The Religious Aspects of the 1893 Columbian Exposition: A Case Study of Interreligious Interaction and Religious Pluralism in the Public Square

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THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF THE 1893 COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION: A CASE STUDY OF INTERRELIGIOUS INTERACTION AND RELIGIOUS PLURALISM IN THE PUBLIC SQUARE

by

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THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF THE 1893 COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION: A CASE STUDY OF INTERRELIGIOUS INTERACTION AND RELIGIOUS PLURALISM IN THE PUBLIC SQUARE

Cynthia Visscher, Ph.D.
Western Michigan University, 2012

This case study of the religious aspects of the 1893 Columbian Exposition examines the conditions that supported religious pluralism in the public square in the nineteenth century; compares these conditions to contemporary social contexts, and; contributes to the sociological debate regarding the effect of increasing religious diversity on social structure in the United States.

The existing literature is more often focused on normative theory rather than empirical examination. This case study offers an empirical investigation of the accommodation of religious diversity in a society that was in early stages of secularization and addresses how a pluralistic public square existed. Specifically, foundations of a religiously pluralistic public square, the conditions under which religious co-existence results in normative religious pluralism, and the nineteenth century motivations for religiously pluralistic discourse are explored using large amounts of primary data sources.

The conditions where interreligious co-existence resulted in a normative religious pluralism were protection for religious expression and structures that
supported accommodation of cultural differences and encouraged interreligious interaction. It is argued that some of the conditions of nineteenth century religious pluralism in the public square are possible in the contemporary context. Religious and cultural associations have the potential to communicate local concerns through national networks, and the internet can provide a platform for citizen-driven communication that is a functional equivalent to the nineteenth century press.

However, several other essential conditions do not translate to the current social context of institutional secularization. The social ideal that religious ideas can serve as a moral resource; federal government support for intentional interreligious dialog, and; the ability for religious groups and “legislators as religious citizens and representatives” to carry out religious conversations as a part of the legislative process are unlikely to occur under current conditions. Finally, motivations regarding interreligious interaction in both centuries range from a high interest in interfaith relations to a heightened avoidance and mistrust in diverse communities. I suggest that conditions for establishing a normative religious pluralism do exist in the current social context but the strong limiting forces of a social ideal of secular discourse, institutional secularization, and American avoidance of ethnic and religious diversity also exist.
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CHAPTER I

PROPOSAL FOR A CASE STUDY OF THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION

Introduction

How increasing religious diversity in the United States will affect social structure is an important debate in the sociology of religion. The proposed outcomes range from the concept that religious diversity will dilute the influence of any one group and necessarily leads to the privatization of religion to the concept that religious ideas have always influenced the formation of a national identity and public policy. The problem I have identified with this debate is that its foundations are in normative theory rather than theory developed from accounts of the effects of increasing religious diversity on modern societies.

The growing religious diversity in the United States has largely occurred through immigration. Three waves of peak immigration have occurred in the United States, and the fourth wave is occurring currently. Exploring inter-religious interaction, and its effect of society, during the third wave of immigration (1880's to early 1900's) provides a framework for understanding how increases in religious diversity could affect public life during future periods of peak immigration.

The 1893 Columbian Exposition encapsulated three types of religious interactions including a battle for Sunday closing of the fair, live "village" exhibits where people from throughout the globe lived closely together for six months, and the Parliament of
Religions. The Parliament of Religions, in particular, is an example of an intentional effort to bring all religions to the public square in order to counteract the "secular revolution" that was still gathering steam, but had not yet affected public institutions (Smith 2003). This case study allows for an empirical investigation of the accommodation of religious diversity in a society that was in early stages of secularization. This approach may help address the questions involved in whether a secularized or de-secularized society is better able to accommodate religious diversity, rather than whether one or the other should support that accommodation.

Problem Statement

The effect of religious diversity on social structure is one of the central debates in the sociology of religion. On one side of the argument, religious diversity necessarily leads to privatization of religion. True religious freedom is only possible in a secularized society. In this scenario, the influence of multiple religious ideas would undermine the ability of social institutions to operate within a common national identity. On the other side of the argument, religion, specifically Christianity in the United States, contributed to and still influences the formation of a national identity. It is inevitable that increasing religious diversity will challenge the perception and construction of the United States as a Christian nation, but true religious freedom is only possible in a society where public policy is informed by the beliefs and values of all citizens.

Proponents of these arguments present two future alternatives. In one scenario, religious pluralism becomes the normative ideal in that religious freedom, and religious
ideas in themselves, would be regarded as a resource for society, communities and individuals. Elshtain presents the idea of a deep, or authentic, tolerance. She states:

If anything, it is the perennial fact of inequality that makes deep toleration more, not less, important. It is through exchanges of ideas, through arguments and evidence, claim and counterclaim that human beings in social settings engage in a search for truth – about what is important to them, about how to live together. The ability to think critically, to communicate, to persuade and be persuaded is part of what defines our humanity. Historically, the freedom to speak one’s mind—including religious witness—has proved a weapon of the weak in the face of the strong (Banchoff 2008:102).

In the opposing scenario, most often put forward by Bruce and supported to some extent by Norris and Inglehart, public life in the United States is already secularized to the extent that religious diversity will have little effect on our public experiences (Bruce 2002, 2003; Norris and Inglehart 2004). Bruce believes that religious diversity, by its very nature, negates the possibility that any one group can gain the capacity to intentionally influence law and public policy in a broad way. Bruce notes:

I have argued, against the current consensus of social scientists, I suspect, that religious cultures have...contribute a great deal to modern politics and that there are important differences in the political consequences of the major world religions...Most of the causal connections I have traced between aspects of religious tradition and politics rest on unintended consequences. (2003: 254).

Elshtain puts forth the idea that an intentional and active religious pluralism would stabilize American society at a higher level of moral engagement. Bruce argues that religious diversity itself obstructs the efforts of any one group to actively and effectively have a voice in public policy and the result is that institutions are stable because they are secular. Casanova (1994) also takes a stand similar to Elshtain’s side of the argument.
Normative vs. Empirically Based Theories

The problem with this debate, from my perspective, is that Elshtain, Bruce and Casanova are proposing what society “needs to be” rather than offering an account of the effects of increasing religious diversity on modern societies. The outcomes described by Elshtain, Bruce and Casanova, are focused on normative theories of modern society at the institutional level and there is little discussion of the mechanisms involved in either side of the argument. Yet, if religious diversity is changing society it is because individual actors are either building communities where pluralism is the norm, or are using existing protections and social structures to ensure that religion is privatized.

Wuthnow and Machacek agree that we have little understanding of how religious diversity is addressed at the community level (2003; 2003). How do people holding very different religious world views perceive and define themselves, and each other, in relation to daily living as well as public discourse? What type of negotiation, if any, is involved in addressing issues like intermarriage, religious expression in neighborhood life, and resolution of local political problems? I would propose that examining the form that these types of interactions take could help us build theoretical approaches to the question of whether increasing religious diversity will lead to a religiously pluralistic or religiously privatized society.
Stated briefly, the problem is that the debate on secularization is waged largely in normative theory. There is little that either side offers in terms of how a pluralistic public square could exist; and if it could, what its foundations would be. Additionally, the American experience has been underutilized. Current and historical immigration patterns provide reason to believe that it is quite relevant.

Immigration Patterns in the United States

The second problem, in terms of what the literature has to offer, is that while Bruce and Casanova present case studies that support, respectively, a theory of a secularizing world and a theory of a world trending toward religious de-privatization, there is very little focus on the United States (2003; 1994). A 2010 study of world immigration patterns completed by the Migration Policy Institute identifies the top ten countries in terms of numbers of immigrants. The United States is at the top of the list with population estimates of 42,813,000 international immigrants. This is more than triple the number for the Russian Federation, which is in second place (Migration Policy Institute 2010). Additionally, the United States contained 42% of the cities where the population of foreign born residents is larger than 1,000,000, according to Migration Policy Institute data (Migration Policy Institute 2007). One of the questions regarding the impact of the current wave of immigration (beginning in the 1980s) is how individuals, communities, and institutions within the United States will transform to accommodate an influx of immigrants who bring with them religious world views that
may challenge social structures that have been based on the idea of an American civil
religion grounded in Judeo-Christian concepts.

Wuthnow, Machacek, and Berger have noted that immigration has had, and will
continue to have, a major structural impact on American society (2003; 2003; 2001).
However, they indicate that we face a lack of theoretical understanding, and empirical
investigation, of the mechanisms that determine how the increased variety of religious
beliefs among immigrants may affect public and private life in the United States.

I would suggest that exploration of some the social processes and outcomes
regarding inter-religious interaction during the third wave of immigration (1880's to early
1900's) may provide a framework for addressing the mechanisms involved in determining
how religious diversity could affect public life in the current wave of immigration in the
United States. There are many circumstances that occurred during the third wave of
immigration that would offer models of the American experience of religious diversity
for investigation. One major event, the 1893 Columbian Exposition or Chicago World’s
Fair stands out as being well suited for exploration. The Columbian Exposition was
nationally and internationally significant, and there were several religious aspects that
could provide a window into lived experiences of formal and informal; intended and
unintended, and; cooperative and conflict ridden interreligious interaction.

Religious Aspects of the Columbian Exposition

The Columbian Exposition was unique among the American world’s fairs that
were popular in the mid nineteenth century. The United States Congress selected Chicago
from a group of cities that competed to hold the world’s fair to celebrate the 400 year
anniversary of Columbus' landing in America. The federal government, through Congress
and a committee of appointed advisers from each state, had oversight of the local fair
management organization. Federal funding commitments were made to the project prior
to site selection and significant international funding commitments were made as well.
These circumstances distinguished the 1893 Columbian Exposition as a national, and
international, endeavor. Previous and subsequent world fairs were organized with a
local impetus and limited government and international participation. Government
funding usually was limited and came after the fact. No other fair in the United States had
an organizational structure that originated from the federal government (Bancroft 1893).

The planning and implementation of the Columbian Exposition represents a
constellation of religious aspects that occurred within multiple structures of social
interaction. There were three aspects of the Exposition that provide rich examples of
formal and informal interreligious interaction as well as legal and political battles that
played out in the public sphere. The Parliament of Religions was held as one of the
Auxiliary Congresses of the Exposition; the Midway Plaisance Village exhibits brought
representatives from diverse religious backgrounds to live together for the six month
duration of the Exposition; and religiously motivated legal battles regarding the opening
of the Exposition on Sundays polarized the local and federal governing committees for
three years prior to the Exposition opening.

The World Parliament of Religions was initially expected to be an unremarkable
section among the twenty Auxiliary Congresses that were approved by the U.S. Congress
as a department of the Columbian Exposition (Bancroft 1893). The Auxiliary Congress
organizers intended to gather the best minds in the world on subjects such as language, literature, art, science, religion, education, economic, and industrial issues. The general tone of the Congresses was one of universality and of sharing knowledge for economic, industrial and social progress. The Auxiliary Congress organizers also hoped that the meetings could lead to reducing war and other societal ills (Bancroft 1893; Houghton 1893).

The 1893 Parliament of Religions exceeded all expectations and was, and still is, considered a unique and unprecedented event in the history of the United States. Representatives from countries and religions throughout the world participated in a forum that was intended to showcase the best in all religions. The Parliament organizers hoped to establish a commonality or unity among the religions and believed that religious understandings could best promote an ethical global society. Of course, the perspective of what that unity meant for the largely Christian organizers and their foreign guests differed.

The Parliament of Religions represented the participation on a global scale, but the denominational religious congresses indicated how significant this event was nationally. Thirty eight church denominations and 10 religious organizations with representatives from 38 states and 14 foreign countries held congresses in conjunction with the Auxiliary program. In fact, it was the unexpected interest on both the national and international levels that caused the program to expand from the expected week of sessions to a period of six weeks consisting of 37 programs containing about 300 different sessions (Bancroft 1893; World’s Congress Auxiliary 1893). An examination
of the Parliament of Religions allows for an opportunity to understand the nineteenth
century motivations for an intentional religiously pluralistic dialog.

The Midway Plaisance was separated from the main exhibition area of the
Columbian Exposition fairgrounds and it contained the entertainment venues as well as
the Midway villages. In the Midway villages, representatives from cultures throughout
the world participated in living exhibitions on the Midway Plaisance. Many of the
entertainment venues were incorporated within the Midway villages and were operated
by the village residents. The villagers lived on the fairgrounds for the six month duration
of the Columbian Exposition.

Religious artifacts, buildings and activities were exhibited in almost every village
on the Midway Plaisance. Religious displays were not required through the contractual
arrangements with the entrepreneurs who operated the villages, but religion still played
an important role in the communication of culture and the communication between
cultures. Since the Midway villages were entrepreneurial ventures, the organizational
structure was less regulated by the federal government funding and more influenced by
the local management organization and the for profit syndicates that were formed to
recruit villagers and manage concessions. The Midway villages were not as unique as the
Parliament of Religions. Prior and subsequent fairs had similar smaller exhibits, but the
interactions among villagers, fair managers, exhibit recruiters and financiers, and
Exposition visitors offer an additional arena for the examination of inter-religious co-
existence at a mid-point in the third immigration wave.

The conflict over the Sunday opening of the Columbian Exposition was a battle
that engaged the local and federal Exposition committees as well as the U.S. Congress
and the federal courts for a three year period prior to the opening of the Exposition. Voluntary associations, church organizations, and individual citizens from throughout the country weighed in on the question and its consequences for the understanding of the United States as a Christian nation. This particular circumstance provides a rich source for examining the mechanisms and strategies that individual citizens, and organized groups, used in order to be heard by the federal government. Exploring the conflict and what it meant to those who participated in, and observed it, could help us understand the foundations of religious expression in the public square, and within the public policy making structure.

Comparison of Social Conditions in the Third and Fourth Waves of Immigration

Four examples, one from Midway Plaisance, two from the Parliament of Religions, and one from a foreign dignitary in response to the Parliament, help frame and foreshadow the tone of discussions of pluralism that we engage in today. The first was a result of a small mistake, the second was the result of a well prepared group of speakers, and the last two are a reflection on the issue of Christian hegemony and the ability of a majority religion to “host” a pluralistic society. The examples also provide a link to how the elements of this case have the possibility of addressing the sentiments of Berger and Wuthnow in that as we approach our rapidly increasing diversity, we are unsure of the ground rules and almost taken by surprise (2001; 2003).

Seager describes an unexpected event at the opening ceremony of the Fourth of July celebration. Gathered on the midway were representatives of all the faiths and
countries participating in the World’s Fair. J.R. Burton, a member of the Exposition Committee and representative of Kansas, opened the event and proclaimed “From isles of the sea and the most remote corners of the earth ... comes every tongue, and with joyous shout salute our flag – the Nations ensign and the emblem of humanity” (1993:35). However, as the ceremony moved to the blessing, the event organizers discovered an oversight. No Protestant minister had been scheduled to preside over the blessing.

As a result, an imam from the St. Sophia Mosque on Cairo Street, Jamal Effendi, officiated. The Chicago Tribune reported that Effendi “was attired in the full ceremonials of the priesthood... and he turned his face toward the East and raised his hands in supplication, a silence fell on the crowd. He began chanting a prayer to Allah for his blessing on the United States, the flag above him, and the Exposition in Chicago. At every break in his prayer the Mohammedans united in a loud amen in an old fashioned Methodist style (35).

Seager points to this “reversal” as an indicator that the “ground rules” of the Christian and nationalistic tenor of the Columbian celebration were easily superseded, “suggesting in turn an alternative meaning of the nation and its destiny” (36). The meanings of this contingent and curious occurrence, in terms of the everyday lives of the participants in the ceremony are interesting as well. Could an assessment of an event like this fit into Wuthnow’s call for a better understanding what diversity means to those who are “embedded in communities of social interaction” (2003: 162)? Additionally, did this unintended event foreshadow Machacek’s proposition that “the new immigrants, often using religion as a primary resource, appear to be actively negotiating the terms of American social and cultural life” (2003:147)?

The second example was also a reversal of expectations and ground rules for the American Christian hosts of the Parliament and for the American public. The Asian delegates to the Parliament were prepared to engage the hearts and minds of American Christians. Many of the speakers exhibited a command of English, great rhetorical
strength, and a message the combined the best elements of Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shintoism with stories of the worst behaviors of Christian missionaries in their home countries. Their speeches were widely published and they accumulated many admirers and some converts. The organizers of the Parliament did not expect this presence and response. Yet, Swami Vivekananda from India, and Anagarika Dharmapala from Ceylon, among others, are credited with causing the Parliament of Religions to become the most celebrated and publicly promoted section of the Auxiliary Congresses of the World’s Fair. This unexpected outcome is an instructive example of Machacek’s proposition as well (2003).

For the third and fourth examples, Seager, Ziolkowski, and Woodhead note that regardless of the Parliament leaders hopeful presentation of the equality of religions, the majority representation at the Parliament was Christian; many of the speakers represented the notion of Christianity as the culmination of all religions (1993; 1993; 2001). One of the reasons that the representatives of Eastern religions were so well prepared for the event was that they recognized the Parliament of Religions as an opportunity to respond to the activities of Christian missionaries in their home countries. In a speech given to the Young Men’s Buddhist Association after his return from the World Parliament of Religions Shaku Soyen, a Japanese Buddhist priest and highly regarded speaker at the Parliament, stated, “The Parliament was called because the Western nations have realized the weakness and folly of Christianity, and they really wished to hear from us of our religions and learn what the best religion is... Americans and other Western peoples had lost faith in their religions and were ready to accept the teachings of our superior religion” (Snodgrass 1998: 326).
Shaku Soyen also formed a close relationship with Paul Carus, a managing editor for the Open Court Press in Chicago, and author of *Gospel of Buddha* which was translated to "Buddha no fukian", and widely distributed in Japan by Shaku Soyen. Soyen used this book to show Japanese Buddhists that Western scholars were interested in and knowledgeable about Buddhism. The promotion of the book was an important component of the Buddhist effort to regain the loyalty of those who had become Japanese Christians.

Additionally, Pung Kwang Yu, secretary of the Chinese Delegation in Washington, D.C., also described negative social and economic influences resulting from missionary activity. He stated "that the missionaries confused Christ’s spiritual kingdom with the political and economic arrangements of the nations of the west...He admitted that Confucians cared little which Gods were worshiped, be they Buddhist and Taoist genii or Mary and Jesus. But, religion was not to be used to undermine the social relations at the foundation of the Confucian social order" (Ziolkowski 1993: 76-77). The last two examples illustrate that international political, economic and religious interaction affected the social lives of nineteenth century individuals in many of the same ways that transnational interactions affect the social lives of early twenty first century individuals.

Similarities in Social Conditions in the Third and Fourth Waves of Immigration in the United States

Immigration in the United States has occurred in four distinct waves. The social conditions that have led to, and resulted from, the four waves of immigration have had considerable similarities. I will focus on the similarities between the third wave and our current fourth wave of immigration. Immigration increased significantly in the early
1880's and peaked in the early 1900's. A hundred years later we find that a similar pattern emerged in the 1980's and projections indicate that it has not peaked yet in 2010.

Additionally, the percentage of foreign born residents in the United States hovered around 14% from 1880 to 1910 and has not reached near that percentage until 2000, when it reached 11.1% (Meissner et. al. 2006). In the period in between these two waves, relatively little immigration occurred.

The peak of each wave of immigration has “coincided with fundamental transformations of the American economy” (1). The third wave of immigration occurred during the industrial revolution and growth of major cities. Immigrant populations were key contributors to the growth of manufacturing and the development of the United States as a world economic leader. The Columbian Exposition occurred on the cusp of this transition in society and ideas of prosperity and progress were shaping American attitudes about the present and future. However there were also significant social difficulties inherent in the shift from agriculture to industry, rural to urban living, and the incorporation of cultural and religious differences of immigrant populations. The fourth wave of immigration has been the largest in scale and “coincides with globalization and the last stages of transformation from a manufacturing economy to a 21st century knowledge-based economy” (Meissner et. al. 2006: 1). Immersion in large scale economic shifts and the resulting social changes are two of the common factors in the third and fourth waves of immigration, and both conditions tend to precipitate a state of upheaval in ideas, experiences, and social structures.

Other similarities in the two points in history include an increase in new and diverse religious ideas and a questioning of the centrality of Christianity and its role in
American public life. The third wave of immigrants was largely from Christian countries. In comparison, the current wave is expanding the representation of Muslims and adherents to Eastern religions. However, it could be argued that the different types of Christianity that the nineteenth century immigrants brought with them were equally challenging to American national identity and culture as the broader representation is today. In fact, in the second half of the nineteenth century Catholics and Protestants engaged in protracted battles over school funding. Churches were burned in Philadelphia and New York, and bloody street battles erupted as the two sides fought for their beliefs to be represented in public education (DelFattore 2004).

Woodhead notes that traditional Christianity encountered additional upheavals during the nineteenth century (2001). The deeply held differences between Catholics and Protestants were accompanied by an increasing divide between liberal and conservative Protestants. For example, in the case of the Columbian Exposition the large population of German immigrants in Chicago became a point of contention for conservative Christians. Many of the German immigrants were influential in the community through associations and influential in the management of the Columbian Exposition as stockholders. Even though they were Protestants, they were often singled out as being immoral and more influenced by science and industry than religion. They were attacked as the instigators of a Sunday opening at the Exposition and described as a religious “other” in spite of common roots in Protestant Christianity.

Additionally, the Mayor of Chicago at the time was an immigrant from Germany and he was disparaged routinely in sermons and in the religious press and charged with using his liberal religious belief to destroy the moral fiber of Chicago. In the last several
years in the United States, we have witnessed a movement to ban Sharia law in at least a dozen states. The contemporary concerns and fears regarding Sharia law being implemented in the United States are similar to the nineteenth century concerns that conservative Christians had about the political power of liberal Protestant German immigrants. They were perceived as a force that was beginning to have significant influence over moral, legal and social expectations in America. The concerns and claims regarding immigration and the social, economic, political, and religious change that occurs as a result of immigration and appear to have a similar tenor in the late nineteenth and the early twenty first centuries, and the religious divisions appeared to be just as deep.

Finally, by the end of the nineteenth century, the process of globalization had started and changes in transportation and communication allowed for relatively rapid movement of people, information and manufactured goods, throughout the country and world. The development of a national railroad system allowed for national publications to be transported quickly, and steamships could cross the Atlantic in a few days which expanded international travel and the ability to engage in international business ventures. News stories could be telegraphed and people throughout the country were often aware of events on the day they occurred. The late nineteenth century marked the beginning of a mass culture, where “for the first time, people all over the United States were reading the same magazines, making purchases based on the same advertisements, and getting the news within a day or two of the events” (Findling and Thackeray 1997:151-152). Newspapers “were a part of the everyday life of a majority of Americans” and “supported popular culture in much the same way television would in the second half of the
twentieth century” (Timmons 2005: 67). Though the medium was different, late nineteenth century Americans had opportunities to communicate and travel in ways that were almost as rapid as we are able to travel and communicate today. The issues surrounding rapid technological, social and global change in the nineteenth century were in many ways similar to issues Americans face from the same kind of changes today. Clearly, there are also dissimilarities in comparing the nineteenth and twenty first centuries. For the purpose of this case study the most important one would be that the process of secularization was just beginning to affect institutions and mass culture in the late nineteenth century and that process has been completed in institutions, and has a larger effect on mass culture, in the contemporary context.

Contribution to the Literature

The important question to answer at this point is how, specifically, could this case study contribute to our understanding of the possible outcomes of the increasing religious diversity that has resulted from this fourth wave of immigration? A sociological examination of the 1893 World’s Parliament of Religion is not at this time available. Sociologically oriented journal articles that assess the relationship of Parliament to contemporary sociological discussions of religious diversity, religious pluralism, and how demographic changes resulting from immigration might affect religion in public and community life, are sparse as well.

Surprisingly, literature regarding the event in the study of religion is also limited. Most of the available resources are studies of the trajectories of Buddhism and Hinduism
after their public and formal introduction to America at the 1893 Parliament of Religion. Historians of religion have provided most of the secondary resources regarding the Parliament and, of course, many have ventured possible connections between then and now. However, there is little material available that directly traces the development of the Parliament in the terms that Wuthnow and Macechek suggest (2003; 2003).

Scholars of religion have to some extent shied away from the event, even though the establishment of the study of comparative religion, and much of the early religious scholarship at the University of Chicago, is related in part to the event. This is attributed to the fact that the purpose of the Columbian Exposition’s Religious Department was religious. Auxiliary Congress President, Charles Carroll Bonney’s, opening address made the desires of the day clear, “we seek in this Congress to unite all Religion against irreligion; to make the golden rule the basis of this union; and to present to the world the substantial unity of many religions in the good deeds of the religious life” (Seager 1993: 21).

It seems that the desire to maintain a clear distinction regarding the scientific study of religions caused the activities of the Parliament to be quickly eliminated from the mainstream of scholarly work in religion. For example, Ziolkowski notes “the official distancing of all subsequent congresses of history of religions from anything smacking of the apologetics began three years later at the Congres international for the discipline in Paris” (1993: 43). He offers a quote from the Monist in 1904, made by an unidentified author.

The Parliament of Religions that was convened at Chicago in 1893 could not be repeated in Paris because in France the principal [sic] of a separation of church and state is interpreted in such a way as to allow the official authorities to do nothing whatever in the line of religion. Accordingly, a religious parliament could not have been tolerated on the Exhibition grounds at Paris; but scientific
congresses were quite in order and so there was no opposition to a historic treatment of religion (43).

