre. See Juliette Augusta Magill Kinzie, *Narrative of the Massacre at Chicago, Saturday, August 15, 1812, and of Some Preceding Events* (Chicago, IL: William Ellis and Robert Ferguson Job Printers, 1844). See also Clifton, p. 238.
- 9 This intense geographic and theological transformation is usually associated with what some have called “the Second Great Awakening.” See Whitney Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual*

- History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950); Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978); Paul Conkin, *Cane Ridge: America's Pentecost* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); Edwin S. Gaustad and Leigh Eric Schmidt, *The Religious History of America*, Revised Edn (San Francisco, CA: Harper San Francisco, 2002). Recently, Jennifer Graber has moved this narrative to the Southern plains, in contemporary Oklahoma, TX, and Mexico, with a focus on the religious ideologies of Anglo expansion, Indigenous conversion, and the annexation of land. See Graber, *The Gods of Indian Country: Religion and the Struggle for the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- 10 Geographers and critical theorists have theorized “the urban” as inherently disruptive, leaving space for the proliferation of difference and of revolutionary acts and ideas. French philosopher Henri Lefebvre, best known for his work, *The Production of Space*, argues in a much smaller text, *The Urban Revolution*, that the nineteenth century birthed an “urban problematic,” caused by industrialization and the transformation of social relations, understandings of nature, and mass culture that attended it. In the urban problematic, social and political problems find their articulation in forms specific to urban life. If Lefebvre meant that a city’s form and its content shape one another inescapably—I suspect a more localist interpretation than he intended—then we should read the many intertwining threads of religious life in Chicago’s early decades as symptomatic, or better yet *suggestive*, of an urban problematic. Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bonono (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003 [1970]).
 - 11 There was never a chance of treating all these communities in depth, and I hope readers will forgive the many absences in this essay. I have many colleagues and mentors to thank for helping me flesh out the fabric of this essay, including Yaakov Ariel, Erik S. Gellman, Emma Z. Rothberg, Katherine Turk, and Brook Wilensky-Lanford. The responsibility for mistakes or omissions rests solely with me.
 - 12 Tobias Brinkmann, *Sundays at Sinai: A Jewish Congregation in Chicago* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), pp. 31–2.
 - 13 Lloyd Lewis and Henry Justin Smith, *Chicago: The History of its Reputation* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1929), 10. See also *ibid.*, p. 64, where Lewis and Smith discuss a self-identified Chicago “prophet,” John Stephen Wright. Wright was an investor and risk-taker who made and then lost huge sums of money over the course of his life. Lewis and Smith write:

He plunged on, orating, writing, publishing his versions of what the city must become, and even when he was coming to his end, a poor man, he was nevertheless crying the immeasurable future of Chicago, seeing it as the only true city of America and himself as its prophet.
- For more on the economic “Daemon,” see William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992), pp. 55–96.
- 14 Reed, *Black Chicago's First Century*; Eric Foner, *Gateway to Freedom: The Hidden History of America's Fugitive Slaves* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015), pp. 151–89.
 - 15 See Drake and Cayton, p. 35; Foner, p. 182; Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800–1850: the Shadow of the Dream* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1981); On the black metropolis in the twentieth century, see Wallace Best, *Passionately Human, No Less Divine: Religion and Culture in Black Chicago, 1915–1952* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005); Daverian L. Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Joe William Trotter, Jr., *Workers on Arrival: Black Labor in the Making of America* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2019).
 - 16 This was a sharp uptick from the approximately 50,000 Jews who had migrated from Europe to North America between 1820 and 1840. Hasia Diner, “A Century of Migration, 1820–1924,” in Michael Grunberger, ed., *From Haven to Home: 350 Years of Jewish Life in America* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 2004), p. 80.
 - 17 Frank L. Byrne and Jean Powers Soman, eds, *Your True Marcus: The Civil War Letters of a Jewish Colonel* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1985).
 - 18 Sinai’s founder, Emile Hirsch, considered its founding document to be a pamphlet published by a Chicago Jew entitled (in translation): “A Voice in the Wilderness: on Jewish Reform—a Message to Its Friends.” Isaac Mayer Wise thought the pamphlet too radical and decried it on a visit to Chicago, igniting controversy. See Brinkmann, p. 35.
 - 19 Byrne and Soman, pp. 4–6, 12; Hasia R. Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 76–7.