This simultaneous establishment of an area of scientific study (comparative religion) and denial of the usefulness or importance of the Parliament in subsequent events illustrates one of the many paradoxes that are evident in the initial outcomes of the 1893 World Parliament of Religions. The Parliament committee’s religious intention to harness religion as a practiced and practical social force is one possible reason for the limited academic study of an event that should be considered a pivotal historical marker in the scholarship of sociology and religion. The intentional actions, sentiments, and intended and unintended situations that emerged in the organization and implementation of the Parliament, while played out over one hundred years ago, directly address the following issues: 1) contemporary concerns of religious diversity and pluralism as secularizing or de-secularizing forces; 2) the trajectory of religion in public policy and life; and 3) the meaning of religious diversity, pluralism, and tolerance in everyday social interaction.

Finally, Wuthnow specifically notes that in our time immigration and religious diversity are challenges to tolerance. “At the end of the 20th century, nearly 27 million persons living in the United States, or one person in 10, was foreign born, and of this number, more than 7 million, or 27 percent were from countries in non-Christian parts of the world” (2003:159). As the nineteenth century drew to an end, the levels of immigration and religious diversity were surprisingly similar to our experience today. The spikes in immigration patterns and percentage of Americans who are foreign born, are more similar in the late nineteenth and early twenty first centuries than in any other time in between (Meissner et. al. 2006). While immigrants were largely Christian in the
late nineteenth century, the bloody education funding battles between Catholics and Protestants help make the case that the world views that divided them were just as incommensurable as they might be among religions today.

How will we approach greater globalization and religious diversity in the present day? Must we privatize and secularize in order to carry out a conflict free civic life? If so, which actors will promote a new wave of secularization and will the actors involved have the capacity to turn American citizens against the current trend of deprivatization? The activities and outcomes of the intentional promotion of a unification of diverse religions in opposition to the concept of 'irreligion' that was played out during the 1893 Parliament of Religions may offer the theoretical possibility of addressing what the American experience could become as a result of the current immigration wave.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Problem of Religious Diversity and Pluralism

In his speech, *Reflections on the Sociology of Religion Today*, Peter Berger identifies religious pluralism as a “central area of concern” (2001: 447) for the sociology of American religion. Berger suggests that America can be viewed as the “lead society of modern pluralism” (446), and states two propositions, “modernity pluralizes the life worlds of individuals and consequently undermines all taken-for- granted certainties. This pluralism may or may not be secularizing, depending on other factors in a given situation. If these propositions are taken as hypotheses, a fascinating area of empirical research opens up” (446). Berger also defines the structural causes of modern pluralism as: “urbanization, migration, mass education, mass media [and] all of these gain potency under democratic conditions...” (447). There is no question that Americans have been affected by all of the broader structural factors that lead to pluralism, yet it remains a distinctly religious, rather than secularized, country. Understanding the “other factors” in the American situation may provide a key to some of the mechanisms that allow the retention of religious belief in a rapidly changing religious culture.

In the *Challenge of Diversity*, Robert Wuthnow specifically addresses immigration, religious pluralism, and challenges to tolerance (2003). Wuthnow posits that the deep differences involved in the world’s faith traditions, and their impact on the nature and identity of the United States as a country, should be taken seriously. Wuthnow
points out that in his 2003 Religion and Diversity Survey “48 percent of the public claimed to have had at least some personal contact with Muslims; 35 percent with Hindus; and 34 percent with Buddhists” (160), and notes that the results indicate that presence of these religions in the lives of Americans outweigh the actual proportions of adherents. Wuthnow suggests that the American situation requires a re-thinking of what it means to “engage in the study of religion” (161). He describes the issues involved in developing a theoretical framework “in which to think about religious diversity” and acknowledges that the “classical sociological tradition has little to offer” (162).

Wuthnow does identify several recommendations for scholars of the sociology of religion. The first is to recognize diversity as the condition of multiple belief systems and pluralism as a “normative evaluation of this diversity” (162). Additionally he suggests that scholars begin from the foundation that religions have “incommensurable moral and epistemological claims” (162). He notes that scholars should focus on practical considerations, and understand that religions are practiced, and therefore “embedded in communities and social interaction” (162), which at an aggregated level can affect the stability of a society. The intellectual considerations that Wuthnow highlights include developing more sophisticated taxonomies and better understandings of the relational aspects of religious diversity in American society.

Wuthnow concludes his book with recommendations for the direction of further study and notes, “these [religious] communities also co-exist in dynamic, often conflictive, but also sometimes cooperative relationships with each other. Foremost are questions about how these communities view one another, what perceptions are communicated, and what the potential for misunderstanding may be, especially when the
majority partner in many of these encounters remains, perhaps as it should be expected
to, committed to the exclusive truth of its own teachings” (168).

In *The Problem of Pluralism*, Machacek echoes Wuthnow’s concern regarding
theory in relation to religious pluralism in America (2003). He points out that, “religious
diversity has been a feature of American society since before the founding of the
nation... however, we learn little from this literature about the impact religious diversity
has had on the social system or the mechanisms that make pluralism possible” (145).
Machacek also describes the current state of research in the area as “unsystematic and
theoretically wanting” (145). Machacek reviews the waves of immigration and the
impact of immigration on American society in an effort to determine what is different and
“new” about the contemporary experience of religious pluralism and why it needs a new
approach from the “ground up” as Wuthnow also suggests. He cites the growing
numbers of adherents, and the growing realization that adherents to religions other than
Christianity have gained a representative capacity, and that is what is new. “Instead of
assimilating American social practices and cultural beliefs and values, the new
immigrants, often using religion as a primary resource, appear to be actively negotiating
the terms of American social and cultural life” (147).

What does this negotiation mean for religion in public life? Is religious pluralism
a challenge to political and civic life in America? Will a non-secularizing pluralism
structurally change American democracy and affect our public lives? Or, as Bruce
suggests, have we already completely secularized public life, and privatized religion, to
the extent that religious pluralism will have no effect on our experiences in public life
(2003)? Bruce believes that the latter circumstance has already occurred in the United
States. From his point of view, religious pluralism, by its very nature, negates a process whereby any one group can gain the capacity to intentionally influence law and public policy in a broad way. In fact, from his point of view, pluralism has little effect on the stability of an already secularized public arena. Most of his case studies emphasized that the level of importance of religion, and tolerance, in public life is closely related to the level of well-being that a population enjoys rather than to structural changes in American society.

In *Politics and Religion*, Bruce notes “I have argued, against the current consensus of social scientists, I suspect, that religious cultures have... contributed a great deal to modern politics and that there are important differences in the political consequences of the major world religions... Most of the causal connections I have traced between aspects of religious tradition and politics rest on unintended consequences” (254). Bruce provides broad geographic and historical evidence for his conclusions, and notes that they are supported by Inglehart’s work with the World Values Survey. However, he does concede that the state’s role in the protection of children requires the state to engage with, and often be intolerant to, the practice of religion. The legal and ethical implications of this issue alone would make it difficult to imagine law and public policy as being unaffected by religious pluralism.

As Bruce suggests, there are many social scientists who question the claim that secularization has occurred, or is occurring, and also question the idea that religious pluralism could ever lead to a secularized civil society where religious ideas remain private. Jose Casanova states; “During the entire decade of the 1980’s, it was hard to find any serious political conflict anywhere in the world that did not have behind it the not-so-
hidden hand of religion” (1994:3). Casanova supports the idea that “religion is here to stay” and will “continue playing important public roles in the ongoing construction of the modern world” (6). He calls for “better theories of the inter-meshing of public and private spheres” (7). Several of Casanova’s ideas are important to this discussion.

First, is Casanova’s conclusion that the attempt of religious institutions, and individuals, to intervene in the “public sphere of modern civil societies” (221) should not be viewed as traditional religious critiques of modernity; but should be understood as “immanent critiques of particular forms of modernity from a modern (my emphasis) religious point of view” (222). Casanova does not dismiss religious intervention in public life as the last gasps of traditional thinking. Second, Casanova’s case studies indicate that taking the position that secularization of public life is necessary in order to “safeguard modern liberties and differentiated structures” is “indiscriminate” and “unfounded”. There are situations where the influence of religion may have a desirable effect “from a modern normative perspective” (220). Finally, Casanova makes a point that is pertinent to the case I will examine. “One should not minimize the danger that a traditionalist backlash… may pose to modern normative structures. But in the very process of entering the modern public sphere, religions and normative traditions are also forced to confront and possibly come to terms with modern normative structures” (228). This clearly happened at the Parliament when the representatives of the Eastern religions gained an unexpected acceptance and popularity.

Elshtain also questions the plausibility of an argument that a secularized civic life is necessary to protect the public from the claims of religious believers. She states, “American democracy from its inception was premised on a complex intermingling of
religious and political imperatives” (Dionne et. al. 2004:94). In another essay, Elshtain discusses the issue of religious freedom and states “If religious freedom meant nothing more than religion should be free as long as it is irrelevant to the state, it does not mean much” (Griffiths and Elshtain, 2002:35). She also suggests that our understanding of tolerance is superficial, and denotes a sense of forbearance and hope that minorities will be satisfied by less than equal acceptance. Elshtain proposes, “Authentic tolerance based on a recognition of deep, not superficial, differences here gives way before an attempt to ‘normalize’” (35). Elshtain describes America historically as a country where “religious conviction invites civic contestations rather than a uniform religious perspective or set of religious demands in, or on, civic life” (Dionne et. al. 2004: 95).

Additionally, Elshtain addresses the very practical consideration that religions do not speak monolithically and illustrates this with the issue of slavery in America and differing opinions between Northern and Southern Christians. However, Elshtain’s points bring up the question of a Christian America and how our legal and public policy structures reflect foundations from Christian belief. The question is does the history of resolution of civic contestation within Christian understandings necessarily prepare us for civic contestation that includes other voices?

Wuthnow states “Americans came early to accept the idea that their society, while diverse, was fundamentally Christian and the meaning of diversity should be primarily in reference to the Christian majority… the struggle between a theology of exclusivism and a civic code of pluralism has remained constant” (2005:10). It appears that the American foundation in Christianity is relevant today. Seventy eight percent of the respondent’s to Wuthnow’s Religion and Diversity Survey agreed to the survey question “The United
States was founded on Christian principles” (2003:80). Wuthnow also found that while hate crimes, unfair zoning practices, and school struggles do occur regularly, our legal system is already structured to process these cases. However, fear of fragmentation and loss of American values are some of the unresolved issues that arise.

For example, Wuthnow’s respondents bring into question whether “we might be tempted to curb the First Amendment freedoms that are so fundamental to American democracy because we doubt the capacity of practitioners of newer religions to exercise their freedom responsibly” (79). Wuthnow notes that with practice in issues of race and ethnicity, we have a legal system and language that is prepared to respond to general issues of diversity, “but it is on the religious level that pluralism, as opposed to mere diversity, appears to be weakest (72). “Are religious differences so potentially divisive and conflict ridden that serious interaction and mutual engagement are out of the question?” (74). Casanova, Elshtain, and Wuthnow resoundingly disagree with Bruce’s proposition that religious pluralism is not an issue in already secularized society. They propose a historical and contemporary importance of religious involvement in American public policy, culture, and community life.

Berger, Wuthnow, and Machacek identify the large-scale structural change that undergirds American religious diversity (2001; 2005; 2003). They also identify a broad scope of sociological problems inherent in ascertaining what that diversity means to the American future in terms of identity, community, government, education, and the Christian roots of civil religion. Understanding the nuances of religious identity alone would require extensive ethnographic work to sort out the potential for conflict and cooperation within and among America’s diverse religions.
In order to approach Berger’s proposition, factors other than the larger structural drivers of diversity and pluralism, such as immigration, must be taken into consideration. According to Wuthnow and Machacek, a clear theoretical structure is not in place to ground the endeavor. Additionally, even if Wuthnow proposed an overarching structure for investigation and theory development, where do we find a contemporary, and reasonably bracketed, case for investigating the world’s faith traditions in the context of co-existence, conflict, and cooperation in daily interaction and in the public square?

The 1993 Parliament of Religions

Some scholars of sociology and religion attempted to find a case to analyze in the proceedings of the 1993 Parliament of World Religions, but Smith lamented that while a group of scholarly papers were generated by Parliament, few directly addressed the issues that Berger and Wuthnow raise, or really addressed religion at all (1995). Smith reported on his participation in the 1993 Parliament of Religions in Chicago, and noted that scholars of religion “had better have - something to teach those representatives of religious groups that convened in Chicago two months or so ago” (1995: 5). His observations of the interactions at the 1993 Parliament prompted him to suggest that it was made vivid “how many problems religious movements have with each other, and how serious the problems of pluralism are for them, and therefore the world, and for our common future” (5). Smith was discouraged by the event and suggests that it is the role of scholars of religion to re-engage in the study of pluralism so that the “next world
Parliament of Religions groups solve, and not merely illustrate the deep problems of pluralism” (11).

McCann analyzed the activities of the Council of the World Parliament of Religions leading up to the event. He reviewed symposia sponsored by the Council for the World Parliament of Religions at the 1990 and 1991 meetings; and several annual American Academy of Religion conferences, and states “in light of the papers presented at the CPWR’s symposia, I find the discontinuities with the 1893 Parliament more impressive than the continuities” (1993: 294). McCann’s analysis incorporated the idea that the 1993 group focused on a social gospel and issues of multiculturalism. Gaining acceptance of a document titled Toward a Global Ethic, authored mostly by Hans Kung, was one of the major efforts underway at the 1993 Parliament.

Bloch analyzed the document, and the lack of interest that it generated, using Roland Robertson’s “theoretical model addressing the tensions between the local and global” (2008: 613). He noted “Robertson felt that Kung’s model for global ethics was insufficient because it did not address a number of realistic considerations” (613). In the end, the document was withheld from the general convention due to the belief that no progress would be made toward adopting the document. Unfortunately, the literature by scholars of religion or sociology about the 1993 event is also sparse. McCutcheon and Roberts did not discuss the event in the terms that I am addressing here, but used the 1993 event as a starting point for a theoretical discussion regarding scholars of religion and the contributions they were, or should be, making (1998; 1998).

I suggest that the 1993 Parliament of World Religions would not serve as a case study in as valuable a way as the 1893 Parliament of Religions could for the following
reasons: 1) the governmental funding, and oversight of the 1893 event; 2) its connection to the Columbian Exposition and broader exposure throughout the country and world as a result of that connection; 3) the ability to compare and contrast with a simultaneous unintentional interaction like the Midway villages, and; 4) the significantly detailed documentation of the event. These factors add up to provide a case for exploration of the practical considerations that Wuthnow proposes. In particular, this case helps us examine Wuthnow's understanding that religions are practiced, and therefore “embedded in communities and social interaction” (2003: 162). The activities and outcomes of the 1893 Parliament of World Religions provide a potentially useful case study for exploration of our contemporary questions regarding finding meaning in the experience of world faith traditions in the context of co-existence, conflict, and cooperation in daily interaction and in the public square.
CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

Research Proposal and Research Questions

This study of the religious aspects of the 1893 Columbian Exposition, (including the 1893 World Parliament of Religions, Midway Plaisance villages, and the conflict regarding the opening of the Exposition on Sundays), explores inter-religious interactions in the context of co-existence, conflict, and cooperation through the lens of actors who are “embedded in communities and social interaction” (Wuthnow 2003: 162). This review of an empirical lived experience of interreligious interaction and religious dialog in the public square provides insight to the social conditions surrounding these events and to our knowledge about models and motivations for contemporary private, and public, inter-religious interactions.

Two levels of social interaction were distinguished for questions that were addressed. The first level is the public organizational and governmental levels which address the basic question of what social structures, circumstances, and motivations of actors allowed an event like the Parliament of Religions to be held in conjunction with a government managed and funded event. Here I focus on the motivations and understandings of groups or individuals that promoted or discouraged the event; and the cooperative and conflicting circumstances that surrounded the event. The questions addressed included: how did the involved organizations and groups understand the
meanings and definitions of public and private, and secularization and desecularization, at a formal structural level; what were the motivations for action and the strategies used by conflicting and/or cooperating groups; what appeared to be the intended and unintended consequences at a structural level?

The Midway villages and the conflict over the Sunday opening of the fair were also explored at this formal and structural level. The questions addressed included: what public and private structures supported the recruitment of villagers, and; how were the religious parts of the exhibits understood and negotiated within the formal organizational structure of the Midway Plaisance? The conflict regarding the Sunday opening included congressional, judicial and public opinion components in addition to the interaction between the federal and local levels of the Exposition organization. The questions addressed included: how was the issue defined and argued in terms of religion and public policy; what conditions allowed the religious discourse to be a part of the legislative process; what groups and actors were able to affect the argument and what motivations and strategies were employed, and; how was the conflict perceived by the general public?

The second approach consisted of examining the social interactions at an informal and interpretive level. The general questions involved in this level of investigation were aligned with Wuthnow's suggestions regarding investigating the effect of increasing religious diversity on American community life. The questions suggested by Wuthnow include: how do these “communities view one another; what perceptions are communicated, and; what the potential for misunderstanding may be, especially when the majority partner in many of these encounters remains, perhaps as it should be expected to, committed to the exclusive truth of its own teachings” (2003: 168).
In terms of the Parliament of Religions, The Midway villages, and conflict over Sunday at the fair, the questions at this level of exploration included: how did participants and leaders of different Christian groups perceive each other and the visiting religious participants and leaders; how did the foreign religious leaders and participants perceive the activities of American religious representatives at the event, and in their home countries; what were the motivations for interreligious interaction or conflict; what strategies were used to communicate and promote cooperation and what circumstances led to conflict and misunderstandings, and; how did journalists, visitors to the fair, and participants in the petition drives, represent and perceive the events and circumstances that occurred?

As the Parliament of Religions, the Midway village experience, and the conflict over Sunday unfolded, many of Wuthnow’s questions are addressed through the direct and intentional participation of religious, academic, and governmental leaders; and were understood through the reflected experiences of the citizens and journalists who attended the Parliament presentations, enjoyed the exhibitions on the Midway Plaisance, and participated in the conflict over the Sunday opening of the fair.

In summary, the overarching questions that were explored were:

- How did the Parliament event become possible, considering the U.S. was in the early stages of religious pluralism and still healing from battles within Christianity? What social forces and actors affected the organization and funding of the event? What motivated the key actors to promote a religiously pluralistic dialog and public square?

- How did the “insiders” at the exposition and parliament event perceive and portray their activities? How did the multiple religious communities view one another, what perceptions were communicated, what motivations surfaced, and what conflicts, collaborations, and intended or unintended consequences resulted from the interactions in the Midway villages, Parliament Halls, and in relation to
the Sunday conflict? Did the conditions support or prevent normative religious pluralism, interreligious dialog, and religious discourse in the public square?

- How did the “outsiders” at the exposition and parliament event perceive and portray what they observed? What were the public perceptions and presentations of the events and circumstances? How did the larger society, including those who were not religious, react to the events and circumstances?

Most importantly, how does the examination of all of the above circumstances and conditions help us frame and understand the impact of immigration and religious diversity on contemporary American society?

- What were the nineteenth century foundations of a pluralistic public square and how are those conditions comparable to the contemporary social context?

- Did religious co-existence lead to religious pluralism and if so, what conditions supported that occurring and do similar conditions exist in the contemporary social context?

- What were the motivations for intentionally pluralistic religious discourse and do similar motivations exist in the contemporary social context?

It should be noted that the methodological importance of establishing categories of “insider” and “outsider” allows for an ability to view the same event from two perspectives and address the nature of differing perspectives in order to more fully identify the capacity, resources and motivations for action on the part of the various actors. The substantive importance of identifying insiders is to understand how processes were initiated and how the public spaces were managed. The actors are conceived of as having specific motivations and goals related to their position of authority and position in society. The categories were created for analytical purposes and in reality the boundaries are permeable and flexible. For example the secular press is considered to be an outsider in relation to the Exposition managers in the Battle for Sunday, but did have the insider ability to initiate processes that impacted the outcome. For the purpose of the data
analysis the actors were positioned in one category or another and were not considered to be acting in a mediated way. However, the benefit of interpretive analysis is that once those categories have been established, the permeable nature of the actual positions of the actors and the outcomes of their activity emerged in the narrative.

Theoretical Approach: Foundations for this Exploration

Wuthnow and Machacek’s concern regarding the lack of overarching theory in the investigation of religious diversity and pluralism is an important consideration in the proposed methodology for this project (2003; 2003). The general consensus in historical sociology is that overarching theories are not necessary for the investigation of particularized and contextualized historical events. In fact it is particularity and context that makes an event an event. However, one of the guiding propositions of early historical sociology was that the methodology is designed to complete exactly the task that Wuthnow and Machacek are calling for which is the development of explanations where current theory can offer no guidance.

The World Parliament of Religions and the Columbian Exposition were carefully planned events. Those who participated as insiders were, for the most part, aware of unprecedented nature of their experience and interactions. The internal structure of the events; motivations and understandings of individual actors; participation of journalists and attendees; and the external presentation of the activities that encompassed the religious aspects of the 1893 Columbian Exposition offer a microcosm of the negotiations Wuthnow describes. The event also emerged from a broader social structure including the
machinations of government oversight, the cooperation of international governments, recruitment of financial support, conflicts among religious leaders and institutions regarding the event, and the late nineteenth century cultural expressions. The Parliament and its participants were embedded in this larger arena which might help address some of the questions that Berger and Machacek express (2001; 2003). In a sense, the social structures involved in this case are the “other factors” that bind the specific actors and actions to the broader structural outcomes that the Parliament of Religions may have contributed to in the early twentieth century and possibly still today.

In addition to Berger and Wuthnow's approaches, Christian Smith addresses the secularization of American institutions during the period of 1870 to 1930 as a “secular revolution” (2003). Smith argues that the process of secularization is often presented as occurring “naturally” over time and he makes a strong case that secularization was an intentional process moved forward by a group of actors with a particular world-view. He proposes “any new version of secularization theory will need to: 1) be far more analytically concrete 2) include a stronger sense of human agency in the historical process 3) reflect an appreciation for historical contingency and foregone alternative outcomes 4) balance individual and ‘ideal’ factors with institutional, structural and material factors...” (2). This framework will be applied in particular to my examination of the 1893 Parliament of Religions and the organizers attempt to promote a non-secularizing pluralism as a social and cultural ideal.

Additionally, Berger, Davies and Fokas explore the idea of two versions of modernity (2008). They propose a religious America and a secular Europe and suggest that seven possibilities for this difference “emerge: differences in church-state
relationships; questions of pluralism; different understandings of the Enlightenment; different types of intellectuals; variations in culture and how this is understood; institutional contrasts (how in concrete terms the Enlightenment and associated cultures are sustained); and differences in the ways that religious organizations relate to indices of social differences...” (2008:3). There are two points made here that relate to my exploration. The first is that addressing culture is an important part of the discovery and analysis. The second is that it is possible to compare the issues of religious diversity, tolerance, and pluralism in the early modernity of the late nineteenth century with our contemporary experience. This exploration of early modernity may help frame our sense of grappling with similar issues today. I would suggest that as Berger, Davies and Fokas use the idea of multiple modernities to analyze circumstances separated by space; I could endeavor to make connections between modernities separated by time.

Conceptual and Epistemological Framework

My conceptual framework aligns with Wuthnow’s statement that theory development is required to further our understanding of the day-to-day individual and structural meanings and implications of religious diversity, religious tolerance and religious pluralism. I will approach the religious aspects of the 1893 Columbian Exposition from a pragmatic framework, recognizing it as a unique event contextualized by late nineteenth century American religious, social and political culture. However, I also will address Abrams' proposal that an event is "a transformation device between past and future; it has eventuated from the past, and it signifies for the future" (1982: 191).
Abrams' description of events as signifiers for the future is in keeping with the overall framework of a pragmatic approach. Abrams also identifies the need to understand the context of the event in order to explain its significance for the contemporary circumstance. This conceptual framework supports the idea that a historical and contextualized event can contribute to our contemporary understanding of religious diversity and pluralism in the United States.

Additionally, the more immediate conceptual frames that were employed in this analysis were: 1) conceptualizing religious pluralism as either a non-secularizing or secularizing force in public life; 2) conceptualizing diversity and modernity as being related to the processes of secularization and desecularization; 3) integrating human agency as an explanatory factor in the progress of events, and; 4) balancing the possible effects of agency, culture, and structure in the process of analyzing the religious aspects of the Columbian Exposition. The centrality of the experience of the actors, the concept of historical constellations and polarities, and an interpretive approach to history were the broader concepts that guided this investigation.

I addressed the experiences of the involved actors, by focusing on Abrams' concept of identity and generations (1982). Abrams uses this concept to outline the epistemological basis for using the acts or motivations of one particular individual as a window to the discovery of the collective understandings of a particular point in history. Mannheim also covers this idea elegantly in Ideology and Utopia:

The genetic method of explanation, if it goes deep enough, cannot in the long run limit itself to the individual life history, but must piece together so much that finally it touches on the interdependence of the individual life history and the more inclusive group situation. For the individual life history is only a component in a series of mutually intertwined life histories which have their common theme in this upheaval; the particular new motivation of a single
individual is part of a motivational complex in which many persons participate in various ways (1936: 27-28).

An additional assumption that I made in my treatment of this case was that the religious aspects of the Columbian Exposition were framed by and emerged from a constellation of conditions. A variety of conditions preceded and surrounded the 1893 Columbian Exposition and there are theories and methods that would allow for a linear analysis of the trajectories of events. However, my assumption is that these conditions can be identified, but they are not necessarily arranged in a linear causal fashion.

I see paradox, polarities, and “contradictory manifestations” as the ground of human social experience. Goffman, Garfinkel, and Berger all agree that mediating these problems is an ongoing human task (1959; 1967; 1966). This understanding of human social interaction, and individual and structural meaning making, is also an underlying assumption in my analysis. I also ground my conceptualization of the forces and processes of secularization and de-secularization within the conceptual framework proposed by Karpov (2010). Though his framework applies to larger comparative projects, it is important to address the idea of secularization as a process that co-occurs with de-secularizing forces. The 1893 Columbian Exposition emerged in a time of massive social and technological change, which makes it a fruitful ground for discovering the contradictions and flux between ideas of tradition and progress, religion and state, and religion and religion.

Additionally, I focus on an interpretive approach using thick description to explore and portray the experiences and possible motivations of the actors involved in
inter-religious interaction. Skocpol’s discussion of the use of interpretive historical method guided my analysis and presentation of the material. She points out that interpretive methods were used by some sociologists as a critical response to sociologists who used general models. However, she posits that interpretive historical sociology is a “positive approach in its own right” (1984: 368). Skocpol identifies two criteria that are important in relation to choosing this strategy. She recommends that the researcher has an interest in the “culturally imbedded intentions of groups or actors” in relation to the topic; and the arguments about the historical event or process should address ideas that are “culturally or politically significant in the present” (368).

Skocpol also presents interpretive work as particularly compelling within sociology, and for broader audiences, for the following reasons: 1) interpretive work allows a focus on telling a compelling story once the concepts have been clarified; 2) the evidence does not have to appear out of context in order to illustrate its application within a general model; 3) interpretive historical work can “tap into contemporary sensibilities, intellectual trends and assumptions about how the world works”, and; 4) interpretive work mediates the “meaningful happenings in the past with the concerns of the present day” (371). The strengths of an interpretive focus connect well with Wuthnow’s ideas regarding a research agenda for the sociology of religion. He calls for a clearer understanding of the experiences, and meaning making, of individuals in a religiously diverse world because he believes this will instruct us in navigating the future (2003).

Trimberger points out that interpretive historical work using thick description can be theoretical in its own right (1984). With that in mind, I used
Ponterotto's working definition of the concept of thick description in qualitative research to guide my exploration and reporting. His working definition is:

Thick description accurately describes observed social actions and assigns purpose and intentionality to these actions, by way of the researcher's understanding and clear description of the context under which the social actions took place. Thick descriptions capture the thoughts and feelings of the participants as well as the often-complex web of relationships between them. Thick description leads to thick interpretation, which in turn leads to meaning of the research findings... (2006: 543).

My use of thick description helped in operationalizing Abrams' and Mannheim's concept that the experience of the individual is a window to the experience of a group or society (1982; 1936). As the experience of each actor is elaborated, the experience of the whole becomes illuminated, and provides meaningful input for our contemporary questions.

Finally, I used a single case study approach to analyze the social structure surrounding, and occurring within, the 1893 Columbian Exposition. Skocpol cautions that single case studies may give the impression of causal connections because of the compelling narrative and questions the capacity of a single case study to contribute to sociological theory (1984). However, Ragin supports the notion that cases can be viewed as "specific theoretical constructs which coalesce in the course of the research. Neither empirical, nor given, they are gradually imposed on the empirical evidence as they take shape in the course of the research... interaction between ideas and evidence results in a progressive refinement of the case conceived as a theoretical construct" (1992:10).

Simply stated, Ragin proposes that cases can be perceived as "found" rather than constructed. A bounded case would empirically exist, but must "be identified in the research process" (9). Ultimately, my framework for investigation favored Ragin's
concept that a major part of the research process is revealing and confirming what the evidence is a "case of".

I identified the religious aspects of the Columbian Exposition, and most specifically the World Parliament of Religions, as a case of non-secularizing pluralism, or at least an experiment in that direction. I considered the nature of the event itself as bounded and empirically representative of an unprecedented gathering of representatives of the world's religions. Additionally, the Midway Plaisance provided an empirical "lived pluralism" for a six-month period during the World's Fair; and the conflict over the Sunday opening of the Exposition provided a direct source for the examination of religious conflict regarding a public event, the strategies and outcomes involved in the process and resolution, and the conditions that supported religious discourse in the public square. My research process involved a balance of confirmation of the case of non-secularizing pluralism that is already "found" within the boundaries of the Exposition, and identification of the other social forces and conditions that emerged in the exploration.

Methods of Data Collection

The method that I used to approach this project was historical social research that aimed at a narrative explanation of the constellation of circumstances surrounding, and occurring within, the religious aspects of the 1893 Columbian Exposition. The focus was inductive and temporal; and primarily qualitative with some elements of quantification. The case was approached as cross-sectional with some elements of longitudinal analysis.
in order to place the event in context; explore the surrounding cultural and religious sentiments; and identify initial positions of key groups and actors in the formation of the event. The analysis focused on the time frame from 1889 to 1898, which encompassed the planning and completion of the Columbian Exposition and the formal documentation of the event. The broader historical framework was addressed to place the events and actors within that context in order to understand and portray the larger social forces that were affecting conditions and the understandings and motivations of actors.

Sources for Data Selection

An Official Directory of the Fair, containing over 1200 pages, and a final report from the President of the Columbian Exposition, containing nearly 500 pages, were published and recorded by the United States Congress. Additionally, minutes from the federal and local Exposition leadership committees were published. A full copy of the minutes of the local board of directors is available through the Chicago History Museum. Records of the federal committee are held in University of Michigan archives. Many of the above sources are available in digital collections and can be accessed and searched online.

Additionally, Charles Bonney, president of the World's Congress Auxiliary, published a list of documents related to the congresses in a literary journal in 1896. In that list, he noted 10 volumes documenting the Parliament of Religions, each averaging over 1,000 pages, written primarily by committee members, ministers or professors. He also reported 19 published records of the religious congress proceedings, which on
average contain several hundred pages (Bonney 1896). Official catalogs, directories and programs for Exposition and Religious Congress activities are available as well.

The Chicago Public Library holds archives that contain 432 items including organizational documents, collections of exposition committee meeting minutes, photographs and records of the Midway Plaisance exhibits, financial records, and event promotion materials. The Chicago History Museum and Chicago Historical Society collections contain 1123 records related to the Exposition, including minutes, photographs, official documents, books, and letters and diaries of exposition visitors and committee members. The main archive for the exposition contains 18 linear feet of documents. The University of Illinois at Chicago collection contains programs, academic journals, artworks, and photographs in nine cataloged boxes. They also have a digital archive of 32 books that contain state reports, descriptions of life on the Midway Plaisance and official documents of the fair.

University of Michigan libraries list holdings of 396 documents including reports to Congress, minutes of the local and federal boards of directors, directories, journals, and biographies that are archived or available online. Illinois Institute of Technology hosts a digital exhibit of the Columbian Exposition that contains photographs, documents, Bancroft's book of the Fair, and biographies. Harvard University lists holdings of 827 archived or online documents that also contain official reports, minutes, and books describing the Exposition, Parliament of Religions and Midway Plaisance. The University of California has a smaller collection of less than 300 items and most of them are related to the state's participation in the event. Most of the official directories, histories, meeting minutes, and congressional reports are included in several archives, so
the numerical representation reflected in this section does not represent discrete items in all cases. Portions of all of the collections are digitized and available online or with a guest subscription to the library.

Three historical newspaper databases are available through the Western Michigan University library. One data base covers archives from larger city newspapers such as the Chicago Tribune, New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Wall Street Journal, and Atlanta Constitution. The other data bases cover small city newspapers and Nineteenth Century African American newspapers. The small city newspaper data base represents all regions of the United States except for the South East coast area. At least one newspaper is available from Oregon, Idaho, Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Ohio, Michigan, Vermont and New Jersey.

Western Michigan University libraries provide access to a Nineteenth Century Master File that covers periodicals and government documents. The Master File holds 351 records pertaining to the Parliament, Exposition, Midway and Sunday closing.

Method of Data Selection and Reduction

The availability of massive amounts of digitized materials required a very selective expansion of the possible sources in conjunction with significant narrowing down of the available materials. My strategy for data selection and reduction included several criteria. The first was the relevance of the material to the research questions. Many of the available documents were eliminated because their topic or focus is not pertinent to the conflict over Sunday, the Parliament of Religions or the Midway villages.
Secondly I considered reliability and potential for valid inferences in the
document selection process. I used document category and selection criteria proposed by
Dibble in “Four Types of Inferences from Documents to Events”. Dibble classifies
documents as “testimony, social bookkeeping, correlates, and direct indicators” (1963:
204). Testimonies were selected based on the following criteria: 1) it was recorded
shortly after the event; 2) it is possible to assess the audience and intention for
communication; 3) the testimony appears unprompted or the circumstances that prompted
it can be considered, and; 4) the testimony was likely to be recorded prior to the
individual being exposed to other versions of the observed event (205). In general, it was
difficult to discern whether the fourth criterion was met in the majority of the documents
that were utilized.

I categorized Congressional records, official reports and similar documents as
“social book keeping”. My criteria for selecting social bookkeeping records included: 1)
ability to assess the social and institutional processes that produced the document; 2) the
number of steps between the observer and the recorder of the final report, and; 3) the
ability to determine the probable completeness of the record (209). I paid particular
attention to multiple reports from different perspectives and rather than selecting out
incomplete reports, I used the information to enhance the narrative explanation of the
possible motivations and points of view of the actors.

Documents that were used a direct indicators to answer a “purely descriptive
question” were selected using the general criteria that are used to discern the reliability
and validity of any historical document (1963:214). Authorship, audience, purpose of the
communication, completeness, temporality, social convention and institutional pressures,
the reason for survival of the document, and availability of corroborating documents were all considered in selecting and comparing descriptive documents. I did not pursue utilizing documents as correlates for explaining events.

Finally, my own perspective and imagination regarding the circumstances and motivations of the actors in this event has been a part of the process of data evaluation, selection, and analysis. An argument can easily be made that this is the primary limitation of all parts of this project. Data selection was also limited by cost constraints in terms of travel and purchase of copies of archived documents. If a digitized document that met the criteria and addressed specific research questions was available it was selected over documents that would require travel or processing fees. The movement toward digitization of documents with expired copyrights and the ability to procure a guest account at the University of Michigan Library, which holds a large digitized collection of Columbian Exposition documents, greatly enhanced the availability of high quality data regardless of cost constraints.

Primary Document Sources

Newspaper and Periodical Articles

My primary documents sources included newspaper and periodical articles periodical articles which were selected from the following databases. The ProQuest Historical Newspaper database includes 57 major city newspapers. Multiple papers covering a variety of time spans are available for Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles,
New York, Pittsburg, and Washington, D. C. The newspapers that were used to determine the messages and themes that were shaped through public discourse included The Chicago Tribune, Detroit Free Press, The Atlanta Constitution, The Los Angeles Times, The New York Times, and The Washington Post. The Wall Street Journal was the only major newspaper published at that time and available in the database, that did not address any of the aspects of the Columbian Exposition that were being explored.

The America’s Historical Newspapers, Early American Newspapers Series 1, 6, and 7 spanning from 1690 to 1922 database supplied articles from small city newspapers. The newspapers that were used to determine the public information and discourse in small cities included The Augusta Chronicle (Augusta GA), The Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock, AK), The Grand Rapids Press (Grand Rapids MI), The Idaho Register (Idaho City, ID), The Jackson Citizen (Jackson, MI), The Kalamazoo Gazette (Kalamazoo, MI) The Kansas City Times (Kansas City, MO), The Oregonian (Portland, OG), Plain Dealer (Cleveland, OH), St Alban’s Daily Messenger (St. Albans, VT), The Times-Picayune (New Orleans, LA), and the Trenton Evening Times (Trenton, NJ).

The Accessible Archives African American Newspaper collection is focused on cultural life and history in the nineteenth century. The collection offers biographies, statistics, poetry, and essays in addition to archives of seven African American newspapers. The Christian Recorder was the only African American newspaper in this database that was published during the Columbian Exposition time frame.

The American Periodical Series Online database includes American magazines and journals published from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. Subjects that are covered include history, literature, history of science and medicine, law, news and
magazines, politics, religion, education, women's studies, art and American studies. There were forty three periodicals that were published during the time span of the Columbian Exposition that included relevant subject matter such as religion, law, philosophy, politics, popular culture, social life, history, and satire.

Accounts of the planning for the Exposition begin in July of 1889. Newspaper and periodical accounts were used to help assess the chronological order of events, identify discourses of insiders and outsiders, and identify key individuals and groups who did not have official titles or positions within the Columbian Exposition organizational structure, but still affected the course of events. My selection of sources from historical newspapers and periodicals was limited to articles that returned under keyword searches as follows: 1) "Parliament of Religions" OR "Congress of Religions" limited to article abstracts or titles from 01/01/1889 to 12/31/1898; 2) "Midway villages" or "Cairo Street" or "Midway Plaisance" expanded to full citation and text of articles from 01/01/1892 to 12/31/1894; 3) "Columbian Exposition" AND Sunday or "World's Fair" AND Sunday limited to article abstracts or titles from 01/01/1889 to 12/31/1898. The search limits were expanded for information in the Midway because a limited search did not return enough articles to select from.

The returned articles were reviewed for relevance to the research question and the aspect of the Exposition that was being examined for that particular search. Articles were not selected if the title did not accurately convey the content, they were redundant, too brief to convey ideas, illegible, or unavailable even though listed in the newspaper database as an available article. For example, in the search for articles for Chapter IV
"The Battle for Sunday", a total of 389 potentially relevant articles were reviewed and 164 articles were selected for coding and analysis.

Official Reports and Histories of the Fair

There are five documents that offer detailed accounts of the planning process of the Exposition and Parliament of Religions. Three of the sources were written as the fair unfolded, and published by the end of 1893; the remaining two documents were published in 1898. The Presidents Report was evaluated as testimony in some sections and social bookkeeping in others. The remaining documents were evaluated as social bookkeeping and as direct indicators. This set of documents allowed for cross checking details that were emphasized or left out by the authors to help determine the conflicts and perceptions reflected in the process. These documents were used to verify and expand on information from newspaper and periodical accounts. The sources are:


Parliament of Religions and Religious Congress Documents

Several books were published in 1893-1894 to document the activities of the Parliament and record selected speeches. A complete program of the Parliament and Religious Congresses is available and was used to explore potential patterns in the selection of speeches that were published. Many of the meetings and addresses of the individual Religious Congresses were also published, but were not selected for analysis other than for occasional fact checking, or to identify if a newspaper account accurately identified individuals or events. Over ten volumes covering the Parliament of Religion were published. However, Richard Hughes Seager identified two sources as authoritative (1993). They are the account of John Henry Barrows, the president of the Parliament of Religions oversight committee, which is contained in two volumes, and the edited account by W.R. Houghton (1893; 1893). These two accounts and the program of the congresses were used as data for the analysis of the Parliament.

Secondary Document Sources

I relied on the work of historians to discuss the broader religious and historical context leading up to the Exposition and Parliament of Religions. Linda Woodhead, Richard Seager and Eric Ziolkowski were the primary resources for this task, but many other resources were used to describe the context for specific social conditions (2001; 1993; 1993).
Methods of Data Analysis

A qualitative, interpretive analysis was completed for all selected newspaper and periodical articles. Open coding was used to assign the information in the articles to initial categories based on the research questions. A spreadsheet was used to categorize documents and data selected from documents in the open coding; and to sort, search, re-categorize, and consolidate entries in the conceptual analysis phase. The data was considered primarily from qualitative and cross sectional approaches, but quantitative approaches were used to determine which attitudes and ideas were predominant for insiders, religious communities, and the general public. Detailed procedures for data analysis follow.

Use of Primary Documents

In order to organize the process, and systematically address the data, I treated newspaper accounts and the official exposition records (The Official Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition, the three books of the fair listed in the data selection section, the Presidents final report) in the same manner as initial field interviews or notes might be used. Barrows' account of the Parliament of Religions was used in the same manner for the chapter that addressed the Parliament. In that manner, my “entry into the field” for each part of the exploration was consistent.

Using these documents as the entry point allowed me to: 1) organize the data chronologically; 2) identify how each official account addressed, or did not address,
conflicts and events that could be verified in other sources; 3) identify key actors and groups that were in formal or informal positions of influence, and; 4) use the same type of resource or "entry to the field" for initial coding for all of the questions that were considered.

All of the accounts were used for multiple research questions and to identify the perceptions and portrayals of multiple constituencies. The coding spread sheet system was designed to accommodate sorting or additional coding of the articles in order to address material from different standpoints. Each circumstance that was considered (The Battle for Sunday, The Midway Plaisance and The Parliament of Religions) generated spreadsheets of over twenty pages to accommodate the capturing and sorting of data in order to address the research questions from multiple angles.

Open Coding Procedures

Spreadsheet "books" were developed for each of the religious aspects of the Columbian Exposition that were being investigated. Within each of the spreadsheets, separate pages were developed for each type of account. For example large city newspaper accounts were entered on sheet one, small city newspaper accounts on sheet two, etc. The title, abstract, page number, newspaper or periodical name, and dates were entered in chronological order for each article. Each research question was entered across the top of the spreadsheet, with categories for positive and negative perceptions and portrayals listed under each research question. Cells for key group or institutional process or social force, document type and use, author perspective and notes for
additional research or follow up were also entered across the top of the spreadsheet. Each newspaper or periodical article was then reviewed for applicability to the research questions and notes regarding the information that directly addressed the questions were entered.

Each of the other primary documents and records (The Official Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition, the three books of the fair listed in the data selection section, the President's final report) were reviewed using keyword searches or the table of contents. Portions of the documents were selected for review to verify the newspaper accounts and add to the perspectives of insiders or observers. Additional materials were searched for and selected based on the need for more information regarding key actors, groups or social conditions that required further exploration to develop a context for the events, perceptions, portrayals and activities. For example, additional research was completed on human exhibits, World's Fairs, Sunday legislation, newspapers in the nineteenth century; and biographies, obituaries and written work of key individuals and groups.

Review of additional materials was limited to significant actors and groups, activities that were key turning points in a trajectory, or information that appeared to be significantly tied to key issues in the analysis, in order to reasonably limit the scope of data gathering and analysis. For example, the Parliament of Religions could not be thoroughly addressed without selecting some speeches for review, but speeches were selected based on important issues or key actors that were identified in the primary coding process. Follow up documents were added to the open coding process until a saturation point was reached in terms of addressing the questions raised.
Secondary Coding and Analysis Procedures

Focused and conceptual coding was completed using the spreadsheet created in the open coding phase. Initial categories, notes and descriptions were used to identify patterns and create thematic categories. In some cases the positive/negative perception and portrayal categories did not accommodate the information presented in news and periodical accounts. In those cases, additional categories were created during focused and conceptual coding. The analysis included combinations of all sources by research question, patterns by region and size of city, patterns by type of periodical or editorial leaning of newspapers, and chronological development of perceptions and portrayals of events.

In some cases, particularly in the Battle for Sunday, the nature of the conflict that was discovered in the initial analysis required extensive re-coding of editorial attitudes in newspapers and periodicals in order to determine how the secular and religious presses carried out the conflict. Subsequent sorting included: 1) tracing interactions among key actors; 2) identifying activities that lead up to, and happened as a result of, key events, and; 3) developing questions that still remain unanswered. The process of open and descriptive, and then focused and conceptual coding, had several phases and as new questions were introduced or as new patterns emerged, additional data sources were consulted to provide context or additional information.

Path dependency and event-structure analysis processes were used as overarching guidelines for identifying patterns and themes. Aminzade describes path
dependency as “the notion that for any given trajectory, past choices and temporally remote events can help explain subsequent paths of development and contemporary outcomes” (1992: 462). Sequences of events that seemed to eliminate the possibility of a return to status quo, or cut off most alternative trajectories allowed were given special attention. For example, the outspoken delegates at the Parliament made it difficult for missionary activities to return to status quo. Schutt describes event-structure analysis as: “classifying historical information into discrete events; ordering the events into a temporal sequence; identifying prior steps that are a prerequisite for subsequent events; representing connections between events in a diagram; eliminating from the diagram connections that are not necessary to explain the focal event” (2006:388). The concept of event-structure analysis was used loosely rather than applied as described above, but still informed the process of analysis.

Thick description guided the reporting of findings and interpretations. I approached this process as it was described in the conceptual section. “Thick description accurately describes observed social actions and assigns purpose and intentionality to these actions, by way of the researcher’s understanding and clear description of the context under which the social actions took place. Thick descriptions capture the thoughts and feelings of the participants as well as the often-complex web of relationships between them. Thick description leads to thick interpretation, which in turn leads to meaning of the research findings… (Ponterotto, 2006:543).
CHAPTER IV

BATTLE FOR SUNDAY

Introduction

The conflict over the Sunday opening of the Columbian Exposition was a battle that engaged the local and federal Columbian Exposition committees as well as the U.S. Congress and local, state, and federal courts for a three year period prior to the opening of the Exposition in 1893. Voluntary associations, church organizations, and individual citizens from throughout the country weighed in on the question and its consequences for the understanding of the United States as a Christian nation.

Interpretations of what it meant to be a Christian, a Christian nation, whether the United States was indeed a Christian nation, and whether religious sentiments should be translated into religious regulation through legislation, were far more diverse than might be imagined at that point in United States history. The fact that in a few short years invited guests from many nations and religions would join U.S. citizens in celebrating human progress at a world’s fair in Chicago, brought these issues and interpretations into sharp relief in the public square.

For some, the Columbian Exposition offered the opportunity for Christian Americans to play the host to visitors of other religions and explore their views of the world. For others, the Columbian Exposition offered a high profile opportunity to establish that a strict observance of the Christian Sabbath had gained God’s favor and
significantly contributed to America's strength and wealth. They hoped that other countries would come to see the benefit of a Christian society.

In this chapter, I will explore the attitudes of nineteenth century Americans toward societal observance of Sunday restrictions, and the meaning of the Columbian Exposition Sunday opening conflict to those who participated in and observed it. A history of nineteenth century Sunday observance activism and legislation, and a brief chronology of the battle for Sunday, will be presented to establish the context for the conflict. The status of newspapers in the late nineteenth century is also covered in this introductory section to illustrate the benefits and limitations of using historical newspapers and periodicals to discern the attitudes and activities of participants. In the body of the chapter, I will examine the messages, mechanisms and strategies used by 'outsider' and 'insider' individuals and organizations as they participated in the conflict over Sunday at the fair.

Social and economic structures, individual and organizational strategies, and attitudes and practices of legislators, all formed a constellation of conditions that allowed for a religiously pluralistic public square, which existed on four foundations. The foundations were a social ideal that religious ideas could serve as a moral resource for society; an active and widespread engagement in voluntary associations that served to communicate local concerns through a national network; an open press that served to support dialog, and; based on citizen driven nature of interactions between legislators and citizens.
Context of Sunday Observance in the Late Nineteenth Century

Prior to the 1880’s laws in every state in the United States were designed to limit activities on Sunday and enforce an observance of the Sabbath. The laws were adhered to in varying degrees prior to this time, but a change was taking place in the activities that Americans wanted to pursue on Sundays, and enforcement of the laws diminished. Sunday observance had decreased after the Civil War in part due to the expansion of transportation and the economy which made shopping, travelling and other leisure activities more available on Sundays. As early as the 1860’s Sunday laws were changing in response to advocacy for minority religious practices. “By 1868 fifteen states permitted at least private work by Jews, Seventh Day Baptists, [and] Seventh Day Adventists” (Jonas 1961: 95).

The ideal of the fourth commandment and concern over the changes in society provided motivation for Sabbath keeping organizations to rebuild and aim toward restoring a stricter observance of the Sabbath. The American Sabbath Association formed in 1888 with the “avowed object of...tightening and enforcing Sunday laws” (106). Jonas noted that “Between 1888 and 1904, no less than twenty-eight bills were introduced in Congress dealing with some phase of Sunday regulation” (108). The majority of the 28 bills mentioned by Jonas came before Congress in order to mandate specific restrictions on Sunday activities in the District of Columbia.

Four Republican congressmen were most active in proposing legislation that applied to the United States as a whole. They were Senator Blair of New Hampshire, Representative Morse of Massachusetts, Senator Quay of Pennsylvania, and
Representative Frye of Maine. During the 50th and 51st sessions of congress Senator Henry W. Blair proposed a total of four bills aimed at requiring Sunday observance and the provision of religious teaching in public schools during his tenure as Chair of the Committee on Education and Labor. Blair, a lawyer and “prominent temperance advocate” (Hammersly 1910:173) made his motivations clear in a letter to the Mail and Express on April, 19 1890. He stated:

Only a homogenous people can be great. No great nation can exist with more than one language, more than one religion, more than one general form of education or the masses of the people…I do not believe that it is possible that the American Nation will develop in the direction of toleration of all religions—that is, so called religions…I yet believe that instead of selecting and finally tolerating all so called religions, the American people will, by constant and irresistible pressure, gradually expel from our geographical boundaries every religion except the Christian in its varied forms (Blakely 1890: 206)

Representative Morse, during the 52nd Congress, proposed the first bill that would require the Columbian Exposition to be closed on Sunday. In a letter to the Chicago Daily Tribune he warned Chicagoans that if they moved forward on desecrating the Lord’s Day, it was likely that The Almighty would bring Asiatic cholera to the city (Gives an Extraordinary Warning 1892: 8). This bill was not supported initially, but did set in motion and amendment to the Sundry Civil bill which tied the federal appropriation to a requirement that the Columbian Exposition be closed on Sundays. Senator Quay championed the amendment through to success, which will be explored later in this chapter. Senator Frye, a lawyer and temperance advocate, served in the House and Senate (Blakely 1911: 664). He cautioned that the salvation of the country depended on its adherence to strict Sunday observance (To Observe the Day 1892: 2). The focus of Senator Frye’s legislative efforts was to amend the Constitution to include references to God.
Only three of the bills that were proposed during this time frame were adopted, and two of the three were the Columbian Exposition appropriation bills (Blakely 1911: 108). Alonso Jones, representing The Seventh Day Adventist Church, through their National Religious Liberty Association, consistently advocated against the bills that proposed Sunday restrictions. Their argument for religious liberty and separation of church and state was a consistent feature in hearings regarding the legislation. Several prominent newspapers took up the religious liberty cause as well. Demographic changes in religious belief and practice due to immigration, and increased availability of entertainment and travel options on Sundays also contributed to a less restrictive observance of Sunday rest. The defeat of the Columbian Exposition Sunday closing legislation “revealed how much public opinion, at least in the big cities, had shifted” (Raucher 1994: 20). Sabbatarian movements declined and weakened by the early twentieth century.