- 20 See Tobias Brinkmann, *Sundays at Sinai*; Irving Cutler, *The Jews of Chicago: From Shtetl to Suburb* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996). Readers of German may consult Tobias Brinkmann, *Von der Gemeinde zur "Community": Jüdische Einwanderer in Chicago, 1840–1900* (Osnabrück: Rasch, 2002); Also see Morris Gutstein, *A Priceless Heritage: The Epic Growth of Nineteenth Century Chicago Jewry* (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1953). On Chicago Jewish labor relations see Susan Roth Breitzer, "Uneasy Alliances: Hull House, the Garment Workers Strikes, and the Jews of Chicago," *Indiana Magazine of History* 106(1) (March 2010): pp. 40–70.
- 21 On Jewish women and philanthropy in Chicago see Hannah Farmer, "Eve in the Renegade City: Elite Jewish Women's Philanthropy in Chicago, 1890–1900" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Southampton, 2012). Hart would become most interested in Juvenile Corrections, a topic of social and moral concern that would only grow along with twentieth-century labor and racial tensions in the mid-twentieth century. See Erik S. Gellman, *Troublemakers: Chicago's Freedom Struggles Through the Lens of Art Shay* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2020).
- 22 Kehilath Anshe Ma'ariv was originally intended to be Kehilath Anshe Ma'arav, meaning "Congregation of Men of the West." See Brinkmann, *Sundays at Sinai*, p. 21.
- 23 Louis Sullivan, *Autobiography of an Idea* (New York: Dover, 1956 [1924]), p. 74. Throughout the *Autobiography*, Sullivan refers to himself in the third person.
- 24 Though he is not remembered for it, Adler had his own thoughts on the potential of a uniquely American architectural style to capture and transcend the forces of capitalism that threatened, from his perspective, to doom art at every turn. In an address at a professional conference, Adler said:

I realize how great is the privilege granted us [the members] in being part, not of a Renaissance, but of a naissance in architecture. For there is surely being born into our world a new style, the style of America, the style of the civilization of the nineteenth century, developed by its wants, its conditions and its limitations, and nurtured by the best there is in the lives of you whom I see before me and of your confreres in the East. The Taunt 'who reads an American book?' has long since been answered ... Great and glorious as was the rise of American literature, the development of American architecture is still more wonderful.

(Dankmar Adler, "The President's Address at the Third Annual Convention of the Western Association of Architects," Chicago, November 17, 1886. Dankmar Adler Papers, The Newberry Library. Chicago, IL)

- 25 See Sullivan, *Autobiography*, 310. See also David H. Crook, "Louis Sullivan and the Golden Doorway," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 26(4) (December 1967): pp. 250–8.
- 26 Kathryn Lofton, "Religious History as Religious Studies," *Religion* 42(3) (2012): pp. 390–1. See also Richard H. Seager, *The World's Parliament of Religions: the East/West Encounter, Chicago, 1893* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995).
- 27 Alessandra Lorini, "The Racial Ideology of National Reconciliation at the International Expositions of Chicago (1893) and Atlanta (1895)," *Cahiers Charles V* 28 (2000): pp. 91–108; Lucy Maddox, *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race, and Reform* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005). For a transnational view of the 1893 Exposition, see John P. Burris, *Exhibiting Religion: Colonialism and Spectacle at International Expositions, 1851–1893* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 2001). On the Parliament of Religions see Justin Nordstrom, "Utopians at the Parliament: The World's Parliament of Religions and the Columbian Exposition of 1893," *Journal of Religious History* 33(3) (September 2009): pp. 348–65.
- 28 See Fannie Barrier Williams, "A Northern Negro's Autobiography," in Mary Jo Deegan, ed., *The New Woman of Color: The Collected Writings of Fannie Barrier Williams, 1893–1918* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002), p. 6. Barrier originally wrote this autobiographical sketch in 1904. Also see, in the same volume, Williams, "The Woman's Part in a Man's Business," p. 59. For an overview of her life, see the very thorough introduction by Mary Jo Deegan in the same volume. Also see Wanda A. Hendricks, *Fannie Barrier Williams: Crossing the Borders of Region and Race* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2014).
- 29 *Ibid.*, pp. xxx, xxxviii.
- 30 Williams was later admitted to the prestigious Chicago Women's Club as its first black member (Sarah L. Hart was its first Jewish admit, and might have remained the only Jewish admit at the time of Williams's admission). For more on the social dynamics of the club and its place in the broader landscape of Chicago's gendered commercial life, see Emily Remus, *A Shopper's Paradise: How the Ladies of Chicago Claimed Power and Pleasure in the New Downtown* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019).