Newspapers in the Nineteenth Century

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of significant transformation for newspapers and periodicals. Prior to 1870, most newspapers and periodicals were sold on an annual subscription basis, were generally partisan and conservative, and biased their news for the “social and economic elites” who subscribed to the papers (Kaplan 1995: 68). By the late 1880’s the business model for newspapers transitioned from revenues based on subscriptions to revenues based on advertising,
which led to lower prices and increased circulation, which in turn increased advertising revenues.

The advent of the penny press decreased the cost of periodicals and dramatically increased readership in immigrant and working class populations. This process democratized the press, “introducing a new ‘class viewpoint’ into the pages of the daily papers” (Kaplan 1995: 66). By the end of the nineteenth century “one Sunday paper was printed in New York City for every 1.6 people in the metropolis” (Smith 2006: 138). Since it was not unusual for even “nationally important” newspapers to be staffed by a few editors and printers, this increase in newspaper production also changed the way that news was gathered. “Readers supplied a great deal of the news: poetry, commentary, even speeches, and minutes of public meetings” (Vantuyll 2010: 480).

The role of the reporter was changing at this time as well. Schudson notes, “the notion that the journalist should report original events and not record [the daily routines of] ongoing institutions grew stronger as the journalists of the 1880’s and 1890’s found themselves torn between two modes of activity, one might even say two forms of consciousness” (1982:102). For example, this transition of thought and activity came out in increased commentary or lampooning of officials. Those who were the object of reporting were also changing their behavior and use of the press at this time. As the century came to a close, political leaders began to realize that the press could be used for publicity purposes and moved from a practice of offering no comment, to a practice of seeking out the opportunity for news coverage. Finally, there was a great deal of tension between the religious press and the secular press, which affected the tone and style of reporting, but also reflected the social changes of the time. Smith found that “toward the
end of the century, public commentaries were suggesting that journalism had supplanted the church as a shaper of public opinion, at least as far as secular issues were concerned” (2006: 142).

The impact of these transitions in readership, professional roles, and social conditions are reflected in the articles that were selected for this chapter. The articles ranged from what appeared to be verbatim minutes, sermons, speeches, and telegrams without commentary to reports that contained high levels of lampooning and sarcasm regarding personal characteristics and activities of the clergy, government representatives and the exposition officials. Reader contributions and editorial and reader responses resulted in directed dialogs being carried out in the press and readers were often given detailed instructions for the submission of petitions, boycotts, or protests, in newspaper articles. Insider perceptions and portrayals were more difficult to discern from newspapers alone due to the common but transitioning practice of offering no comment or claiming to not yet be aware of the event the reporter was referencing.

Chronology of the Battle for Sunday

No subject connected with the administration of the Exposition aroused so much controversy, or opinions so intense in their diversity, as did the question of opening or closing the Exposition grounds on Sunday (Johnson 1897, v. 1: 359).

Soon after Congress adopted the act authorizing the Columbian Exposition in 1890, religious groups and individuals began to carry out what became a nation-wide campaign to insure that the gates would not open on Sundays. The advocates for Sunday closing were leaders or members of traditional Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and
Episcopal congregations, and often organized their efforts through voluntary associations like the American Sabbath Union and the Young Men's Christian Association. The campaign targeted Senate and House members, the World's Columbian Commission members, who were appointed from each state to carry out the administration of the Exposition at the federal level, and the World's Columbian Exposition directorate members, who were elected from a large group of stockholders who held ownership of the company that carried out the local administration of the Exposition. The campaign consisted of personal contact, requests for hearings, and petition drives aimed at legislation that would force the local directors keep the Exposition closed on Sunday. That was the only mechanism available to accomplish that task because the administrative rules that had been developed to determine the roles of each administrative body were complete, and local directors were initially free to determine the schedule of the Exposition.

In the summer of 1892, during the first session of the 52nd Congress, it appeared that the Sunday closing advocacy had been effective. After numerous debates and delays the federal appropriation for the Columbian Exposition included an amendment that required the Exposition to close the gates on Sunday. In the winter of 1892, during the second session of the 52nd Congress, advocates for an closed fair on Sunday, which included religious and civic associations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Christian Endeavor, American Sabbath Association, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Columbian Sunday Association of Chicago, began to gain momentum in their campaign toward Congressional leaders and the World's Columbian Commission. The local directorate began to publicly advocate for an open Sunday as
well. Congress did not act on the requests of the Sunday opening advocates, but in the spring of 1893, changed other aspects of the appropriation. The local directors believed the appropriation bill had been changed significantly enough to release them from any obligations of the earlier appropriations bill. However, the Exposition opened in May of 1893, and the gates remained closed on the first Sunday. The agitation regarding Sunday opening continued from both sides. The World’s Columbian Exposition Commissioners declined to act on the rules that that had been submitted by the local directors, neither approving, or rejecting, the proposed schedule for the Exposition.

The matter was soon taken out of the local director’s hands when a stockholder sued, and by the end of May the local directors were subject to an injunction requiring the gates to be open on Sunday. A series of legal actions, counter injunctions, appeals and reversals ensued, driven by governmental and private actors. The fair was open on occasion and closed on occasion until August of 1893 when it opened for the remainder of the Exposition.

The Battle Begins: Outsiders Take Action

Setting the Speaking Points

The first public action regarding Sunday at the Exposition recorded in the press, was taken by James Scott, the editor of the Chicago Herald and major stockholder in the Columbian Exposition Company. James Scott had the capacity to affect operations as an insider, so in this section, I will only note that his May, 1890 editorial supporting the
opening of the exposition was the catalyst for the public debate to begin. This was reflected in a Washington post editorial in which the author stated “this question, which was bound to put in an appearance sooner or later, has already been sprung upon the directors, and with a good deal of argumentative force, by the Chicago Herald” (“Sunday and the World’s Fair” 1890, May 24: 4).

Soon after, The Chicago Tribune published a sermon by Rev. David Utter, pastor of the Unitarian Church of the Messiah in Chicago, where Rev. Utter suggested that not only should the exposition be open on Sunday to allow access for the laboring classes, but a great tabernacle should be built that would hold religious services representing all religions. This was closely followed by Rev. Henson’s response in the form of a sermon he presented at Chicago’s First Baptist Church, calling on his parishioners, and the Chicago Tribune readers, to safeguard Sunday for the laboring classes and the country by keeping the exposition closed so all could honor the Lord’s day and rest. The sermons were eloquent and presented two versions of what it means to be a republic, to be at liberty, and to be a Christian in a transitioning religious environment.

The two sermons defined the parameters of most of the argument, but sermons alone do not have the capacity to define the issues or motivate the participants in a movement that lasted over three years and resulted in nation-wide petition drives, multiple congressional hearings, and injunctions to either open or close the fair in multiple judicial districts. However, before I discuss the individual and institutional actions that moved efforts forward on both sides of the argument, I will explore the ideas that outsiders put forward and compare how the ideas were articulated depending on the source, and geographic region of the United States.
The important note here is that I begin this exploration with the perception, portrayal, and actions of outsiders rather than insiders. It might be expected that insider actions would have the greater impact on the ideas that manifested throughout the country, but in this circumstance the outsiders were active and the insiders to a large degree avoided public action, other than through participation in congressional debates and hearings. The ideas of the opposing movements were defined by those who did not have access to making policy, but who did to some extent silence and confound the policy makers because they did have access to the public and the press.

Much of the local and national dialog regarding Sunday at the Columbian Exposition was carried out through articles, letters, and editorial statements in both the religious and secular press. Individuals on both sides of the argument took advantage of the access they had to the press, which at the time favored the opinions of the elite. However, as described in the introduction section, access to the press by the general public was relatively high in comparison to contemporary times. Since outsiders in both camps were using print publications as one of their major communication tools, a significant number of the articles reviewed did portray outsider activities and messages. Table 1 illustrates how frequently the messages of each side of the argument were represented in newspapers and periodicals.

Messages from Supporters of a Sunday Exposition

It was not unusual for the newspapers to include debate, and testimony, from individuals on both sides of the argument in one article. Duelling sermons were often
Table 1  Perceptions and Portrayals of the Actions and Messages of Outsiders in the Battle for Sunday

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total articles</th>
<th>Portrayed outsiders</th>
<th>Favored Sunday opening</th>
<th>Opposed Sunday Opening</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large city papers</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small City Papers</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American Periodicals</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periodicals</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

printed for the purpose of comparison of the religious arguments in either position.

Overarching themes in the messages included:

- Debates on the right of local vs. federal government in deciding limits or freedoms in relation to Sunday activities
- Arguments regarding majority and minority rights
- Discussions of religious and practical understanding of Sabbath observance and the rights and needs of individuals in relation to religious restrictions
- Positive portrayals of the educational and religious purpose and intention of the Columbian Exposition
- American Puritanism was in direct conflict with the ideal of religious freedom
- And, finally, advocates of an open Sunday insisted that most Americans did not want a legislated or strict Sunday observance

The debate over rights of the majority vs. the rights of the minority was less clearly supported than some of the other messages. The argument was carried forward by providing evidence of bloated signature counts on petitions that opposed Sunday opening along with survey results and petitions that indicated that an equal amount of citizens supported Sunday opening. The evidence used for the argument indicated support for the
idea that the majority should decide. However, Sunday opening proponents continued to maintain that the rights of minority religions should be protected.

Editors of African American periodicals had little to present in favor of Sunday opening of the Exposition, but there was one instance where the ideas or actions of those who favored Sunday opening were presented. It was a response to the local director’s decision to close the fair on Sunday. I am noting this because it picks up a thread that ran through the ideas that were presented to support visiting the Exposition as a “good” use of Sunday.

Well the Sunday question seems to be about settled by the World’s Fair management and the gates are to remain closed on Sunday. This brings a mighty chorus of “amen” from the 7000 saloon keepers, gamblers, dime museum men and variety theatre managers all of which run at full blast every Sunday and hence will reap enormous gains by keeping the people out of the Fair on Sunday. Of course the preachers will say “amen” too, more from force of habit than any other practical reason (“World’s Fair Glances” 1890, May 25: 2)

Table 2 summarizes the themes and subthemes of the arguments that were presented by supporters of an open Sunday at the Exposition.

Messages from Supporters of a Sunday Closing

The messages put forth by those who opposed a Sunday opening often mirrored the messages, ideas and concerns of the Sunday opening proponents, but they were perceived and portrayed differently by advocates for Sunday closing. From their perspective, the only hope for a Sunday closing would come from the federal legislature and they supported federal control of Sunday observance. Their messages regarding a practical perspective on Sabbath observance focused on protection of the laboring
### Table 2

**Themes in the Discourse of Outsiders who Supported Sunday Opening**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Themes</th>
<th>Sub-themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local vs. federal government authority over Sunday activities.</td>
<td>1. Negative portrayals of congressional and judicial actions regarding Sunday closing of the fair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious and practical understanding of Sabbath observance and the rights and needs of individuals in relation to religious restrictions.</td>
<td>2. Positive portrayals of the rights of stockholders and motivations of the local exposition directory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion of the purpose and intention of the Columbian Exposition.</td>
<td>3. Defining the constitution and the separation of Church and State as a protection of religious or non-religious freedom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Puritanism was in direct conflict with support for religious freedom.</td>
<td>4. Exposition was intended not just for Christians and the United States, but for many religions and the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Exposition portrayed as a “good” use of Sunday in comparison to restrictive Puritanical concepts.</td>
<td>5. Exposition intended to elevate mankind and a religious spirit was inherent in the activity of visiting the fair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious observance should not be legislated.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class rather than protection of religious freedom. The overarching message coming from opponents of Sunday opening was that the church could prevail over any other authority. Detailed instructions for activism were often provided in conjunction with this message. The overarching messages in newspapers and periodicals were:

- Christianity and strong Sabbath observance had made America strong and the Christian Church would continue to prevail.
• The power of God and the Christian Church needed to be represented through the leadership of the clergy and cooperation of the congregations.

• Assertion that the federal government should have authority over local governments in deciding limits or freedoms in relation to Sunday activities.

• Religious and practical understanding of Sabbath observance should focus on the virtues of rest and the protection of the laboring class.

Table 3 summarizes the themes and subthemes of the arguments that were presented by supporters of a closed Sunday at the Columbian Exposition.

Views of the Religious Opponent

With a few exceptions, the communication of religious views regarding Sunday opening or Sunday closing advocates were in the purview of outsider activity. Defining the religious other was an important tool in establishing the legitimacy of either side’s position; and in establishing the preferred road map for the future of the nation. Direct communications about, or assessments of, other religions or religious views were relatively few in comparison to the communications in the prior section which focused on the nature and role of Christianity and Christian customs in the national culture.

However, the periodicals had a higher ratio of religious “other” comments in relation to total articles in comparison to the large and small city newspapers. Periodicals played a strong role in establishing the arguments for Sunday closing advocates and it is evident that the message that the Christian church was strong, organized, and prepared to prevail was also highlighted in large and small city newspaper communications.
Table 3  
Themes in the Discourse of Outsiders who Opposed Sunday Opening

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Themes</th>
<th>Sub-themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christianity and strong Sabbath observance had made America strong and the Christian Church would continue to prevail.</td>
<td>1. Fear that widespread practice of a “Continental Sunday” would demoralize and weaken the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rights of federal vs. local government in deciding limits or freedoms in relation to Sunday activities.</td>
<td>2. The Christian Church was organized, strong, and backed by the majority of Americans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious and practical understanding of Sabbath observance focused on the virtues of Sunday rest and restriction.</td>
<td>1. Negative portrayals of the motivations of the stockholders and local directory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focused on the power of God and the Christian Church represented through the leadership of the clergy and cooperation of the congregations.</td>
<td>2. Mixed portrayals of Congressional and judicial actions regarding Sunday closing of the fair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength and organization of the Christian associations and churches</td>
<td>1. The responsibility of the Christian Church to protect the laboring class by protecting Sunday rest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of Sabbath observance to the welfare and glory of the nation.</td>
<td>2. Negative portrayals of the secular press. It would sway Christians toward visiting the fair on Sunday against the counsel of their clergy leaders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America was made strong through being a Christian nation and adhering to a strict Sabbath observance.</td>
<td>1. Churches have power, are organized, are unanimously against a Sunday fair, and will prevail. 2. Sabbath observance is a national tradition and the only way that Americans, as a nation, can visibly recognize God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A detailed and strong call for action on the part of Christian people.</td>
<td>Instructions for submission of letters and petitions were included in most articles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriots needed to respond</td>
<td>1. Sabbath observance is a national cause and any patriot, religious or not, will support it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Practicing a “Continental Sunday” will demoralize the country and cause its demise.</td>
<td>3. It will be better for the world and foreign visitors to be instructed by Sabbath observance, and as guests in the country, they should comply.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Petitions and letters should be aimed at the federal government because the local directors were a lost cause.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Perceptions and portrayals of the religious other did not seem to trickle out as directly as the other messages. The periodicals were often specialized for a particular religious group or relatively homogeneous readership. Since the newspapers were read widely, the harsher speaking points on the religious other appeared to have been toned down in the translation from periodicals to the general press. Table 4 illustrates how frequently the messages regarding the religious opponent were put forth by supporters of both sides of the Sunday opening argument.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total number of articles</th>
<th>Articles portraying &quot;outsider&quot; views of the religious opponent</th>
<th>Favored Sunday Opening</th>
<th>Opposed Sunday Opening</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large city papers</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small City Papers</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periodicals</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Portrayals of the "Religious Opponent" made by Supporters of a Sunday Exposition

The strongest message from advocates for Sunday opening of the Exposition positioned Christians as hosts to foreign residents and visitors who practiced different religions. A great deal of consternation over the negative aspects of the Puritan Sunday and the desire of Puritan Christians and clergy to control the activities of all in the country was expressed. One difference between the urban and rural areas was that articles
in the smaller papers tended to address the ideas of Catholics and Jews directly and point out that their opinions should be considered. Bishop Henry Potter, of the Episcopal Diocese of New York, contributed an editorial to the Forum that pointed out that urban areas were experiencing a social transition due to immigration, and religious leaders would need to be realistic about the changes in attitudes about Sabbath observance ("Sunday and the Columbian Exposition" 1892, October: 194). This editorial was the impetus for several responding editorials and sermons by Sunday closing supporters. Table 5 summarizes the themes and subthemes of the portrayals of the religious opponent by advocates for a Sunday Exposition.

Portrayals of the “Religious Opponent” by Sunday Closing Advocates

The portrayal of the religious opponent was consistent in small and large city newspapers. The message was that the prevailing religion is Christianity and religious minorities should understand the Puritan view of Christianity as an essential and distinctly American institution. Small city papers again addressed Catholics and Jews directly, but opponents to a Sunday Exposition suggested that their opinions should be discounted. The periodicals focused on the message that Puritanism is what made America prosper and the opinions of Catholics, anti-Puritan Germans, liberal clergy, and secularists should not be considered in determining the moral structure of the country. Additionally, foreigners should be exposed to a dignified and nationally sanctioned observance of the Sabbath.
Table 5  Themes in the Portrayal of the Religious Opponent by Outsiders who Favored Sunday Opening

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Themes</th>
<th>Sub-themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The overarching theme positioned Christians as a host to foreign residents and visitors who practiced a variety of religions.</td>
<td>1. America is a land of religious liberty and its citizens have Sabbath days on several days of the week.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highlighted the negative aspects of the Puritan Sunday and the desire of Puritan Christians and clergy to control the activities of all in the country.</td>
<td>2. The Exposition is a venue for education about the religions of others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Puritan perception of Sunday observance had veered from the original intention of a feast day.</td>
<td>1. Negatively compared punitive Puritan practices to the concept of Sunday as a feast or celebration day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puritan clergy should be questioned regarding their motives for pushing their views on all citizens.</td>
<td>2. Noted the ability of Puritan clergy to frighten politicians into taking a stance that they did not adhere to in their own activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban areas were experiencing a social transition due to immigration, and religious leaders would need to be realistic about the changes in attitudes about Sabbath observance.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 summarizes the themes and subthemes presented in the portrayals of the religion opponent by advocates of Sunday closing.

Gathering the Troops

Religious and Civic Associations

Skocpol studied the organizational structure and capacity of civic institutions in the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
Table 6  Themes in the Portrayal of the Religious Opponent by Outsiders who Favored Sunday Closing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Themes</th>
<th>Sub-themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Large and Small City Papers</strong></td>
<td>1. German immigrants (a large part of the population in Chicago) are not really Christian and are trying to bring a demoralizing “European Sunday” practice to the United States.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. It is important to use the exposition to educate foreign resident and visitors regarding the American Sabbath observance so that they can adhere to God’s law which is binding to all who live in a Christian nation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Periodicals</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foreigners should be exposed to a dignified and nationally sanctioned observance of the Sabbath.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contrary to the findings of earlier scholarship, she identified many groups that were highly organized in a federal-state-local model, and disputed the idea that civic organizations at the time were “local, informal and profusely varied” (Skocpol, Ganz and Munson 2000: 528). In their study, the authors identified nine voluntary organizations where over one percent of the adult population in the United States held membership. Four of the nine organizations were involved in national efforts to influence Sunday at the Columbian Exposition. The Young Men’s Christian Association and the Christian Endeavor advocated for closing the gates on Sunday, and the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor advocated for opening the gates on Sunday.
The Young Men’s Christian Association was founded in London, England in 1844 and introduced in the United States in 1851. The group organized to provide opportunities for young men to participate in physical, spiritual and intellectual endeavors that would build character in a Christian environment. The involvement of Church going young men was encouraged, but the group also aimed to provide a Christian environment for urban youth (Sanford 1897). The Christian Endeavor Society also focused on young people and “the very object of the society was to bring back the young people from frivolity and carelessness to earnest service of Christ” (Clark 1912: 57). Christian Endeavor members were encouraged to make a covenant agreement with Christ that included “confession of Christ, service for Christ, fellowship with Christ’s people, and loyalty to Christ’s Church” (21). By policy, The Christian Endeavor Society limited their leadership to evangelical Christians, but in practice did not define exactly what qualified an individual for leadership service.

The American Federation of Labor was formed in 1881 and was an association of trade unions. Their aim was economic advancement of labor, and the assurance of that each individual had the right to “self-development, independence and freedom of initiative” (Morrison and Gompers 1919:1). The American Federation of Labor leaders described the organization as “the medium through which industrial democracy will be gained” (2). The preamble to the 1893 constitution of the general assembly of the Knights of Labor states “The alarming development and power of the aggressiveness of the power of money under the present industrial and political systems will inevitably lead to the hopeless degradation of the people” (3). The Knights of Labor first ratified their constitution in 1878, and like the American Federation of Labor, was organized at
federal, state and local level. However, the Knights of Labor had a specific focus on legislative and governmental reform, while the American Federation of Labor portrayed the organization as a patriotic body which consulted with and supported the United States Government.

One additional organization that was identified in Skocpol’s study, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, was involved in advocacy for Sunday closing. They reached the one percent membership mark in 1910. The Women’s Christian Temperance Union was organized in 1874 and promoted temperance education in public schools, advocated for temperance laws, and provided programming for girls and fallen women (Farmer 1893). The American Sabbath Association (or Union) was not identified by Skocpol, but was organized nationally and highly involved in Sunday closing advocacy. The Sabbath Association’s national organization was less formally structured, and many local and state organizations were loosely allied under the Sabbath Association banner. The Sabbath Union was organized in 1888 “by united action of committees appointed by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the General Synod of the Reformed (Dutch) Church” (Sanford 1897: 130) The sole purpose of the American Sabbath Association was to try to conserve the traditional observance of the Christian Sabbath.

In addition to the voluntary organizations that had significant national memberships, religious denominations and smaller groups had the opportunity to make their voices heard in support of Sunday closing. Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian leaders carried out nationally organized campaigns, and the Episcopal Church carried out campaigns at the state level. Various local ecumenical councils were also organized to
address the issue. Single purpose alliances such as the Columbian Sunday Association of Chicago, also were formed to represent businessmen who supported Sunday closing.

One religious organization carried out a nationally organized campaign for Sunday opening of the fair. The Seventh Day Adventist Church, through their National Religious Liberty Association, was able to gain a reasonably high profile in their advocacy for religious freedom. The National Religious Liberty Association was organized in 1889 to “oppose religious legislation, to disseminate information to the masses on the true relations of religion and the civil government, and to render aid to those who are persecuted for conscience sake” (Loughborough 1892: 362). The National Religious Liberty Association operated several publishing houses and promoted books and periodicals that documented Sunday legislation.

The Unitarian churches carried out campaigns at the state level. The American Secular Union and the German American Turner bund (an association of gymnasts who also were active in political issues) were the two nationally organized civic associations that became involved in the Sunday opening effort. The World’s Fair Sunday Opening Association also was formed to organize a petition drive and other advocacy efforts, a digitized copy of a petition distributed by this group and signed by Thomas Edison is available in the National Archives. Several Chicago based organizations were involved in supporting an open Sunday including the Evolution Club, The German Saloon Keepers Association, and the Rheinlander bund.

The religious and civic associations were the primary “outsider” social forces in the battle for Sunday, but there is no doubt that the press played an important role as well. It was possible to identify which newspapers and periodicals had taken a stand on the
issue, and many religious leaders identified one of the major outsider conflicts as a skirmish, of sorts, between the secular and religious press.

Advocacy Methods

The “gathering of the troops” happened in two phases. Almost immediately after it became clear that the Columbian Exposition would be located in Chicago, The Christian Endeavor, American Sabbath Union and local ecumenical councils of the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Episcopal churches began to gather support from all parts of the country and advocate for a Sunday closing of the fair. The response from advocates of Sunday opening gathered steam slowly and became organized to a larger degree by the middle of 1891.

The religious organizations advocating for Sunday closing moved their campaigns forward through several methods. Support was gathered from all parts of the country by forming committees for Sunday closing at all levels of the organizations. The Sunday closing committees reported up and down through the structure and communicated by endorsing and publishing resolutions, and distributing and returning petitions, telegrams, and letters to be forwarded to the World’s Columbian Commission federal committee and federal legislators. Well known clergy members and association officers attended hearings, contacted legislators, and were able to influence the legal process as well. Since it was not unusual for newspapers to print resolutions, meeting minutes, and verbatim sermons, the Christian Endeavor and American Sabbath Association activities and concerns were actively promoted to the secular press with varying results over time.
The religious organization that advocated for Sunday opening, the Seventh Day Adventists, made similar efforts toward petition drives, hearing attendance, and press coverage but tended to rely on the leadership of the National Religious Liberty Association rather than a federal to local organizational effort.

In the early part of the battle for Sunday, the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor association leaders were not actively pursuing Sunday opening. Religious groups often requested that the labor associations endorse their Sunday closing resolutions, and the requests were generally declined. The change from a passive to active position appeared to be in response to the fact that both sides of the argument claimed to be protecting the laboring class. After nearly a year and a half of others speaking for their interests, in October of 1891, the Knights of Labor publicly declined to endorse the Women’s Christian Temperance Union’s resolution to close the Fair on Sunday. By January of 1893, labor organizations throughout the country had been surveyed and Labor association leaders and members decided to make their stand on the issue clear at the World’s Columbian Exposition Commission hearings. The labor association’s refusal to support Sunday closing resolutions and disagreement with clergy claims that laborers wanted to be protected by Sunday legislation was one of the critical turning points in the national discourse.

Independent" was rooted in the Congregationalist Church in its early history, and while the periodical had officially cut its ties to the church, Bowen, Beecher and Ward maintained ties to the church. They carried out a series that held legislators and clergy accountable for an answer regarding how they stood on the question, and those who did not respond were reported as well. The series placed a great deal of pressure on public figures, and the result of the series was that "The Independent" editors were able to portray that religious and governmental leaders overwhelmingly supported a Sunday closing. Portions of the Independent's series were reprinted in the large city and small city newspapers.

Certain newspapers, most clearly the Chicago Tribune, Detroit Free Press, and New York Times advocated for Sunday opening of the Exposition. The New York Times editors made it clear that they would not agitate for Sunday closing lest they appear to have sour grapes regarding New York losing in the selection process for the location of the Fair. Several of small city papers, particularly those in Jackson and Kalamazoo, Michigan, supported Sunday opening; and the Kansas City Times most significantly supported closing on Sunday.

Conflicts

The major conflicts that were evident in the outsider discourse included the impact of the secular vs. religious press, an accounting of the true beliefs of the majority of Americans regarding Sabbath observance, how Americans should respond to immigration and change, and the value and place of Puritan ideals in the national culture.
The early conflict regarding the protection of laborers decreased in importance after the labor associations weighed in. The conflicting efforts to account for the true beliefs of the majority of Americans regarding Sabbath observance, and the conflict between the religious and secular press will be addressed in this section.

Religious leaders asserted that an important part of the battle for Sunday was a need to counteract the secular press out of concern that the press coverage would sway Christians toward visiting the fair on Sunday against the counsel of their clergy leaders. There is evidence that this conflict did occur in the methods that were employed in the battle for Sunday, but not all of the secular newspapers participated. Newspaper accounts were analyzed using one simple criterion: did the overall tone of the article or editorial promote Sunday opening or Sunday closing, or did the journalist make a position clear even if reporting on events that recorded activities of the other side? The Chicago Tribune, Detroit Free Press and New York Times had significantly more articles, editorials, and reporter commentary that promoted Sunday opening of the Exposition, and negatively portrayed clergy and Sabbath rest advocates. The Atlanta Constitution more often promoted Sunday closing from an editorial perspective, and the Washington Post and Los Angeles Times did not significantly lean either way.

A Chicago Tribune article titled “How They Observe Sunday” and subtitled “The Rev. Messrs. McLean and Leech Abuse People from the Pulpit”, portrayed Rev. Leech as plunging “at the Columbian Exposition like a battering ram” and quoted Rev. McLean’s statement “that he was glad to welcome his brother (Leech) in the good cause because he had to fight alone during the warm season, but between the weather and newspapers it had been very hot work”. McLean was also portrayed as taking “a fling at Germans as
Sabbath desecrators”. The reporter notes that McLean closed his sermon by saying that it was “an imposition and disgrace” that the Mayor of Chicago is a German (1891, August 31: 8). This article highlights the method that the Chicago Tribune tended to use, which was a negative portrayal of clergy and federal elected officials.

The Chicago Tribune’s effort toward promoting the fair also included publishing several collections of editorials supporting a Sunday fair from newspapers throughout the country; and reprinting articles from the Boston Herald, which had completed citizen surveys on the question and determined that leading thinkers believed the fair should be open. They thoroughly covered a nation-wide survey completed by James Scott, which also indicated that the majority would prefer a Sunday fair. The Tribune provided the most coverage for the American Secular Union, Knights of Labor, and the Seventh Day Adventist movement.

The Detroit Free Press editors made their position clear in a straightforward manner. In fact, one of the three pieces that presented the side of Sunday closing was a letter to the editor complaining that the coverage and editorial position had been significantly biased. In “Who Are the Wicked Ones” a Detroit Free Press editor questions the motives of clergy in padding the Sunday closing petitions. “The disclaimers that have been filed as to the ‘padding’ of petitions... raise a very curious question. If the ‘padding’ was not done by the prime movers in the matter... it must have been done by the agents who transmitted the petitions...” (1892, May 9: 2). The article puts forward the hypotheses that the clergy cooperated, knowingly or by mistake, with saloon keepers in circulating petitions because both groups wanted the fair closed on Sunday. The article challenged the clergy to give a better explanation or, by their silence, support the
hypotheses of the Press. Throughout all phases of the battle, Detroit Free Press articles lambasted Puritanism and promoted the opinion that the majority of the population valued religious freedom.

The New York Times tended toward detailed reports of any formal actions that moved the Sunday opening cause forward, and highlighted verbatim speeches submitted by individuals who supported Sunday opening. Brief notices, partial reports, or pointed placement were used for articles that related to opposing ideas. For example, when General Secretary Baer of the Christian Endeavor released his telegram to the local directory president regarding a possible boycott of the fair by Christians, the telegram was printed with no comment or follow up. A more detailed report on Secretary Baer’s meeting with the federal Attorney General, which was also widely released to the press by the Christian Endeavor, was immediately followed by an article that covered plans for a large public demonstration for the gates to be open on the following day. Additionally, the New York Times took opportunities to make Sunday closing advocates appear ineffective and awkward. In “Col. Shepard’s Mission” (1891, September 2: 2) the reporter sought out information that had not been addressed in any other newspaper accounts of Col. Shepard’s widely covered preparation for a hearing in front of the World’s Columbian Commission and local directors. Col. Shepard, the national president of the Sabbath Association, had invited other Sabbath keeping groups to join him in preparing for the hearing during a two day meeting in Chicago. While other newspapers reported that he would be joined by others, the New York Times reporter followed up directly with leaders of the other organizations. The Times account indicated that the
other organizations had declined the invitation, leaving Shepard’s actual leadership position in question.

It is clear that a conflict between the religious and secular press did exist, but did the secular newspapers accomplish what the clergy feared? There were no direct testimonies indicating that the press had swayed opinions, but several factors indicate that it could have been the case. The first is that religious organizations had aggressively gained a foothold in the argument through their federal-state-local organizational structure three years before the Columbian Exposition was scheduled to begin. Petitions started arriving in Washington by the middle of 1890. Early newspaper coverage favored the Sunday closing point of view in even the secular press due to the custom of publishing submitted information. As the secular press began promote Sunday opening by printing results of surveys, highlighting opinions of well-known people, and questioning the integrity of the clergy and religious association leaders, the petitions received by the federal Columbian Exposition Commission and Congress moved decidedly toward opening the fair.

There also were indications that individuals who signed petitions during the early petition drives were not fully informed regarding the relationship of the petitions to the Sunday opening of the fair. The wording of the majority of the petitions focused on disapproval of Sabbath desecration in general terms. Additionally, some clergy members and religious leaders signed petitions representing the number of people in their church or religious association. Once specific information on the Sunday closing argument was presented in the press, individuals who may have signed petitions had different information to consider.
During one of hearings that the World's Columbian Exposition Commission held on the Sunday issue, a Mrs. Remick stated "in the churches there is a silent minority, and sometimes a large minority, that believed in opening the fair on Sunday. It required a great deal of courage to vote in the minority on such a question, especially in the way it was frequently put making all who believed in the desecration of the Sabbath and the breaking of the Fourth Commandment to vote for Sunday opening" ("Sunday and the Big Fair" 1893, January 1: 7). It is not entirely clear from this analysis whether the press accomplished the influence that the clergy feared, or if people would have been supportive of a Sunday fair, but were initially silenced by the early Sunday closing campaign and later encouraged by the secular press.

What is clear is that either public attitudes, or the ability of religious associations and clergy leaders to prevail on the issue, did change during the three-year period. Through most of 1890 and 1891 petitions logged in the Congressional record were primarily from religious groups. By May of 1892, the petitions logged in the congressional record equally represented advocates of Sunday opening and closing ("By a Good Majority" 1892, May 10: 1) and by the end of January of 1893, "The Petition Clerk of the House's document room is literally swamped, with many thousands of petitions from all sections of the country praying that Congress enact legislation for the opening of the World's Columbian Exposition on Sunday. The Congressional record contained thirteen columns of the titles of associations, societies, and individuals who sent in such petitions. Today, there are about 10,000 to be recorded." ("Sunday at the Fair" 1893, January 24: 2).
James Scott, Editor of the Chicago Herald, held $250,000 worth of stock in the Columbian Exposition organization that was formed to carry out the administration of the fair. Scott’s stock purchase of $250,000 in 1891 would represent approximately $6,180,000 in purchasing power in 2010 (Officer and Williamson 2006). The first newspaper account regarding an opinion on the Sunday question was an editorial that Scott printed in the Herald, which promoted the cause of an open Sunday. It is unclear whether he knew the battle was unavoidable and hoped to begin early so it would be resolved before it interfered with the Exposition, but accounts of his civic participation, reputation, and business success would support the idea that he had at least some purpose in mind.

Senator Matthew Quay, a Republican, devout Presbyterian, and Sunday closing advocate from Philadelphia, was instrumental in gaining the passage of the appropriation bill that required Sunday closing of the Fair. Representative Allan Durborow, a Democrat and Protestant Episcopalian, from the State of Illinois, championed efforts to overturn the Sunday closing amendment in the second session of the 52nd Congress. He was not successful in doing so due to Congressional scheduling and cross committee interaction that caused the vote to be delayed until after the Exposition closed. The local and federal Columbian Exposition committees carried out an unprecedented event, and their capabilities are not in question. Even so, the battle for Sunday at the insider level was filled with delays, inaction, and wrangling over authority among the Exposition and congressional committees.
Newspaper and Periodical Accounts

The newspapers in large and small cities more frequently covered insider activities that supported opening the Exposition and also more frequently printed editorials and letter to the editor that supported opening the Exposition on Sunday. Some of articles presented speeches on both sides of the issues. There were no direct insider references in the African American newspapers. Table 7 summarizes the frequency of perceptions and portrayals of the activities of insiders from the point of view of Sunday opening and Sunday closing advocates.

The majority of the articles that leaned toward supporting Sunday opening covered the activities of the local Columbian Exposition directors, federal Columbian Exposition commissioners and Congress. Most often the reports centered on notifying the public that decisions had been delayed or no action had been taken. Portrayals also focused on descriptions of the conflict over control among the local and national

<table>
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<th>Table 7</th>
<th>Perceptions and Portrayals of Activities of Insiders in the Battle for Sunday</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number of articles</td>
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<tr>
<td>Large city papers</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small City Papers</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periodicals</td>
<td>59</td>
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</tbody>
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fair committees, the legislature and the courts. The articles that focused on activities that supported Sunday closing, narrowed in on reporting about investigations and activities that would limit the control of the local directors, and reporting negative information regarding legislators who supported Sunday opening and the local directors. Table 8 summarizes the themes that were evident in reports about insiders from both sides of the argument.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sources Favoring Sunday Opening of the Fair</th>
<th>Sources Opposing Sunday Opening of the Fair</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reports that decisions were delayed, or no action was taken by Congress or the local Board of Directors</td>
<td>Reports of investigations and activities that would limit the control of the local directors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptions of the conflict over control among the local and national fair committees, the legislature and the courts.</td>
<td>Negative information regarding legislators who supported Sunday opening and the local directors.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, insiders on both sides of the Sunday question avoided addressing the issue directly with the press throughout the battle for Sunday. The majority of the information that the press reported was gleaned from public meetings and the series that “The Independent” ran on Sunday closing or opening statements from legislators. Delay and avoidance tactics in committee and legislative activity increased as it became evident that the public was split on Sunday observance at the fair. However, insiders did use several tactics and strategies to move their agendas forward.
Directors, Commissioners, and Legislators

In July of 1890, the local directors arranged and publicized and meeting with a director and board member of the 1876 Philadelphia Exposition. The meeting was portrayed as an opportunity to learn about their experience, but the majority of the discussion was a report that they had made a significant mistake in closing the fair on Sundays. This was the only early effort that the local directory made to establish a public position on Sunday opening, without quite establishing a public position on Sunday opening. In his final report on the administration of the Exposition, Harlow Higginbotham noted that “with very few exceptions, the directors were in favor of keeping the exposition open on Sundays” but “its discussion in the Board of directors had been prevented or postponed whenever possible” (1898: 9).

In December of 1890, President Harrison, a Republican and Presbyterian, was expected to make a decision on the form of federal appropriation for the Exposition and to respond to the Sunday question. The mayor of Chicago had presented a proposal for a bond issue. A local delegation was in Washington waiting for a reply, but the “lack of information yesterday was believed to be due to the fact that the President himself had not made up his mind…and until he makes a decision, no action can be taken here.” (“Harrison Thinks On It” 1890, December 19: 9). In late February of 1892, President Harrison submitted a report to Congress that the Exposition was well underway and the progress had met his approval. On the matter of the appropriation he said, “I have not myself that detailed information…and am not therefore prepared to make any specific recommendation to Congress on that subject” (“Harrison is For It” 1892, February 25: 1).
During most of 1891 and the first part of 1892, various proposals and amendments regarding the appropriation bill were put on the floor in the House and Senate, but no action was taken on the appropriation for the Columbian Exposition. Both the House and Senate formed special committees on the Columbian exposition. In January of 1892, Allan Durborow, of Illinois and Chair of the House Columbian Exposition committee attempted to establish the authority of his committee over all matters regarding the Columbian Exposition appropriation bill, but was unable to gain agreement from House leaders.

During this same time frame, the Appropriations Committee had authorized a subcommittee led by Representative Alexander Dockery, a Democrat from Missouri, to investigate the National Commission and local board. When questioned by Mr. Breckenridge, representing Arkansas, regarding the National Commissioners plans for Sunday, an unidentified witness stated that the rules indicated that the National Commission only would respond when the local directory presented their rules to the committee and that had not happened. When pressed further, he stated that the subject “had been discussed, but there was no official action taken” (United States Congress House Committee on Appropriations 1892: 453). In May of 1892, the House passed an appropriation bill by a vote of 141 to 36. An amendment, reducing the Sunday closing restriction that the Senate had included in the first bill to closing government buildings only, had been made by Dockery. “This cleared up the parliamentary tangle and practically ended the controversy...Bowers of California, in a spirit of ridicule...proposed that the Fair be closed Saturdays ‘the real Sabbath day.’ This was received with a general laugh and rejected without debate. The World’s Fair paragraphs were
finished in a moment more, and everybody felt relieved that the section was left in good shape” (“It Sets an Example” 1892, May 27: 8).

In July 8 of 1892, the Senate took up the House’s appropriations bill. The debate was intense and many speeches were made on both sides of the Sunday closing issue. Senator Matthew Quay, of Pennsylvania, had proposed an amendment requiring the Exposition to be closed on Sunday. One reporter noted that the “course of debate history from the dawn of the sixteenth century to the present time was overhauled by the participants pro and con” (“To Observe the Day” 1892, July 12: 2). Senator Quay was so intent on the amendment’s passage that “procured a Bible and caused a sensation by sending it to the desk and asking the clerk to read what he termed ‘a reason for the amendment.’ For a minute or two the Senate was in doubt as to his meaning for the clerk began reading ‘Honor thy father...’ That isn’t it piped Mr. Quay whose face had grown very red...he scanned the pages closely and then placed his finger on a line. ‘There, read that’ he demanded. ‘Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy’ the Clerk read.” (“World’s Fair Souvenirs” 1892, July 10: 3). The bill passed the Senate with Quay’s amendment intact and was returned to the House.

An initial House of Representatives vote regarding concurrence with the Senate bill was 110 in favor and 128 against. The Senate threatened to filibuster until the House appropriations bill would expire. By the end of the session, the bill passed the House of Representatives by 117 to 105 votes, concurring with the Senate approved appropriations bill which included the requirement that the Exposition be closed on Sunday. Describing the permutations of this process, and the actions of Senator Quay and his supporters, in detail would be a chapter in itself, but there are two issues to consider. The first is the
potential effect that Senator Quay’s tenacious effort to gain Sunday closing at the fair, and the second is the change in the House vote after the Senate’s threat to filibuster until the session expired.

The clock was ticking, and the pressure to fund the Exposition properly was high because 59 other nations had already accepted invitations and many of them had committed to funding exhibits. That could have caused the compromise, but it also is interesting that Senator Quay, an active and devoted Presbyterian, had been President Harrison’s campaign manager for his presidential bid (Waterloo and Hanson 1896: 104). His access to President Harrison could have given him the ability to sway votes in the Senate and House. If the religious organization advocacy for a closed Sunday had strongly affected the House members, it would seem that their first vote on the appropriation bill (141 to 36), which only required U.S. government buildings to close, would have ended differently. When they finally could not escape a vote, it was overwhelmingly on the side of opening the fair on Sundays.

The local directors were initially relieved that the funding was secured and began to publicly advocate for a Sunday opening, making plans to have the appropriation re-visited in the next session of Congress. During the second session, Congress did not act on Representative Durborow’s efforts to change the Sunday aspect of the appropriation. However, in the spring of 1893, Congress restricted part of the appropriation and placed in under the authority of the World’s Columbian Commission. The local directors believed the appropriation bill had been changed significantly enough to release them from any obligations of the earlier appropriations bill.
Stockholders Take Action

Two stockholders had a major impact on the side of Sunday opening. One was James Scott, a large stockholder, editor of the Chicago Herald, and local Columbian Exposition board member; and the other was Charles Clingman, a dry goods sales manager, who had purchased stock in the Columbian Exposition. There were 30,000 shareholders, most from Chicago area, and the amount that Clingman owned was not discernible. The names of the largest stockholders had been published and he was not on that list.

James Scott and several other committee members, endeavored to measure and report on “the sentiment of the whole people on the question of the repeal of that portion of the act of congress which specifies that the World’s Columbian Exposition shall be closed on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday” (“Favor Sunday Opening” 1892, December 17: 9) under the auspices of the World’s Fair Sunday Opening Association. The committee completed a survey as follows:

From Dun’s Commercial Reference book we took the first 25 names (omitting liquor dealers) of men rated above $1,000 in each of the 40 different cities of the United States of a population of less than 50,000. Also from Dun’s Commercial Reference book we took the first 10 names (omitting liquor dealers) of men rated above $1,000 in each and every city of the United States of a population of not less than 4,000 nor more than 10,000. To these men, as representing the popular sentiment of the country, postal card tickets with the two following propositions were sent:
First -- Do you favor absolute closing of the exposition Sunday?
Second -- Do you favor opening the exposition Sunday, with the cessation of machinery, merchandising, and unnecessary labor?
Nothing in the way of argument pro or con was sent with the cards, the whole matter being left in a purely unprejudiced light. Of 2,758 answers received, there were voting for the first proposition 750: of the second proposition there were voting 2,002: giving a ratio on the entire vote of 72.1/2% in favor of open gates and a quiet Sunday fair (9).
The results of the survey were widely distributed and covered. Since the petition numbers were highly disputed, this survey may have been the most reliable representation of public sentiment on the matter at that time.

Charles Clingman, tried to gain entry to the Columbian Exposition on the first Sunday after the fair began and after being refused entry notified the local directors that he would take legal action to keep the gates open. Clingman's suit was not the first one. The Secular Union and the South Shore Transportation company had attempted to gain injunctions in 1892, but were unsuccessful. The American Sabbath Association attempted to be made a party to that lawsuit as a defendant. However, Clingman was the first one to successfully gain an injunction that required the Columbian Exposition to open on Sunday, and it was the injunction that prevailed in the end. Since the local directors had decided to open the Exposition on the Sunday prior to Clingman winning the injunction, they did not initially experience much effect from the court order. Lawsuits, appeals, and agitation by religious organizations continued. After a meeting with Secretary Baer of the Christian Endeavor, the Federal Attorney General sued the Exposition company on the basis that the restrictions placed on the appropriations bill must be followed. This meeting and the resulting action was highly publicized and fueled hopes that the church and religious organizations would win the cause. The religious association members were called upon to boycott the fair.

Sunday attendance began to dwindle and the local directors closed the exposition on Sundays in the later part of July. In the flurry of legal activity, the directors had forgotten that they were still under the Clingman injunction. They were soon reminded when the local board members, national commission chair, and joint council of
administration members were charged with contempt of court by Judge Stein, who had issued the injunction in Clingman's case. They requested a hearing to dismiss the injunction and an interesting scuffle ensued in court. Judge Goggin, who was charged with hearing the matter, invited two other judges, Bretano and Dunne to join him on the bench and submit their opinion. Bretano and Dunne surprised Goggin by preparing to read opinions for the dissolution of the injunction. Goggin asked them to step down from the bench and "notified the clerk to enter the order to continue the case for sixty days" ("Judges Fell Out" 1893, September 1: 2). The local directors attempted to have the case heard before another judge. There was some speculation that Judge Goggin had been inebriated, but they were not able to have the case heard again. Rossiter Johnson reported that:

The case had been argued in court on six different occasions and before thirteen different judges, one judge hearing the subject discussed twice. Two decisions—one for, the other against, the open Sunday—were appealed; in each case the decision below was reversed. The decisions of seven judges favored opening; those of seven favored closing. This ended the attempts to close the Exposition on Sunday (1897-1898, vol. 1: 365)

Theoretical Implications of the Battle for Sunday

The battle for Sunday was nested within the early stages of a larger social movement toward secularization in the United States. Demographic changes due to immigration, and increases in transportation and entertainment opportunities due to a growing economy, affected the taken for granted nature of a Puritan Christian Sabbath observance. These social conditions led to resurgence in the activism of the American Sabbath Union and Christian Endeavor in order to conserve Sabbath observance and
bring the young people back to the Christian fold by replacing the newly available frivolous activities with Christian service. However, the process of secularization was far from fully realized in public and social institutions and in the minds of U.S. citizens.

Religious ideas were a reasonable and expected part of civil discourse. While the content of some of the discourse would not appeal to late modern sensitivities, the point is that it was a clear and opinionated topic of discussion in public institutions and arenas. This status did not occur because all were in agreement on how religion should affect public life. In fact, in this analysis I found discussion that ranged from Senator Blair's statement that his aim was to use his legislative position to pressure non-Christians to leave the country to Rev. Utters suggestion that a "Temple for All Faiths" should be built upon the Columbian Exposition grounds so that all could hear the religious views of multiple religions. The legislative process also accommodated religious ideas as a resource for decision making. Numerous legislative hearings were conducted to review religious topics in response to public pressure. The American Sabbath Union and National Religious Freedom Association each were allowed to state their cases and maintain active, if often unwanted, public participation in the legislative process. The secularization process had not solidified in public social interaction either, even though many people had relaxed their Sunday rest observance. Voluntary organizations and secular and religious publications provided a venue for discussion and group "soul searching" regarding the place of religious ideas in forming social and political life.

The case of the battle for Sunday gives us an example of the how a de-secularized public square was maintained while the countervailing processes of secularization and de-secularization occurred. This does not mean that religious tolerance or religious
pluralism were normative ideals or that all of the institutions and actors played equal roles in supporting and maintaining a public square that could be informed by religious ideas. Even so, the actively religious public square existed. The questions to address are: 1) How did this pluralistic public square exist and what were its foundations; and 2) How does this empirical investigation of the past contribute to our understanding of the possible outcomes of the religious diversity that has resulted from the fourth wave of immigration?

Nineteenth Century Foundations for a Pluralistic Public Square

In this case, a pluralistic public square existed on four foundations. They were the social ideal that religious ideas could serve as a moral resource for all of society; the nineteenth century proclivity to form voluntary associations that could communicate local concerns through a national network; the nature of the press in the nineteenth century, and; that governmental activities were structured through interactions among citizen groups and “legislators as religious citizens and representatives” rather than through proactive government or politically driven structures.

The first foundation was the social ideal that religious ideas could serve as a moral resource for all of society. It is not surprising that this ideal was promoted in the periodicals published by religious groups. What is significant is that this sentiment played out in what at the time was considered the secular press. It is important to note that even in the secular press, religious belief in itself was not lambasted. Puritan attitudes, bigotry, congressional hypocrisy, lack of courage and transparency by leaders, and cheating,
threatening and controlling clergy were lambasted. The concerns expressed in the most significant nineteenth century avenue for non-affiliated, non-religious public dialog centered on the moral uses of religious posture or power in a rapidly changing society.

The second foundation for a pluralistic public square was the nineteenth century proclivity to form voluntary associations that could communicate local concerns through a national network and through those networks gather enough political power to be heard in the legislative arena. Skocpol, Ganz and Munson claimed that the common historical understanding of these networks as “local, informal and profusely varied” (2000: 528) was incorrect, and this case supports her findings. The Knights of Labor motto, “when bad men combine the good must associate, else they will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle” (Knights of Labor Constitution of the General Assembly 1893:1) provides an interesting backdrop for the role of voluntary associations in this case. The good men and the bad men were, of course, defined by each group against the other, but the call for association of like-minded citizens was strong at this point in history. This is exactly why a group like the German American Turner bund (an association of gymnasts who also were active in political issues) was inclined to participate in advocacy for an open Sunday. German immigrants, particularly the German business men and Columbian Exposition stockholders in the Chicago area were often blamed for contributing to the demise of the Puritan Sabbath by representatives of the Sabbath keeping organizations.

The Puritan minded Christian associations were strong enough to gain access to decision makers, particularly when the decision makers, like Senators Morse and Quay, had religious affiliations and ideas in common with the associations. These decision
makers could use their own networks and relationships to sway the opinions of other legislators backed by the evidence of religious public support. The Puritan minded Christian associations were able to open the door to public and legislative religious discourse, but the strength of associations like the National Religious Liberty Association and the labor associations allowed them to enter through the door as well to represent competing moral and religious ideas. The involvement of these associations served as a supporting vehicle for legislators like Allan Durborow, who was a member of the more liberal Protestant Episcopalian church. Bruce contends that “most of the causal connections I have traced between aspects of religious tradition and politics rest on unintended consequences” (2003: 254). In the case of the battle for Sunday, it appears that the intentional efforts of voluntary associations as outsiders played a role in supporting the efforts and intentions of legislators and other insiders.

The third foundation for a pluralistic public square was the nature of the press in the nineteenth century. Some consolidation of print media occurred during this time but, in general, low cost newspapers and periodicals from a variety of sources were widely available to immigrant, working class and elite populations. Newspaper staffing patterns, even in nationally important newspapers, had not yet met the capacity to provide enough news stories to meet the demand of increased newspaper production. Readers supplied a significant amount of newspaper content which resulted in sermons, speeches and voluntary association meeting minutes being printed verbatim, with religious ideas and opinions remaining true to their sources. When reporters did provide the content, it had become popular and acceptable to question the moral implications of official activity. The tensions between the religious and secular publications caused an ongoing public
dialog between the two sectors as each one responded to and criticized the other in direct and personal commentary.