- 31 Rev. John Henry Barrows, *The World's Parliament of Religions: An Illustrated and Popular Story of the World's First Parliament of Religions, Held in Chicago in Connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893*, Vol. 1 (Chicago, IL: Parliament Publishing, 1893), p. 143. Special thanks to Brook Wilensky-Lanford for bringing these exchanges to my attention.
- 32 Barrows, p. 144.
- 33 Citation of Albion Small's paper found in Barrows, 140. See also the *Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, Vols. 1–13 (1905–1918).
- 34 Robert Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment," in Robert Park and Ernest W. Burgess, eds, *The City* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1967 [1925]), pp. 2, 6.
- 35 Wallace Best, *Passionately Human, No Less Divine*, pp. 71–74, pp. 94–117. For a generous interpretation of the Chicago School's racial attitudes, see Mary Jo Deegan, *Race, Hull House, and The University of Chicago: A New Conscience Against Ancient Evils* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002).
- 36 Park, "Magic, Mentality, and City Life," in Park and Burgess, eds, *The City*, pp. 128–9. To see how the white magic of Reform played out in the black metropolis, see Ralph Luker, "Missions, Institutional Churches, and Settlement Houses: the Black Experience, 1885–1910," *The Journal of Negro History* 69(4) (1984): pp. 101–13; Ralph Luker, *The Social Gospel in Black and White* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Louise W. Knight, *Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2005). To see how the "reformist impulse" plays out later in the twentieth century see Mark Wild, *Renewal: Liberal Protestants and the American City After World War II* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2019).
- 37 Jane Addams, "Hull House, Chicago: An Effort Towards Social Democracy," *Forum* (October 1892): pp. 226–42.
- 38 Peter G. Mode, *The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity* (New York: Macmillan, 1923).
- 39 See, for example, Nathan Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984). His primary point of comparison between the English and United States context, in terms of Protestantism, is the incapacity of American government to effectively control religious change on its vast continent.
- 40 See for example Robert A. Orsi, ed., *Gods of the City: Religion and the American Urban Landscape* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999).
- 41 See Lowell W. Livezey, "The New Context of Urban Religion," in Lowell W. Livezey, ed., *Public Religion and Urban Transformation: Faith in the City* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), pp. 6–8. See also Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Religion since World War II* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988).
- 42 On these three topics specifically see Judith Weisenfeld, *New World a-Coming: Black Religion and Racial Identity during the Great Migration* (New York: New York University Press, 2016); Timothy Gloege, *Guaranteed Pure: The Moody Bible Institute, Business, and the Making of Modern Evangelicalism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Heath Carter, *Union Made: Working People and the Rise of Social Christianity in Chicago* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions, Or, How European Universalism was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2005).
- 43 William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 18. Statements such as this one earned Cronon's book some scorn from critics, but they should fascinate religious historians for what they reveal about how cities emerge in the landscape of human emotion. See, for example, Peter Coclanis, "Urbs in Horto," *Reviews in American History* 20(1) (March 1992): pp. 14–20. He argues there that *Nature's Metropolis*, like Cronon's earlier work, "lapses into (Birken) stock condemnations of accumulation, and Club of Rome-like denunciations of economic growth."

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