The fourth foundation of the pluralistic public square in this case study was that the governmental activities were structured through interactions among citizen groups and “legislators as religious citizens and representatives” rather than through proactive government or politically driven structures. Petitions were logged and reported in the Congressional record, but the veracity of the information was debated in the public rather than verified within the governmental structure. Hearings were scheduled, but no direct actions resulted from the hearings. This is not to say that religion was not addressed in the legislative discourse, the range of legislators attitudes reflected those of the general public. For example, Representative Bowers, a Republican from California, enjoyed an appreciative audience when he proposed that the Fair be closed Saturdays ‘the real Sabbath day’ in order to ridicule Senator Quay and the Puritan Sabbath observance supporters. Representative Dockery, a Democrat from Missouri, represented the middle ground by amending Quay’s amendment to only address the closure of government buildings on Sunday. Senator Quay’s impassioned campaign for Sunday closing represented the other end of the spectrum. In the case of the Sunday closing of the Columbian Exposition, religious affiliation had more of an impact than party affiliation. Neither the Democratic or Republican parties took a stand on the issue. Political affiliations, personal connections, and financial interests did contribute to the motives of many of the actors, particularly the local directors, but these circumstances seemed to have less of an impact on the process at the federal legislative level.
I want to end this section by noting that it is difficult to draw any conclusions about the relationship between the state and federal courts and religion in the public square. Several of the lawsuits were based on use of public property and financial arrangements, and the Sunday closing issue was presented as causing damages or loss in that manner rather than a religious one. This may have contributed to the inconsistency in the decisions. Even Clingman's case was based on financial interest and his role as a stockholder. I believe an in depth assessment of the judges, attorneys and plaintiffs involved in the case would shed some light on the religious aspects, but it is beyond the scope of this analysis.

Contributions to Our Understanding of the Possible Outcomes of Religious Diversity Related to the Fourth Wave of Immigration

The three foundations of a pluralist public square in the nineteenth century that have the most application to the late modern situation are the potential for formation of voluntary associations that could communicate local concerns through a national network; the nature of the internet in comparison to the nature of the press in the nineteenth century, and; the potential for interactions among citizen groups and "legislators as citizens and representatives" rather than through proactive government or politically driven structures. I am not considering the first foundation, which was the social ideal that religious ideas could serve as a moral resource for all of society, as reflective of contemporary social ideals in the United States, though in later chapters I will be discussing the possibility that this ideal and how it could re-emerge in more detail.
The possibility that the other three foundations could be used by religious communities to promote social change in that direction does exist in the contemporary circumstance.

Machacek indirectly discusses the potential of voluntary associations to impact religious discourse in the public square (2003). He highlights the impact of the four waves of immigration on American society in an effort to determine what is different and "new" about the contemporary experience of religious pluralism. He concludes that the new circumstance is not just the increase in the numbers of adherents to religions other than Christianity; it is the growing realization that adherents to religions other than Christianity have gained a representative capacity. Machacek proposes that "instead of assimilating American social practices and cultural beliefs and values, the new immigrants, often using religion as a primary resource, appear to be actively negotiating the terms of American social and cultural life" (2003:147). As an example, an online search of IRS Publication 78, the search term "Christian" resulted in a listing of 20,680 associations and churches that have achieved a 501 © 3 non-profit status in the United States; the search term "Islam" resulted in a listing of 1,174 Islamic centers and associations; the search term "Buddhist" resulted in identifying 1,047 temples, centers and associations; and the search term "Hindu" resulted in a listing of 251 temples and associations (Internal Revenue Service 2011).

The potential for these groups to form broader networks and associations is the next foundation for a pluralistic public square, which is the capacity for citizen driven communication. Currently, the internet has some of the same features as the press did in the nineteenth century. Low cost internet access is widely available to immigrant and native born populations. Like the nineteenth century newspapers, individual internet
users supply a significant amount of content and are free to make any religious claims or counterclaims on the web. Study of the impact of the internet on the organization of religious associations and religious discourse is beyond the scope of this case, but our imagination does not have to stretch too far to see the common features in the venues.

The final question, is there still a potential for interactions among citizen groups and “legislators as religious citizens and representatives” in a religious public square? Might that type of discourse become unavoidable as the members of the fourth wave of immigration increase collective action in society? That is difficult to determine here, but Bruce and Wuthnow both suggest that if the legislative structure does not change to accommodate a new population, the legal system is prepared to do so (2003; 2003).

Bruce and Wuthnow may be optimistic on this issue. Richardson states that it is inevitable that we will begin to see an increase in legal actions that “involve newer and smaller religious groups” (2006: 288).

He sees the legal system in the U.S. as having a relatively high level of autonomy, but high autonomy legal systems are not immune to external influences. Actors in the legal system may appear normative to an adherent of the majority religion, but could be acting in a manner that is actually discriminatory, “simply because those filling roles within the legal system were acting out their values and beliefs” (283). Richardson shares the importance of understanding how things are actually carried out in the day-to-day social structure that supports constitutional ideas of freedom of religion. He points out that much of this activity is discretionary. Richardson’s in depth assessment of religious freedom and the potential for inconsistencies in the legal system is far more supported by the evidence in this case study than Bruce and Wuthnow’s contention that
the legal structure is prepared for increased action on cases that involve diversity and public expression of religion.

Notes on Data Selection and Analysis

Data Selection

The newspapers that were used to determine the messages and themes that were shaped through public discourse in large cities included The Chicago Tribune, Detroit Free Press, The Atlanta Constitution, The Los Angeles Times, The New York Times, and The Washington Post. The Wall Street Journal was the only major newspaper published at that time (and available in the database) that did not appear to have addressed the Sunday opening of the Columbian Exposition.

The newspapers that were used to determine the public information and discourse in small cities included The Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock, AK), The Grand Rapids Press (Grand Rapids MI), The Jackson Citizen (Jackson, MI), The Kalamazoo Gazette (Kalamazoo, MI) The Kansas City Times (Kansas City, MO), The Oregonian (Portland, OG), Plain Dealer (Cleveland, OH), St Albans’s Daily Messenger (St. Albans, VT), and the Trenton Evening Times (Trenton, NJ). Five other small city newspapers were published at that time (and available in the database) but did not appear to cover the Exposition Sunday opening debate.

Forty four additional periodicals were published during the time span of the Columbian Exposition that included relevant subject matter such as religion, law,
philosophy, politics, popular culture, social life, history, and satire. The Christian Recorder was the only African American periodical available that was published during the Columbian Exposition time frame, and all 13 available articles were selected for analysis. Of the 43 remaining potential periodicals, 23 addressed the Sunday question in one or several articles.

Ten of the periodicals were published by religious groups and accounted for 29 of the 59 articles that were selected. Sixteen of the 30 remaining articles were published in “The Independent”, which was not a strictly denominational publication at that time, but had been a Congregationalist periodical. The editors of “The Independent” took a great interest in the debate, but stated strong support for a closed Sunday exposition, so it may be more accurate to say that 45 of the 59 articles that were selected represented religious periodicals.

Data Analysis

Selected articles were initially coded in relationship to the research questions which are as follows:

• How did “insiders” involved in the Sunday conflict act, and perceive, and portray their activities and the activities of others?

• How did the multiple religious communities view one another, what perceptions were communicated?

• What conflicts, collaborations, and intended or unintended consequences resulted from the interactions in the Sunday conflict?

• What social forces and institutions moved the conflict forward?
• How did the “outsiders” who were involved in the Sunday conflict act, perceive, and portray what they observed and their activities?

• What were the public perceptions and presentations of the events and circumstances? How did the larger society, including those who were not religious, react to the events and circumstances?

The initial coding was structured so that actions, portrayals and ideas in the articles were analyzed in relation to either supporting Sunday opening or Sunday closing of the Columbian Exposition. Additionally, institutional involvement, and individual actors, and author perspective, were noted for each entry. Open coding and axial coding were completed in order to determine the themes that existed for each of the research questions and for the messages of supporters or opponents of a Sunday Columbian Exposition.

Additionally, Congressional records, Handy’s, Johnson’s, and Bancroft’s books of the fair, and the local directory president’s final report were reviewed to place the events in order and context; biographies, obituaries, and newspapers were consulted in order to gain insight regarding the motivation of individual actors; secondary sources and newspapers were reviewed for insight regarding the operations and capacity of institutions, and; secondary sources were consulted in order to place journalistic and social customs in the nineteenth century in context.
CHAPTER V

LIFE ON THE MIDWAY PLAISANCE

Introduction

This exploration of religious life on the Midway Plaisance addresses the social forces and structural conditions that established a tenor of religious pluralism as the normative framework for life in the Midway villages. Colonization, international entrepreneurism, a laissez-faire attitude toward business ventures, and the nature of world’s fairs in the nineteenth century were the broader social conditions that contributed to this framework. Additionally, religious attitudes, activities, and perceptions of villagers and visitors are examined to address theoretical and methodological issues that Wuthnow brings up in his discussions of religious diversity and pluralism (2003, 2005).

First, Wuthnow asks if it is possible for pluralism to become a normative ideal in a country where the Christian “host” is the majority partner and “remains committed to the exclusive truth of its own teachings” (2005: 168). In this exploration of inter-religious interaction on the Midway Plaisance, there did not appear to be a unilateral concept of an exclusive truth even among the Christians. Religions were most often addressed and compared according to how religious belief contributed to the personal values that ordered daily activity and social life rather than concerns about the nature of their theological conceptions or path to salvation.

Second, Wuthnow’s contention that religions are practiced and therefore “embedded in communities and social interaction” informed the framework for this
analysis of life on the Midway Plaisance (2003: 162). An analysis of the social interactions among villagers, exposition managers, exhibit concessionaires, journalists, and exposition visitors uncovered a constellation of conditions that supported a “lived pluralism” on the Midway Plaisance during the Columbian Exposition. These included a series of intentional and unintentional management practices that created autonomy and freedom for the Midway villagers; the ability of the villagers to integrate American nationalism into their own religious practices; the attitude of Americans toward their own religious and cultural life, and; the lack of religious exclusivism in many of the religions that were represented on the Midway Plaisance.

In this chapter, I will address the general structure of the Midway, a brief history of human exhibits in the nineteenth century, the activities of the local exposition management and Midway concessionaires, journalist’s and visitors perceptions and portrayals of religion on the Midway, and examples of religious collaboration between Midway residents and ethnic and religious groups in Chicago. The “arms-length” laissez-faire nature of the relationship between Midway concessionaires and exposition managers allowed for a higher than expected level of freedom on the part of the Midway villagers.

A variety of outcomes resulted from the self determination of the villagers, concessionaires, and sending countries. Religious life was intentionally protected by the sending countries along with the material artifacts and structures within the “native villages”; concessionaires were able to reach out into and affect the greater Chicago community; and collaborative activities among the villagers provided American observers with experiences they may never have imagined. Most importantly, the inter-
religious interactions of the Midway villagers, local collaborators and exposition visitors did not, in many cases, neatly fit into expected categories or types of religious expression.

Picturing the Midway Plaisance and Villages

The eye and the mind need relief after the contemplation of vast exhibits of the results of human activity and the triumphs of art. The exposition grounds were most fortunately adapted to this purpose. The Midway Plaisance, a narrow strip of ground projecting at right angles to the west side of Jackson Park, offered an admirable location for picturesque displays characteristic of the customs of foreign and remote nations, and for various forms of amusement, refreshment, comfort, and rest, so grateful to those wearied with the exertion of sight-seeing (Higginbotham 1898: 85).

Representatives from cultures throughout the world participated in living exhibitions, organized as villages, on the Midway Plaisance throughout the six month duration of the exposition. Religious artifacts, buildings and activities were an important part of the display and daily life in the Midway villages. Unlike the contemporary divisiveness caused by interpretations of the meaning and appropriateness of displays of religious symbols in public venues, it appeared that religious symbols on the Midway were interpreted as matter of fact representations of the people, country or culture in almost every village.

In his final report to the board, President of the local exposition committee, Harlow Higginbotham noted that the Midway Plaisance did not occupy much of the exposition management's time until the exposition was almost ready to open. Harlow Higginbotham was an executive at Marshall Field & Company and had a distinguished record of service in voluntary associations that focused on the development of business and social life in Chicago. Higginbotham was a member of the Trinity Methodist
Episcopal Church of Chicago, which was a liberal Protestant denomination. His attitudes concerning religion and business relationships were made clear in his book, The Making of a Merchant. Higginbotham states “occasionally employees count on their church and Sunday School connections as a means of impressing their employers with their worthiness. This is a misjudgment of human nature, and a mistake... it is not what a man believes or professes, but what he is and does that gives him standing and credit” (1906: 16).

The attitudes that Higginbotham developed through his entrepreneurial career most likely contributed to the lassiez-faire approach to the Midway concessions. His liberal Protestantism would also support a hands-off approach to the religious elements that concessionaires and villagers either did, or did not, include in the villages. It appears that his attitude toward actions as the criteria for judgment of a person is somewhat pervasive in the general cultural reaction toward the religious other, which will be discussed in a later section. Higginbotham surrounded himself with like-minded individuals as executive committee members, so at least a part of the arms-length approach in the business relations between exposition managers and Midway concessionaires was intentional, or at least a matter of fact product of manager's attitudes. However, not all of what occurred, particularly the ability of the concessionaires to gain power in negotiations through several unanticipated avenues, was welcomed by the exposition management committee.

The initial plan included a bazaar of all nations which would compensate for the decision to limit the sale of products in the formal government exhibits on the main grounds of the exposition. The Exposition managers soon realized that it would be
difficult to manage a single venue and coordinate financial transactions for so many different countries. This idea was abandoned and "the sale of curios was relegated to the several characteristic "villages" of foreign nations in the Midway" (1898: 86). The Midway venues were primarily entrepreneurial ventures, so the organizational structure was less regulated by national governments and more influenced by the terms of contractual agreements between for profit syndicates and the local exposition committee. Germany was the only government that listed its Midway village as an official part of the country’s exhibit, and many of the other countries that were represented on the Midway did not have an official exhibit on the main grounds.

The Midway Plaisance occupied a mile-long strip between Jackson Park and Washington Park on the South side of Chicago. The Midway contained 54 different concession areas including a Ferris wheel, a zoo, a replica of St. Peter's Church, a replica of the Eiffel Tower, Japanese and East Indian Bazaars, a captive balloon, and 14 exhibits of indigenous peoples that also provided amusements and concessions. There were two Irish villages, a Javanese village, South Sea Island village, Algerian and Tunisian village, Chinese village, Dahomey village, Lapland village, American Indian village, Austrian village, Turkish village, German village, Jahore bungalow, and an Aztec village that was added by the Mexican government late in the fair.

The Midway concessions collected over 4 million dollars in revenue, which would be roughly equivalent to 92 million dollars today. The Cairo Street attraction would have had revenues of $562,500 from admissions alone (2,250,000 admissions of 25 cents) which would be roughly equivalent to 13 million dollars today. A Cairo Street artisan, attendant or performer would have earned approximately $300 to $700 during the
six month stay and returned home with $7,500 to $17,500 in equivalent wages (Bancroft 1893; Officer and Williamson 2010). The most popular exhibits were Cairo Street and the German, Austrian, Javanese, and Irish villages (Bancroft, 1893). It was difficult to determine exactly how many villagers lived in each setting, but the range appears to be from about 30 people in the Lapland village to possibly 500 people in some of the larger villages. Rossiter Johnson claimed that there were a total of 3,000 foreign people living on the Midway Plaisance (1897).

The most popular villages had the capacity to entertain a significant amount of visitors at any one time. For example, Cairo Street was the “city center” for the Turkish, Algerian and Tunisian villages, and the Moorish Palace. The Turkish village contained an operating mosque, refreshment pavilion, Persian tent, grand bazaar, Turkish café, Turkish theatre, Bedouin “desert” camp, and 11 cottages where artisans made rugs, embroidery and brass work. The Bedouin camp was occupied by a Sheikh and his family and their camels, dromedary's, Arabian horses, and a replica of a palace from the city of Damascus. Cairo Street proper contained the Egyptian Temple, another operating mosque, a performance theatre with 1,200 seats, and 62 shops. On a daily basis, the villagers surrounding Cairo Street would reenact a wedding or birthday celebration and provide camel rides, dances and other performances for visitors at the fair.

The Austrian village, commonly called old Vienna, was another popular exhibit and served approximately 800,000 visitors over the course of the fair. This exhibit represented a street in Vienna in the mid-18th century. There were 36 full sized houses, a City Hall, church, and 34 other dwellings and stores. Wood and ivory carving, engraving and painting on glass, embroidery, and lace and jewelry making were displayed in 40
different shops. The restaurant in old Vienna had a seating capacity of 2,400 and 500 people were employed in the village. The restaurant in the Javanese village had a seating capacity of 4,000 (Bancroft 1893; White and Inglehart 1893).

The Midway concessions were alternately embraced and dismissed by the exposition management. In his final report on the exposition, President Higginbotham first describes how unimportant the planning of the Midway was in the greater scheme of the exposition and then later stated that the "spirit and animation of the exposition was chiefly found on the Midway" (1898: 251-252). This change in attitude was most likely related to the immense popularity of the Midway attractions and the positive impact that Midway village residents had in solving some of the entertainment problems on the main grounds of the fair, which will be discussed in later sections.

Human Exhibits in the Nineteenth Century

World expositions offered the opportunity for hosting countries to highlight their progress in science, industry, social life, and the arts and provided a venue for friendly competition among the participating countries. In addition, trade and commerce including exhibition of potential exports, sales of crafts and ethnic foods, and performances were important activities at expositions. At the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1889, colonial structures provided a network for arranging exhibits that allowed France to illustrate the expanse of their empire, encourage trade relations, and hopefully increase loyalty from the populations in the colonies. Colonial administrators recruited natives from Algeria, Tunisia, Cochinchina, Annam and Tonkin, Senegal, Madagascar,
and Gabon, and entrepreneurs recruited natives from Indochina, West Africa, Equatorial Africa, and the South Pacific territories, to staff replicas of native villages. The villages were technically ethnology exhibits, but in practice were commercial enterprises. A significant amount of money was at risk in these endeavors, but prior experience indicated that native villages were likely to draw in visitors who wanted to see and interact with a variety of foreign people (Hale 2008: 230-244).

The first experience that led to this type of display occurred at the 1851 World’s Fair in London. The Crystal Palace, located in Hyde Park, was the central exhibition hall for the fair. Five hundred and twenty of the exhibits in the Crystal Palace represented the British colonies and were staffed by natives of the represented colonies (Midway Publishing Company 1892: 64). Most likely this was a practical plan for those who knew and created the products to introduce them to visitors, but it was also clear that exposition organizers were aware that visitors would understand the “trade exhibits as opportunities to see unusual or foreign peoples” (Qureshi 2011: 235). In subsequent fairs, exhibitions, and stand-alone venues, the emphasis moved from this early model of the employee who was an informal curiosity to an ethnology or anthropology display where humans were recruited as performers, curiosities, “ethnic type” displays, or to provide examples of evolutionary progress from the “primitive” to the modern European populations.

Though the practice had been developing in various forms since the mid-nineteenth century, the 1889 Paris Exposition Universelle was the first fair where a colonial section included designated villages of indigenous peoples as part of the display. The exhibits “presented the cultures and societies of the overseas territories with vivid displays of architecture, artistry, and indigenous people” (Hale 2008: 230). The
inhabitants were employed as artisans and entertainers, lived with their families, and "demonstrated their crafts to the French public" (238). In fact, "by the late nineteenth century, certain individuals made a career as professionals touring internationally and being exhibited at World’s Fairs" (Qureshi 201:134).

With this development in Paris, the model shifted to employment as an artisan and curiosity, and the concept of an ethnological display now included relocated native communities where "the actual daily social, religious, industrial, and domestic life and customs of the nations and peoples of every clime and continent” could be studied (Johnson 1897: 433). Four years after the Paris exhibition, a similar arrangement was carried out in the Midway Plaisance during the Columbian Exposition. However, there was a distinction between the models. The Midway villages were all contracted on a concession basis and government related exhibits were maintained on the formal fairgrounds. It is likely that relationships developed through the colonial exhibits at the Paris Exposition were a significant benefit for those who established and staffed the village concessions at the Columbian Exposition (Nance 2009).

The literature on human exhibitions demonstrates the problems with colonization and racism in relation to the villages at the expositions. The ethnology courts created at some expositions and the single venue “native performances” unquestionably reinforced oppression and ideologies of racial hierarchy. Quershi makes distinctions that point out the complex nature of assessing the ideological foundations for human exhibits. From her perspective, the British exhibit model is significantly less oppressive than the others because the people from the colonies were not presented as “ethnic types, but were attendants, laborers and guides” and were involved in their work in the main halls of the
exposition (2011: 249). That they might be a curiosity was understood but not formalized through the concept of an ethnology exhibit. At the Paris and Chicago expositions, the villages were segregated from the main grounds and the residents were presented as displays, ethnology exhibits, or amusements in conjunction with their role as artisans and performers.

Qureshi accurately compares the models, but in making this comparison is also suggesting that we attempt to discern lived experiences and complexities in any one case. For example, the concept that the Midway Plaisance villages were arranged in a racial or evolutionary hierarchy beginning with the European villages and ending with the Dahomey Village is often put forth in current scholarship regarding the Columbian Exposition. The Irish village was located near the entrance to the Midway, but about a half mile down the Midway, the German Village was a neighbor to Cairo Street and the Turkish and Algerian and Tunisian villages. The Austrian and Dahomey Villages were neighbors on about the last quarter mile of the Midway. From my observation of the map, it does not appear that the villagers or visitors would see the arrangement as a presentation of a racial hierarchy.

I am not intending to put the issues involved in human exhibits aside, and I will be presenting evidence of ideologies of racial hierarchy in the perceptions and portrayals of the villages by visitors on the Midway. However, a significant amount of the evidence indicates that this may not have been the overarching experience for the residents on the Midway. The constellation of nineteenth century business practices, an already emerging American model of pluralism, the focus on religious faith “in action” rather than profession, and the opportunity for like-minded individuals to collectively take
action though voluntary organizations like the local exposition committee, had a mitigating effect on the oppressive or restrictive elements in the experiences of the villagers.

Insiders on the Midway Plaisance

The Midway “Falls Into Place”

The Columbian Exposition managers initially distanced themselves from the Midway operations other than attempting to make sure that contractual obligations were met and funds were collected. The village exhibits were formally a subset of the Ethnology Department, but were actually managed by the Bureau of Admissions and Collections. The job description for Frederic Putnam, a Harvard professor who ran the Ethnology Department, does not mention the Midway villages. The job description for Paul Blackmar, the Director of Collections, included responsibility for management of contractual relations with the Midway concessionaires.

The Official Directory of the World’s Columbian Exposition, which contains over 1100 pages, refers to the villages in two brief sections of the document. The first is a one sentence entry under the Ethnology Department where the villages are designated as “Isolated and Collective Exhibits” (Handy 1893: 1098). The fact that the term isolated and collective exhibits referred to the Midway villages is only made clear in an accessory catalogue published by the Department of Publicity and Promotion, which was made available for a fee of ten cents. The second reference to the Midway villages is a brief note of entrance and amusement fees for each village which is listed in a section titled
"Description and Location of Buildings other than Departmental State and Foreign – Railroad, Steamboat and Streetcar Lines to the Exposition – Directory of Officers in the Administration Building – The Fountains and Statuary – All the Features and Points of Interest on the Grounds" (193).

In the quote that opened this chapter, President Higginbotham notes the value of curiosities and amusements for exposition visitors, but from his perspective, they should remain separate from the main operations of the Columbian Exposition. He reported that the location of the Midway on a “narrow strip of land gave an opportunity for isolating these special features, thus preventing jarring contrasts between the beautiful buildings and grounds and the illimitable exhibit on one hand, and the amusing, distracting, ludicrous and noisy attractions of the ‘Midway’” (1898: 86). After designating the spot as the area for concessions, planning for the Midway had been “abandoned to the Ways and Means Committee” (86) and the general exposition managers did not oversee the process of its development.

Once the exposition opened, managers experienced some of the unintended consequences of the decentralized oversight of Midway operations. Concessionaires often did not comply with the financial or operational rules that were established by the Admissions and Collections Department and Ways and Means Committee. The Admissions and Collections Department had not been adequately staffed while contracts were being considered, and continued to be understaffed in relation to the unanticipated level of activity on the Midway. Additionally, the exposition management had difficulty enforcing the rules that had been created for the concessions on the Midway. The Columbian Guard did not adequately provide enforcement of concession rules on the
Midway, or in the villages, due to personal disputes between the staff members of the Columbian Guard and the Admissions and Collections Department (Higginbotham 1898: 268).

The lassiez-faire approach to Midway management, and its unintended consequences for the business relations between exposition managers and concessionaires, laid the groundwork for the freedom and autonomy that was experienced by the Midway village residents. It appears that in every part of the process of developing the Midway, from proposing concessions to managing the day to day aspects of the Midway, the activities of the concessionaires and their on-site managers had a significant impact in shaping social and business relations. It is likely that some of the concessionaires and villagers had prior experience in the 1899 Paris Exposition Universelle and were more prepared to carry out their activities than the exposition managers were to enforce the rules. In any case, the newspaper accounts of insider activity are primarily driven by reports of concessionaires carrying out public relations campaigns and collaborative activities with the exposition management and Chicago community members.

Newspaper and Periodical Accounts of Insider Activity

The majority of references to insider activities came from the Chicago Tribune. Chicago journalists became more familiar with the concession managers and day to day operations of the Midway villages and were more likely to be aware of insider aspects of the operation. African American periodicals are not included in any of the sections in this
chapter because there were few substantive references to activities on the Midway. Table 9 summarizes the frequency of positive and negative perceptions and portrayals of Midway concessionaires and exposition managers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total number of articles</th>
<th>Articles portraying &quot;insider&quot; actions</th>
<th>Positive Interactions</th>
<th>Difficulties on the Midway</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Large city papers</strong></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Small City Papers</strong></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Periodicals</strong></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concessionaires were able to access journalists and promote their concessions prior to the opening of the exposition. The two concessionaires who received the majority of coverage were Robert Levy, the concessionaire for the Turkish Village, and Countess Aberdeen who was promoting the Irish Industries Association through the displays in one of the Irish villages. They both appeared to intentionally promote their activities. Robert Levy was the only insider who received any promotional press in the small papers. The reporter from the Kansas Times referred to Levy as always being “willing to talk” about the exhibit (Along the Midway Plaisance 1893: 9).

The Midway concessionaires were credited with organizing collaborative activities along the Midway and on the main grounds of the fair. One example was the relatively impromptu Fourth of July parade and celebration that was carried out by Midway village residents. This event was so well received that the exposition managers
eventually collaborated with the Midway residents to carry out parades, athletic
cOMPetitions, and other performance on the main grounds. This was helpful to the
exposition managers because visitors were not attending the scheduled entertainment on
the main grounds and the involvement of the villagers increased enthusiasm and
attendance for the formal exposition entertainment activities.

Concessionaires also reached out to religious and ethnic groups living in the
Chicago area. Countess Aberdeen shipped sod from Ireland to the Irish village and gave
small pieces of it to visitors of Irish descent. Robert Jentzsch, the manager of the Austrian
Village, invited the Austrian residents of Chicago to assist in the dedication. Robert Levy
recruited members of the Chicago Medinah Shriners to assist with the dedication of the
mosque in the Turkish village. The Medinah Shriners were a group of Masons that held
membership in the Ancient Arabic order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. This order
originated in Turkey and became popularized in the United States in the nineteenth
century (Nance 2009). The Shriners helped arrange a parade through the city of Chicago
on the day of the dedication. Estimates of the number of parade participants varied from
1,500 to 3,000. The Fourth of July parade and dedication of the mosque will be
described in more detail in the section on collaborations and conflicts.

Negative portrayals of concessionaires and exposition managers fell into two
categories. Disturbances between villagers did occur on the Midway and generally were
related to consuming alcohol or issues involving romantic relationships. In this scenario,
insiders were negatively portrayed whether they were effective in resolving the
disturbance or not. The local managers of the Columbian Exposition were singled out for
negative press when disputes over contracts and operating rules occurred. For example, a
silence rule was imposed on the villagers because the exposition management committee members believed that the villagers had become too loud in their effort to draw customers into the exhibits. The Dahomey village manager locked the gates and the exposition managers received negative press until they rescinded the rule. It is important to note that there were religious elements in the positive portrayals of insiders, but the negative portrayals of insiders did not address religious issues. The themes related to positive and negative perceptions portrayals of Midway concessionaires and exposition managers are summarized in Table 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10</th>
<th>Themes in the Perceptions and Portrayals of Insiders on the Midway</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive Portrayals of Insider Activity</td>
<td>Negative Portrayals of Insider Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public relations activities by concessions managers</td>
<td>Disturbances on the Midway that were not properly avoided or managed by concession managers and the Columbian Guard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primarily Large City Newspapers</strong></td>
<td>Business and contractual disagreements between exposition managers and Midway concession managers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborative activities between Midway concession managers, village residents, and exposition fair management staff.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborative activities between concession managers and ethnic or religious groups from Chicago</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Religion on the Midway Plaisance

Religious Structures and Activities

The majority of the villages on the Midway included displays of religious artifacts, buildings, performances, and ritual activities. In addition to the displays, some village residents carried out routine religious activities with varying degrees of privacy and separation. For example there were three operating mosques on the Midway grounds. They were located in the Javanese village, the Turkish village and on Cairo Street. The daily prayer schedule was maintained with a traditional call to prayer from the minaret of the mosques on Cairo Street and in the Turkish village, and regular services were on Fridays at noon. Visitors were not allowed in the Turkish and Cairo Street mosques during prayer time, but were welcome at any other time.

The month of Ramadan occurred during the fair and visitors were aware of the practice of fasting. One newspaper account described the Turkish “Christmas” and the feast that took place at the end of Ramadan in the Turkish village (Turks Celebrate Their Christmas 1893: 2). The Javanese mosque was alternately described as having a minaret or an observation tower. It is not clear whether prayer was open or private in the Javanese village, but the village did hold a private funeral service for an infant who died on the grounds. The village was closed for several days during the funeral process. There are several newspaper descriptions of visitors going to great lengths to try to observe the service by scaling the fence around the village. Many others pressed up against the fence in order to be able to hear the funeral proceedings.
Bancroft was the only source that described the operations of the temple in the Chinese village and the church in the Austrian village (1893). The temple, which was referred to as the Joss house, honored multiple deities representing Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. Offerings of incense, tea, water and flowers were made, but there was little information on a schedule of activity or if the temple was open to the public during those times. The church in the Austrian village held regular services, but again there was little detail other than stating that the services were held as they would be at home. It is difficult to discern whether some of the other religious buildings were used for worship in an ongoing manner or if the church in the Austrian village was shared among any of the Christian villagers. The mosque on Cairo Street was used on at least one occasion for a Yom Kippur service for the Jewish population on the Midway. This collaborative Yom Kippur service was certainly a highlight in the inter-religious interaction on the Midway, but it most likely was an ongoing collaboration. The mosque contained all of the religious materials that would be needed by the Jewish population and it is unlikely that this occurred for the purpose of one service.

It was not unusual for the “non-operating” religious structures to be highlighted during dedication ceremonies or other special occasions. In one of the Irish villages, a large Celtic cross (estimates of its height varied from 14 to 27 feet) and replicas of towers that were typically used by monks were situated near replicas of Ogham stones. The placement of the stones was overseen by a group of Druids in order to prepare for the village dedication ceremony. Newspaper accounts described the dedication as the first time that the Druids had carried out a religious ceremony outside of Wales. The Javanese and Native American villagers also constructed and dedicated totems when they
established their villages. Often the structures, such as the replica of the Muckross Abbey in Lady Aberdeen’s Irish village, did not have authentic interiors and were used as village entrances or for display of other items. The chapel in the replica of a sixteenth century castle in the German village was used to display weapons and armor.

Religious symbolism was employed in various ways on the Midway. Some of the religious buildings were intended to serve the villagers and subsequently became a part of the display. Religious art and relics were incorporated as matter of fact representations of the people, country or culture in almost every village. Religious items like Celtic crosses, incense, and verses from the Qu’ran could be purchased in the shops and bazaars on the Midway. The religious aspects of the Midway were not formalized or expected to be components of the concessions, but religion played an important role in the communication of culture and the communication between cultures.

Religious leaders were also recruited to live in the villages. Multiple sources indicated that “priests” were located in the Javanese and Cairo Street villages to protect and serve the religious needs of the village residents. The Javanese government would not agree to let state sponsored dancers live in the village until they procured assurances from the exposition management and concessionaires that a Muslim “priest” would be a significant part of village life. This situation was consistently reported with at least some degree of admiration. The “priest” was commonly referred to as a very special and well known religious leader who had been to Mecca at least three times.
Communicating Views of the Religious “Other”

Journalists and writers did not need access to insiders to observe and report on the religious elements of the Midway. Reporters from Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles and New York weighed in on the subject. Reporters from Chicago and Los Angeles were more likely to describe foreign religions in a positive light, and it appeared that familiarity increased positive reports. The Chicago journalists initially described the villagers as strange or grotesque. By the end of the exposition, reporters used personal names and described the village residents and their religious practices in a positive manner. Mary Shermann, the reporter from the Los Angeles Times, appeared to be familiar in a different sense. Her series on the villages indicated a sophisticated knowledge of the religious symbolism and practices of the majority of the villages that she covered. At least one description of religious features on the Midway occurred in each of the small city papers as well.

Current Literature magazine ran a contest for articles on the exposition and several articles that were focused on the Midway were prize entries. In general the periodicals that covered religion on the Midway were popular magazines such as Harper’s Bazaar, North American Review, and Scientific American. The Chataquan, a primarily Methodist periodical, and the Friend’s Review covered village religious life in a positive manner.

Finally, a new category must be introduced at this point. Too many of the articles in all sources used hierarchical or positive/negative comparisons of several religions within one written piece. The higher rate of hierarchical comparison in the periodicals is
most likely related to the length and type of the article. Many of the articles were broad overviews of the fair or Midway. Counting each reference as a positive or negative remark about one religion would not have accurately represented the data. Table 11 summarizes the frequencies of positive, negative and hierarchical views of the religions other.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total number of articles</th>
<th>Articles portraying religious views</th>
<th>Positive view of religious other</th>
<th>Negative view of religious other</th>
<th>Hierarchical view of religious others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large city papers</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small City Papers</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periodicals</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Positive portrayals of the religious other far outweighed negative portrayals of the religious other and notably outweighed hierarchical portrayals as well. The most frequent positive portrayal of the religious other involved descriptions of the Muslim population in Cairo Street and the Javanese village.

Ten of the 22 positive references in the large papers, and all 5 of the positive references in small papers, involved detailed description of the prominent roles of religious leaders, faithful adherence to prayer, and the devotion to moral and behavioral standards that was demonstrated by the Muslim population. While one article did relate a disturbance caused by exposition workers and several men from the Turkish village visiting a few Chicago saloons, in general the Turks and Javanese were noted for their temperance. In fact, an article in the Open Court magazine questioned the news report of
this incident and argued that it had to be Christians dressed up as Turks because it was
difficult to believe that the incident really happened as described in the press (Trumball
1893: 3637). The religious elements of village dedications and parades also tended to
elicit favorable press coverage in the large city newspapers. However, the dedications in
the Irish, Austrian, German and Turkish villages received most of the coverage.

Twenty five of the 66 articles addressed concepts of religious hierarchy and
comparison. The difference between the comparative themes in newspapers vs.
comparative themes in periodicals is interesting. The news accounts portrayed Muslims,
Christians, Buddhists, Druids and Hindus in a positive manner in comparison to Native
Americans and Dahomey religious practice which was regarded as “heathen” or barbaric.
The positively portrayed religions were described in ways that would suggest religious
and moral authority and a positive impact on social order. There may have been a concept
of a hierarchy which would establish certain “world religions” in a positive light, and
practices that were not perceived as meeting the criteria of contributing to moral and
social order were not compared positively.

The periodicals took a negative approach toward Christianity and American
culture. The Muslim population in the Javanese and Turkish villages was portrayed
positively in comparison to the Christians in the German and Lapland villages and
American Christians in general. The Lapland villagers were described as barely worth
visiting because their conversion to Lutheran Christianity had made them quite boring.
The weapons display in the German castle chapel was lampooned as a visual aid for
robber barons as they prayed to win their conquests.
There were multiple references to the detriment that might happen to the villagers if they spent too much time with Americans and several references to the idea that the common exposition visitor on the Midway would have no cultural or religious knowledge outside of Christian America. It appeared that the authors of periodical articles were writing for a possibly more elite readership who would appreciate a cosmopolitan, mildly sarcastic view of American Christianity and the general visitor at the exposition. Susan Nance reviewed the newspaper and periodical accounts specific to the Cairo Street villages and surmised that “public interest in such gossip and humor seems to have been especially high among those sardonic observers who were bent on poking holes in the façade of ethnic separation, education and American progress the fair ostensibly offered” (2009: 146). It also could have been a popular culture backlash toward the rhetoric involved in closing the exposition on Sunday. Table 12 summarizes the themes in the perception and portrayal of the religious “other”.

Collaboration, Conflict and Outsider Perceptions

There were three significant collaborative events on the Midway, and one conflict that was not widely reported, but still should be noted. Two of the events, a Fourth of July celebration and Yom Kippur service in the mosque in the Turkish village, were collaborations among the village residents and concessionaires. One event was a collaborative effort between Robert Levy, the concessionaire for the Turkish village, and the Medinah Shriners of Chicago. Robert Levy appeared to be a skilled promoter networker, and manager and he played significant roles in all of the collaborative activities that took place. The conflict involved a Ramadan celebration in the Turkish
village and Levy was involved in this as well.

Robert Levy’s actions were widely reported, but specific information on his background was limited. It was reported that he was a representative of the Egypt-Chicago Exposition company (Higginbotham: 1898), and a representative of Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan Ghazi II, the 34th sultan of the Ottoman Empire (Raised their Flag 132

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 12</th>
<th>Themes in the Portrayal of the Religious Other on the Midway</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive Portrayals of Religious Other</strong></td>
<td><strong>Negative Portrayal of Religious Other</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large City Papers</td>
<td>Positive portrayals of the Muslim villagers with a focus on their faithful religious practice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small City Papers</td>
<td>Positive portrayals of the Muslim villagers with a focus on their faithful religious practice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periodicals</td>
<td>“On the Midway” articles in popular periodicals consistently positive in describing religious aspects of the villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited negative portrayals of rituals and prayers observed on the Midway</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1892:1), and he may have filled both roles. He was alternately described as a Jew from Portugal or as a Jew from Constantinople. There were multiple reports of his gift for languages. A journalist who covered a pre-exposition fund raising bazaar reported that Levy auctioned articles from Turkey in twelve different languages including English, Turkish, Russian, French, German and Arabic (Bazaar Nets $25,000 1892: 3).

Conflicts on the Midway were generally related to socializing between village and fair workers that involved consumption of alcohol, inter-religious or interethnic romantic relationships, and business related disagreement between concessionaires and exposition managers. Surprisingly, missionary activity occurred but did not seem to involve conflict on the Midway even though it was a significant source of conflict among speakers at the Parliament of Religions. In fact, the conversion of two Japanese representatives resulted in other village residents, including those from the Turkish village, visiting the church.

The minister who claimed credit for the conversion and baptisms, Professor W. F. Black of the Central Church of Christ noted that “they brought their friends and their friends brought others, I suppose the news spread along the Midway” (Converts on the Midway 1893: 3). Many of the villagers, particularly the Muslim population, did not enter the church, but visited on the porch until the service was over. While the conversion did not seem to cause conflict in this report, there were not a significant number of detailed reports regarding missionary activity on the Midway. It is difficult to determine how village residents experienced attempts at conversion. However, in this case it appears that at least several village residents visited Professor Black’s church. Possibly, from their perspective, Midway villagers were participating in observing a foreign religious culture as well.
Newspaper and Periodical Accounts of Collaboration and Conflict

Most of the reports of collaboration occurred in the Chicago Daily Tribune and were focused on the Fourth of July celebration or the dedication of the mosque. The Kalamazoo Gazette was the only small paper that reported on conflicts on the Midway and they highlighted a romantic relationship between a Muslim “priest” and a secretary in the collections department. The relationship between Sheikh Ali and Miss Wilson was widely publicized in other newspapers, and it was reported that Sheikh Ali vowed to give up his religion and convert if necessary. Miss Wilson was sent back to Ohio after it was determined that Sheikh Ali was important to the Turkish villagers and it appeared that neither one was willing to end the relationship. The periodicals focused on the day to day informal socializing on the Midway among villagers and between villagers and visitors. Collaborative activities were more often reported than conflicts and the collaborations generally involved larger numbers of villagers, while conflicts tended to involve fewer individuals. Table 13 summarizes the frequency of newspaper and periodical accounts that focused on collaboration and conflict.

### Table 13 Perceptions and Portrayals of Collaboration and Conflict on the Midway

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total number of articles</th>
<th>Articles portraying collaboration or conflict</th>
<th>Collaboration on the Midway</th>
<th>Conflict on the Midway</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large city papers</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small City Papers</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periodicals</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Collaboration on the Midway Plaisance

The mosque in the Turkish village was dedicated in late April of 1893. It was the only dedication ceremony that expanded into the actual city of Chicago. Robert Levy had become an honorary member of the Medinah Temple in Chicago and had invited the Medinah Shriners to participate in the event along with the Muslim residents of other villages in the Midway. The Shriners took this as an opportunity to organize a parade that started on the corner of Dearborn and Monroe streets and ended at the Van Buren Street train station where a train had been arranged to bring the parade participants to the exposition grounds (Dedication of the Mosque 1893: 2) The newspapers estimated that about 1,500 people marched in the parade, Robert Levy joined the lead Potentate of the Medinah Temple at the front of the parade. Bancroft describes the event as follows:

On the appointed hour the muezzin, from his perch in the tall white tower, summoned the faithful to prayers and to the dedication ceremony. They came from all directions, advancing in a long procession some 3,000 strong, headed by a military band. Though accompanied by native musicians sounding their shrill pipes and discordant drums, and by a contingent of Turks in gorgeous uniforms over whom floated crimson banner of the porte, the majority of the participants were of the Caucasian race. Attired in scarlet fezzes embroidered with the crescent, they were popularly known as the Shriners, and officially as the "Ancient Arabic order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine," an organization which flourished in Turkey many years before it gained a foothold in the United States, the majority of those who took part in the exercises be members of the Medinah Temple of Chicago. The procession wound through the village, the men entering the mosque in sandals or without substantial foot-wear, and soon all were at prayer. In his little square shrine, hung with rich tapestry, stood the high priest, and behind him a row of thirteen assistants. The ceremony was of the briefest -- merely a recitation of passages from the ritual, in which the muezzin and his brethren were the prominent figures, the congregation responding with frequent prostrations, and devout exclamations of Allah! A banquet followed in an adjoining hall; a handsome Damascus blade was presented to the Medinah Temple by the concessionaire, the celebration was at an end (1893: 857-858).
Nance describes this event from a critical perspective. She presents the Medinah Temple Shriners as Protestant Masons who were “businessmen, civil servants, and professionals” who had become enamored with the Aladdin’s lamp story and used their membership in the Ancient Arabic Order, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine as a “creative outlet” play acting as Eastern nobles to “represent their aspirations and successes” in the business world; and presents Robert Levy as financially opportunistic in this endeavor (2009:154). From the perspective of religious life on the Midway, this criticism makes the circumstance all the more interesting.

For example, how did Robert Levy situate himself as a Jew who was responsible for managing the practical parts of religious life for Turkish Muslims and recently became an honorary noble in the Protestant Masonic Medinah Temple? If the mosque dedication had been the only collaborative effort that he was involved in, it would make sense that bringing 1,500 Shriners to the Turkish village was a good promotional effort and possibly worth a less than authentic honorary membership. However, Levy was instrumental in designing the mosque in a way that made it usable by the Muslim and Jewish populations, and made an effort to invite all of the Muslims on the Midway to the mosque dedication, and the feast at the end of Ramadan. The same type of invitation was extended to the Jewish population for the Yom Kippur service in the mosque in the Turkish village. The consistency and scope of his inter-religious activity in efforts that would not have significantly increased admissions and sales are reasonable evidence for questioning Nance’s assessment of his motives in the mosque dedication.

Additionally, why would the Medinah Shriners prostrate themselves in the mosque if they were firm Protestants and only playing with another religious identity for
business reasons? Nance posits that they took on this role to mystify their activities, but from a business perspective, it would seem that dressing in unfamiliar clothing, wearing fezzes with a crescent symbol, and parading through Chicago could just as easily alienate as mystify business contacts who were not involved in the Shriners. This collaboration is notable just due to the size, effort, and extension into the streets of Chicago. If it is considered through a less critical lens, the idea of separating religious categories, at least in the day to day lives of these individuals, could be as much of a façade as the concept of ethnic separation that was discussed in relation to the lampooning carried out in periodicals regarding the interest in human exhibits.

The Fourth of July celebration on the Midway is a good indicator of the level of self-determination and collaborative interest that occurred in the day to day lives of Midway residents. An account from the Chicago Daily Tribune follows:

It was a unique spectacle which the Midway Plaisance presented to Fourth of July sight seers yesterday – a spectacle which never before was and never again may be seen in this country. The queer people of the Plaisance had their own celebration. The avenue was decorated with a continuous row of steamers, flags and lanterns... the Dahomey village was in a fervor of patriotism... what slight raiment its warriors and amazons wore was of red, white and blue. All along the Plaisance, indeed, during the morning hours there were signs of the coming pageantry. About noon a long cavalcade of Bedouins, the wild East show, mounted on camels and spirited horses... moved toward the west end of the Plaisance. They were followed shortly by a procession of Turks with the star and crescent intermingled with the Stars and Stripes... the British artillery came galloping in just on the edge of noon. The Stars and Stripes were unfurled on a lofty pole to the salute of the British artillery. The various nationalities vigorously cheered in a score of tongues and fifes, drums and tom toms and gongs saluted old Glory. Then there was silence for a moment and a Mohammedan priest in gorgeous robes made a prayer with sonorous voice to the accompaniment of amens as fervently uttered as if it were a camp meeting ("Fourth of July on Midway Plaisance" 1893: 12).

A more detailed article on the parade noted that:
By 12 o’clock the crowd had increased to 25,000 who surged against the lines and required the combined efforts of the detachments of Columbian Guards and the spearmen from Arabia to keep them from crowding in. Then Robert Levy, who acted as Grand Marshall, rode down the line while the Turks and Arabs and Chinese and Soudanese and the other strange people in the line saluted him according to the customs of their countries (“All Nations Join In” 1893: 9)

In later news accounts, and some official records, it appears that the exposition management organized the parade on the Midway, but almost all immediate accounts focus on various groups of villagers who were practicing patriotic songs in advance of the effort or creating a series of plays on Revolutionary War heroes in the Chinese Theater. The flag rising and dedication speeches at noon were organized by exposition officials. However, they did not invite a Christian minister to open the dedication ceremony. At that point, as noted in the quote above, Jamal Effendi a religious leader from one of the mosques on the Midway, stepped forward faced east and prayed for Allah’s blessing on the United States, the flag, and the Columbian Exposition. The reporter stated that “it was rather funny, too, for a Mohammedan priest to pray to Allah to bless this country and its flag when the Committee of Ceremonies had not thought it of sufficient importance to ask a Christian minister to do a like service” (“All Nations Join In” 1893: 9)

Seager points to this event as an indicator that the “ground rules” of the Christian and nationalistic tenor of the Columbian celebration were easily superseded, “suggesting in turn an alternative meaning of the nation and its destiny” (1993: 36). Seager’s conclusion is supported by the evidence of life on the Midway. From the perspective of the residents, this prayer was unlikely to be representative of the first “break” in the ground rules, an anomaly, or a complete surprise. It did concretely symbolize for the outside world what appeared to have already become normal activity on the Midway.
The distant relationship between the exposition managers and Midway concessionaires may have contributed to the Christian tenor of the Columbian Exposition being less influential on the Midway. However, it does not appear that the village residents had abandoned an enthusiasm for America, or saw their religious belief as interfering with a nationalistic enthusiasm. The Fourth of July celebration was not the only instance where village residents indicated that identification with their own country and religion did not preclude a sense of identification with the United States. For example, the Egyptian Temple obelisks were inscribed with dedications to President Harrison and it was not unusual for religious ceremonies and dedications to include prayers for the leader of the sending country as well as President Harrison.

The third significant collaboration that occurred on the Midway was not covered in any of the news or periodical articles that were selected for this chapter, but it was addressed in an official exposition document. An extended Yom Kippur service was held in the mosque in the Turkish village on September 19 and 20, 1893. This event was covered in the Report of the Committee on Awards published by the government printing office in a subsection titled Special Reports on Special Subjects or Groups and was written by Isidor Lewi, who was an editorial writer for the New York Tribune (1901). Lewi stated that four fifths of the inhabitants of the Turkish village were Jews even though their appearance may have made visitors believe they were Muslims.

He described the Turkish mosque as "being arranged so that it could be used as a Jewish house of worship also--the paraphernalia was all there and the Moslem is liberal enough to allow religious service other than his own to take place in his house of
worship—a point which he thinks the Western people would do well to ponder” (Lewi 1901:1693). He describes the service as follows:

It was in this gorgeously equipped and dimly lighted mosque that the oriental Jews assembled on Tuesday evening, September 19, 1893 and read the Kol Nidra service... Each and every one had brought with him from his home the scarf which the Orthodox Jew wears at prayer time and the Hebrew book of prayers. In the course of the ceremonial, Mr. Robert Levy, the Ottoman concessionaire, approached the altar and asked a blessing on the President of the United States and the Sultan of Turkey... On Wednesday, September 20, the mosque was too small to hold the worshippers, and a great bazaar was converted into a synagogue... They came from all parts of the Orient. Constantinople had the largest representation though there were men from Adrianople, Tunis, Tripoli, Damascus, Smyrna, Bombay, Calcutta, from Algeria and other Eastern points, and two lone men from New York. And here it was seen how wise it was to make Hebrew the language of prayer for Jews... The fakirs cries, the clang of cymbals, the din of tom toms, the endless drone and buzz of hurrying thousands came from the wonderful street a few steps off, above were the strains of martial music from the German village across the way, and above all rose the chant of these strangely habited men and women: “Hear, O Israel! The Lord our God, the Lord is one (1901: 1693-1694).

There were no other documents in my selected data that contained an estimate of the Jewish population in the Turkish village or on the Midway, and searches for more information typically refer to Lewi’s contribution to the awards publication. In any case, this example of collaboration indicates that religious diversity and collaboration occurred within the villages and religious collaboration occurred among the villages, with little evidence of religious conflict other than the business related disagreement that occurred during the Ramadan celebration.

Conflict on the Midway Plaisance

The Eid al Fitr, or celebration and feast that occurred at the end of Ramadan fasting, was actually a collaborative activity as well as a conflict. Like the mosque
dedication and Yom Kippur service, the Turkish village residents and Robert Levy
invited all of the Muslim Midway residents to the event in the Turkish Village. The
event was described in the Chicago Daily Tribune as follows:

At sunrise Hakkey Bey slaughtered three sheep while Kurbon Bairon, the priest,
went up into the tower of the mosque and prayed. Then all of the people of the
village formed a procession and marched into the chapel, where they offered the
three sheep as a sacrifice on the altar and gave thanks just as the people in
Constantinople had done a few hours previously, when the first rays of sun
glistened against the gilded domes and the decorated minarets of that far away
city. It is the first celebration of the kind ever held in America or ever seen by the
nations now inhabiting [the] Midway. A delegation of Turks from the
hippodrome on 35th Street attended. Manager Levy was much put out because the
Exposition authorities would not, as he said, permit them to pass in without
paying the usual 50 cents admission fee. As there is not another Mosque on this
side of the salt seas, they had no other place to go and it was their wish to be in at
the festival....The Mohamet Christmas, as it is called, marks the end of a thirty
day season of fasting. It lasts four days, and at sunrise every morning the same
rites will be observed ("Turks Celebrate Their Christmas" 1893: 2).

The hippodrome that the author refers to was an attraction called the "Wild East"
show which consisted of racing Arabian horses and other performances. The performers
lived near the attraction. It is not clear why they would have to pay Midway entrance fees
except that the hippodrome is the last exhibit on the map and may not have been in the
Midway proper, which was the case with some attractions. Why the exposition
management interfered with religious collaboration on the Midway in this case is also
unclear. The most that can be surmised from the report of this incident is that Levy had
the ear of the press, and as in other business related conflicts, concessionaires were
favored over the exposition management in the press. It also supports the idea that this
type of conflict was an exception rather than the rule. Given the other circumstances, if
this has occurred often, it would have been reported. It is clear that even in this reported
conflict, it was the business rather than religious elements that caused the problem. Table
14 summarizes the collaboration and conflict themes that were reported in newspapers and periodicals.

Table 14  Themes in the Perceptions and Portrayals of Collaboration and Conflict on the Midway

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceptions and Portrayals of Collaboration</th>
<th>Perception and Portrayals of Conflict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interreligious and interethnic interactions during the Fourth of July celebration on the Midway</td>
<td>Interreligious romance and friendships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication of the mosque on Cairo Street</td>
<td>Business and contractual disagreements between exposition managers and Midway concession managers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socializing and missionary activities on the Midway</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Visitors on the Midway Plaisance

It appeared that journalists, in their role as outsiders, and visitors to the fair perceived the Midway and the villages primarily as entertainment and an opportunity to see and interact with people from around the world in their “native” habitat. Some visitors were suspicious of the authenticity of the exhibits and village residents, but for the most part it appeared that people believed they were engaged in an authentic experience. Most of the positive interest centered on the chance to interact personally and see foreign people show goodwill toward Americans and America.

The concept of ethnology exhibits was somewhat difficult to maintain because village residents often left the villages and enjoyed the Midway activities. Almost any
street scene from the Midway Plaisance captures images of villagers and visitors walking on the main avenue. Trading cigarettes and chatting, whether they were speaking the same language or not, seemed to be a pleasant activity for all. There were unpleasant interactions as well. At one point the Dahomey village manager placed a sign at the entrance to the village stating the visitors were not allowed to ask the residents about cannibalism (White & Inglehart 1893: 583). Positive portrayals of the villagers occurred two times as often as negative portrayals and hierarchical portrayals occurred more often than negative portrayals. Table 15 summarizes the frequency of perception and portrayals of outsiders in newspapers and periodicals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 15</th>
<th>Outsider Perceptions of the Midway Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number of articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large city papers</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small City Papers</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periodicals</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While many visitors reveled in this cosmopolitan atmosphere, a good number of them could not quite integrate what they were seeing in a cohesive manner. It was not unusual for the Midway to be portrayed as at once beautiful and grotesque, civilized and savage. One reporter who observed the Fourth of July parade commented that "it was all patriotic and beautiful, but it was grotesque to see half naked Soudanese, long gowned Arabs, Chinamen and Turks celebrating an event they did not understand but as patriotic and
loyal in their cheering for all that as the people that were born under the Stars and Stripes" (All Nations Join In 1893: 9).

This was an interesting comment, because it was clear that at least the Chinese Theater performers understood the significance of the day. They changed their theater production from traditional Chinese offerings to a tribute to American Revolutionary War heroes and put considerable thought and rehearsal time into the project. Another reporter noted that the parade was a "rare spectacle" that would "long be remembered by those who witnessed the celebration of the day in which Americans were not the participants except as curious onlookers" (Fourth of July on Midway Plaisance 1893:12). Table 16 summarizes the themes in outsider perceptions and portrayals of the Midway villagers.

Theoretical Implications of Religious Co-existence on the Midway

The day to day experience of religious co-existence on the Midway Plaisance was situated within the larger social contexts of human exhibits, colonization, business enterprise, and World's Fairs in the nineteenth century. These larger social forces created the conditions that led to foreign entrepreneurs and their employees visiting the United States to participate in the entertainment venues in the Midway Village. The planners of Exposition Universelle in Paris created the idea of a "village environment" to showcase their colonial holdings and add entertainment revenue to the exposition. While the United States exposition planners did not see the Midway as an exhibit of foreign colonies, they realized that allowing concessionaires to set up similar villages would provide revenues and additional entertainment for visitors at the Columbian Exposition. The concept that the villages also provided an ethnology exhibit appeared to be an afterthought.
Table 16  Themes in the Perception and Portrayal of Midway Villagers by Outsiders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Portrayals of Midway Villagers</th>
<th>Negative Portrayals of Midway Villagers</th>
<th>Hierarchical Portrayals of Midway Villagers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A perception of &quot;showing goodwill&quot; in informal interactions of villagers and visitors</td>
<td>The concessions and villagers were fake and just getting their hands on the American dollar</td>
<td>The Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, and Hindu villagers are portrayed positively in comparison to Native American and other “heathen” villagers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive portrayals of symbolic tributes villagers made to the United States including parades on the Midway</td>
<td>The Midway as a place of immoral dancing and unruly inhabitants, particularly the Egyptian dancers, and “Old Vienna” café staff</td>
<td>Descriptions of “culture shock”, and ambivalent reactions. Consistent negative reactions to the Dahomey village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faithful reproductions of villages and authentic villagers</td>
<td>The Midway as a place of immoral dancing, unruly inhabitants, and tricksters</td>
<td>Positive reports only included the Irish and Austrian villages and Cairo Street – Midway is a strange world - a combination of civilization and savagery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity to travel the world on the Midway, delightful experience.</td>
<td>Sarcasm and ridicule of the interactions between villagers and American visitors</td>
<td>Positive descriptions of Javanese, European and Samoan villages. Negative descriptions of Egyptians, Dahomeans, and Algerians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presenting villagers as grotesque and a spectacle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It appeared to be a way to identify what the villages “were” in relation to common experience at that time. The local exposition managers, in general, were responding to concession proposals rather than recruiting the villages according to a planned ethnology exhibit. Sevener structural conditions contributed to the day to day experiences of villagers and visitors. The lassiez-faire approach of the fair management committee, which was an
intentional or at least matter of fact attitude toward business activity at the time, allowed a great deal of freedom for Midway villagers and concessionaires. The unintentional consequences of this approach such as a less than desirable staffing for oversight of Midway operations; contracts with concessionaires that were difficult to enforce due to hasty negotiations, and a lack of cooperation from the Columbian Guard also contributed to the autonomy on the Midway. Popular sentiment regarding the villagers, and the fact that the concessionaires and villagers may have been more experienced in providing this type of venue than the exposition managers were, allowed Midway residents to have more authority over the conditions of their day to day experience as well. All of these factors contributed to a higher level of freedom and autonomy for the Midway villagers, and their sending countries, than may have been expected given the perception of their status as exhibits within contained villages.

There are three theoretical issues that should be considered in the exploration of inter-religious and social interaction on the Midway. The first addresses Wuthnow’s question regarding the possibility of pluralism as a normative ideal when the Christian “host”, who is the majority partner in these encounters “remains committed to the exclusive truth of its own teachings” (2005:168). The second considers Machacek’s contention that growing numbers of adherents to religions other than Christianity are “often using religion as a primary resource, appear to be actively negotiating the terms of American social and cultural life” (2003:147). The third consideration is an issue that was not addressed in the foundational theoretical work other than through a call for more empirical research on how religious “communities also co-exist in dynamic, often
conflictive, but also sometimes cooperative relationships with each other” (Wuthnow 2003: 168).

In addition to the theoretical issues that were addressed in the literature review, there are three observations that I will consider in this section. The first is the observation that the attitudes of Chicago journalists changed over the course of the six month period. In general, as they began to know the villagers by name, their perceptions and portrayals became increasingly positive. The second is the leadership that Robert Levy exhibited in the collaborative activities and the idea of Levy as an early prototype of an “interfaith advocate”.

The third observation is illustrated most clearly in the example of the Medinah Shriners, but also is evident in the Fourth of July festivities and other less formal interactions. It appeared that many of the Midway residents, and some Chicago residents, did not find it problematic to identify with, and participate in, religious practices of other groups. Nancy Ammerman suggests that the current narrative regarding religious diversity involves an “assumption that a homogeneous understanding of religion existed in the past” (2010: 155). Ammerman suggests that we should not assume that religion is understood and practiced within categories that religious institutions have defined. We will not understand how religion is actually practiced and how religious diversity is actually experienced if we do not consider the possibility that people cross religious boundaries as they approach the circumstances and problems of everyday life (2010).

Though I did not address Ammerman’s ideas in the literature review and proposal, this observation of life on the Midway supports the idea that there are certain settings where pluralistic practices will be enacted as people negotiate the circumstances of day to day
life. It also supports her contention that conceptualizing religious belief and practice as homogeneous and institutionally driven does not allow for clear understanding of day to day religious practices of individuals now, or 100 years ago.

The Christian Host

The co-existence on the Midway seemed to more often lean toward cooperative interactions at the inter-personal and group levels, even when someone representing a Christian host was involved. In the case of the Midway, and in the case of the Battle for Sunday, we see that there are a variety of Christianities and a variety of understandings of what being a host to visiting or immigrant religious populations means. The Puritan group would have liked to establish a privileged version, but were unable to. It does not appear that either then, or now, we have a homogeneous concept of an exclusive truth even among Christians. In fact, on the Midway, religions were not addressed or compared in terms of an ultimate truth leading to salvation; they were in many cases addressed and arranged in a hierarchy according to how the religious belief contributed to the moral values that ordered daily activity and social life.

For example, Midway visitors positively portrayed the Muslim population’s preparation for prayer and their focus on cleanliness as part of the preparation. One large newspaper advertisement for soap included a drawing of Robert Levy, and a group of Medinah Shriners sitting in front of the mosque in prayer. The caption reads “Brothers all Christian and Mohammedan, united in nothing more strongly than their belief in the superiority of Kirks American Family Soap” (“Display Ad-no. 7” 1893, April 29.7).
In the battle for Sunday, a variety of beliefs about the role and abilities of a Christian host were expressed. On one end of the spectrum, conservative Christians believed that it was their duty to exemplify Puritan practices for foreign religious practitioners. They believed the foreign guests would learn that their country could become great like America had if they would follow conservative Christian ideals. On the other end of the spectrum, being a Christian host was perceived as taking leadership in showing the Christian ideal of brotherhood and reducing bigotry toward the religious other. In the case of the Midway, at least among the elite secular periodicals, the American Christian was portrayed as a host that could cause detriment to their foreign guests if they began to take on the cultural ideals of Christian America.

In response to Wuthnow’s ideas regarding the ability of a Christian host with exclusive beliefs to promote pluralism as a normative ideal, this case study would indicate that it is more complex than that. There are a variety of ways that a variety of Christian understandings would affect the attitudes of Christians toward pluralism as a normative ideal; and it appears that how a religion affects the moral understanding and social practices of an individual may be more important to incorporating religious diversity than agreement on doctrine regarding salvation.

Religion as a Primary Resource

In the example of the Fourth of July parade on the Midway Plaisance, village residents did not seem to perceive that their enthusiasm for the national celebration required setting aside their religious practice. In many cases the religious form was
adapted to accommodate the celebration. For example, villagers learned English adaptations of religious tunes in order to honor America; and the foundations for many of the plays in the Chinese theatre were portrayals of religious events and ideas. This form of religious activity was translated into plays that honored American Revolutionary War heroes. As Machacek proposes, the religion of origin did remain a primary resource for honoring the guest country (2003).

Religion was also the resource for many of the collaborative activities on the Midway including the Yom Kippur service, the Eid al Fitr ceremonies, and the dedication of the mosque. In the example of the dedication of the mosque, religion was the primary resource for reaching out into the Chicago community. Additionally, religious services, symbols and other practices were primary resources for communicating identity and culture in the Midway villages.

Even though exposition officials held the Midway at arms-length and did not require or limit religious display and activity on the grounds of the Midway, many of the sending countries used religion as a way to protect villagers from exposure to the American environment and maintain their religious support. The Javanese, Austrian, and Turkish villages were connected in various ways to the government structures in their sending country. In each case, religious leaders were contractually included in the villages on the Midway. Many of the other villages appeared to have religious figures on board as well, but the arrangements were not documented as consistently. In the case of the Midway, Machacek’s ideas regarding immigrants “often using religion as a primary resource” and “actively negotiating the terms of American social and cultural life” were supported (2003:147). However, Machacek presents this as what is new about religious
diversity in America, but this case study suggests that the negotiations are not as new as he identified them to be.

Autonomy and Religious Co-existence

Wuthnow calls for more empirical research on how religious “communities also co-exist in dynamic, often conflictive, but also sometimes cooperative relationships with each other” (Wuthnow 2003: 168). In the case of the Midway, several taken for granted, intended, and unintended circumstances had an effect on how villagers experienced inter-religious co-existence. The arms-length business practices that were typical of the time, Higginbotham’s attitude toward combining business and religion, the press support of the villagers and concessionaires vs. the exposition management, and unintended organizational problems led to a significantly autonomous atmosphere on the Midway.

This appeared to allow room for villagers to establish relatively non conflictive, and often collaborative, relationships including shared use of religious buildings. It also is important to note that in varying degrees, religions outside of conservative Christianity do not place as high a value on the notion that their religion offers one truth and one way to salvation. Given the lack of any other influence, it is not surprising that villagers seemed to use religion as a resource for positive social interaction. The setting has to be considered as well here. The villagers knew that they would live in close quarters, they were there to work, and they knew this was not their long term community, so those conditions could have affected their motivations and willingness to make the best of the situation.
Finally, the case of the Midway Plaisance allows some insight into unanticipated areas for theoretical focus. The first is quite simple, but worth noting. While many newspapers covered the Midway, Chicago journalists wrote the most articles and they wrote consistently over the six month period. Initially the articles tended to be more negative toward appearance and religious practice and focused on the “otherness” of the Midway villagers. Over time, they appeared to develop personal relationships with some of the concessionaires and villagers and their portrayals became more positive and less focused on exotic or negative features of the residents. In this case, familiarity appeared to lead to positive appraisals.

Robert Levy was one of the most interesting figures in the exploration of the Midway. The Parliament of Religions is noted for being one of the foundations of ecumenical and interfaith activity in the United States and in other countries as well. However, the example of Robert Levy’s interfaith activities, and possible interfaith identity, brings up interesting questions about how new the idea of interfaith activities was even in the nineteenth century. His advocacy appeared to engender the respect of villagers representing multiple religious backgrounds and his identification with several different religious groups did not seem to be problematic in how others perceived him. My research questions did not address this area, so it is somewhat unexplored, but Levy’s activities were significantly represented in the data and this is a good area for additional exploration.
Finally, the cross religious practices of the Medinah Shriners and the acceptance of the Imam, Jamal Effendi blessing America during the Fourth of July ceremonies address Seager’s idea that the “ground rules” of the Christian and nationalistic tenor of the Columbian celebration were easily superseded, “suggesting in turn an alternative meaning of the nation and its destiny” (1993: 36). Seager’s conclusion is supported by the evidence of life on the Midway. Jamal Effendi’s prayer and the multi religious participation in the dedication of the mosque were more likely to represent what had already become normal activity on the Midway. Ammerman’s conclusions that religious practice is crossing, and has crossed, the boundaries of religious doctrine and institutions are supported in this case, which has implications for how we categorize religious belief and activity.

Contributions to our Understanding of the Possible Outcomes of Religious Diversity Related to the Fourth Wave of Immigration

This examination of life on the Midway Plaisance has the potential of making a contribution to our understanding of inter-religious co-existence in communities that have become religiously diverse as a result of the fourth wave of immigration. The larger social context and structural conditions that affect contemporary religious co-existence are different than the contexts and conditions that brought about the religious co-existence on the Midway, but some ideas can be drawn from the villager’s experiences. The larger social context in the case of the Midway included a practice of displaying human exhibits, colonization, business enterprise, and World’s Fairs in the nineteenth century. The structural conditions that existed included the lassiez-faire approach of the
fair management committee, popular sentiment regarding the villagers, concessionaire’s authority and experience levels, and villager autonomy and authority in the conditions of their day to day experiences.

The larger social context for religious diversity in community life in the fourth wave of immigration includes increasing globalization, the large scale economic shift from a manufacturing to a knowledge-based economy in the United States, and changes in U.S. immigration policies in 1965 that allowed for immigration to occur from countries where the majority of the citizens practiced a religion other than Christianity. Initially, immigrants settled in large cities, often re-creating a sense of the sending culture by settling in certain areas, though in many cases an informally forced segregation would have caused this to occur as well.

The 2010 U.S. census results indicate that there is a shift in this pattern and immigrant families and individuals are moving from large urban areas to smaller cities and suburbs in greater numbers. This may lead to less segregation and increased inter-religious coexistence, and more opportunity to experience interactions that in limited ways reflect what occurred on the Midway. The social structure that has most significantly affected the movement of immigrant populations within the United States is changing patterns in economic opportunities, but family reunification, cultural ties, and education opportunities affect mobility decisions as well.

Moving within the United States is not formally regulated in the same way that initial immigration to the U.S. would be, but other formal structures are connected to the communal experience of a changing population. Local government services and regulations, schools, health care organizations, real estate markets, local businesses, and
employers are some examples of the structures that affect, and are affected by, immigrant populations to the extent that language and religious and cultural expectations differ. For this discussion on contributions to our understanding, I will be addressing the conditions of this emerging pattern of in-country mobility because the conditions on the Midway can, with limitations, more reasonably be compared with this current pattern. This assumes that the geographic segregation of living spaces may not emerge as consistently as it has in large cities. I will address the concept of the Christian host, how religion might be used as a primary resource, and discuss the concept of autonomy in this contemporary setting of religious co-existence.

The Christian Host

As was illustrated in the chapters on the Battle for Sunday and in the Parliament of Religions, early secularization of institutions was occurring during the third wave of immigration. Efforts to retain the importance of religion in public life were central to the activities of both insiders and outsiders. In the case of the battle for Sunday, conservative Christians were attempting to maintain the United States as a Christian country. In the case of the Parliament, conservative and liberal Christians were hoping to create a global understanding of religion as a valuable resource in solving social problems in the face of a focus on materialism and economic progress. The majority of the evidence in this study supports the notion that secularization had not taken hold in mass culture and the United States was perceived as a Christian country. This was also evident on the Midway where villagers fused Christianity with tributes to American nationalism. However, even in the
nineteenth century, it was difficult to determine exactly what hosting entailed because Christians themselves were divided by numerous denominations and numerous points of view.

In the contemporary circumstance, the secularization of public institutions is established and the informal establishment of America as a Christian is slowly, but notably decreasing. The idea of a homogeneous Christian host to immigrants of a variety of religious beliefs is even more difficult to imagine now, if it ever did exist. It is plausible that greater religious diversity, in combination with the absence of a monolithic Christian host, would allow a move toward the normative pluralism that was experienced on the Midway. If one religion does not dominate in informing social expectations and public life, then maybe all religions can. However, from the point of view of identity theory, a group with a stronger sense of identity would be more, not less, tolerant of others. The question is to what extent does this changing public identity lead to greater or weaker ability to accept religious diversity? The case of the Midway Plaisance provides a few indicators of possible structural conditions that could encourage a movement toward increasing tolerance in changing communities. The conditions under which the autonomy and freedom of village residents resulted in positive interreligious activity can, to some extent, be translated into a contemporary framework.

Autonomy and Religious Co-existence

To review, the examination of life on the Midway Plaisance uncovered constellation of conditions that supported a “lived pluralism” during the Columbian
Exposition. These included local committee and concessionaire management practices that created autonomy and freedom for the Midway villagers; the ability of the villagers to integrate American nationalism into their own religious practices; the attitude of Americans toward their own religious and cultural life, and; the lack of religious exclusivism in many of the religions that were represented on the Midway Plaisance. Additionally, popular sentiment favored the villagers and this was supported and in part created by the press.

In the theoretical implications section, I posit that the autonomy, freedom and authority of the villagers and concessionaires lead to an ability to use religion as a resource for positive interaction and collaboration. On the surface, I might conclude that in contemporary religiously diverse communities things will have a way of working themselves out if the residents are not interfered with and the press is supportive of new immigrants. However, the autonomy on the Midway made it possible for concessionaires with a high degree of authority to create conditions like shared use of religious buildings and inter-religious joint efforts. The villager’s autonomy was supported by an absence of restrictive structures, but the positive interaction was supported by structures that protected the villagers from conflict and structures that encouraged interreligious interaction. In the absence of a role similar to what the concessionaires occupied, what are the likely supportive structures that could create a similar outcome?

First, two of Wuthnow’s concerns should be compared with the findings of this part of the case study. Wuthnow questions whether religious diversity can result in a normative pluralism when the religious majority is committed to a doctrine of exclusivity. He also discusses the strategies that clergy and lay people use to decrease the
potential of religious conflict, which include limiting interaction and focusing on culture rather than religious belief as the foundation for differences (2005). In this discussion, Wuthnow points out that while these strategies reduce conflict, they also reduce the opportunity for what Elshtain calls deep tolerance which includes discourse on what each religion can offer to public life and policy (Banchoff 2008).

To address Wuthnow’s concerns with evidence from the Midway experience, it appears that the American attitude regarding the importance of specific doctrine has not changed considerably from the attitudes in the third wave of immigration. For Midway residents and visitors, how a religion affected the moral understanding and social practices of an individual was more important to incorporating religious diversity than agreement on doctrine regarding salvation, which seemed to have little importance. From this perspective, the social structures that would support an increase in religious tolerance and normative pluralism would be the social structures that could reduce conflict caused by differences in cultural and social practices. The role of providing protective structures would most likely have to be taken on by local government and the role of providing encouraging structures would most likely have to be taken on by voluntary religious groups and associations.

For example, in a community where county and city services, schools, health care organizations, local businesses, and employers allocated resources toward efforts to overcome language barriers and negotiate conflicts over cultural and social practices, it is more likely that social space could open up for the level of interreligious interaction that Elshtain promotes. In his 2007 study of diversity and community, Robert Putnam found that public resources for social interaction, which he termed the “ratio of playgrounds to
potholes”, were “positively correlated with ethnic diversity” in the communities selected for his study (157). This was an unexpected finding, but it suggests the possibility that local governments could be willing to offer the type of protective resources that I am suggesting are important. On a less hopeful note, providing physical space is only a small part of the picture. Putman’s findings could not be stretched to even hopefully indicate that this same level of public investment could as easily occur in the health and human services arena, where there is more at stake in the interactions.

Even if investment in protective structures did occur, encouraging a social ideal of normative pluralism would require a great deal of coordination among religious groups and voluntary associations. If government structures provide protective resources, ethnic and religious tolerance would be more likely. The question is would it be likely that a normative religious pluralism would occur without encouraging activity, and is that type of activity possible in the fourth wave of immigration?

Religion as a Primary Resource

In the Battle for Sunday chapter, I note that one of the foundations for a religiously pluralistic public square in the third wave of immigration was active and widespread engagement in voluntary associations that served to communicate local concerns through a national network. Machacek concludes that adherents to religions other than Christianity have gained a representative capacity and are using religion as a primary resource in negotiating social life in America. Putman finds conflicting answers
to whether the potential to form voluntary associations that would encourage a normative pluralism exists (2003, 1995).

Putnam studied trends in civic engagement and found a much different America than Alexis De Tocqueville did in his study of mid nineteenth century Americans. He noted “Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations... If it be proposed to advance some truth, or to foster some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society” (1840 II: 220-221). In late twentieth century America, Putman found that membership in associations like the PTA, League of Women Voters, and bowling teams had declined by roughly 25% to 50% in the last three decades and people spent significantly less time on informal socializing. However, he did note that “nationality groups, hobby and garden clubs” had not experienced similar declines (1995: 666).

Putnam also studied how ethnic diversity affected social capital in communities across the United States and found that in general, “in the short to medium run... immigration and ethnic diversity challenge social solidarity and inhibits social capital” (2007:138). Similar to Wuthnow’s findings regarding avoidance of differences, Putnam suggests that increasing ethnic diversity causes a “hunkering down”, and reduction of trust in local government, local leaders, and local media. However, participation in protest activities and groups that advocate for social reform increases, and religious activity “is essentially uncorrelated with diversity” (149-150). Putnam sums up his basic finding as “In short, we have tried to test every conceivable artifactual explanation for our core finding, and yet the pattern exists. Many Americans today are uncomfortable with diversity” (158).
There are two factors in the current situation in the fourth wave of immigration that would suggest that the possibility of religious groups and voluntary organizations promoting an ideal of normative pluralism does exist. The first is that nationality groups did not seem to experience the same decline as others and the second is that religious activities did not seem to experience a decline in changing communities even when other social organization and interaction decreased. However, as Putman makes clear, the other factors that would decrease this potential weigh heavily on American communities.

The exploration of life on the Midway allows for two important contributions to our understanding of the contemporary situation. The first is that in general Americans in both waves of immigration did focus, and are focusing, more on how religious belief affects the moral understanding and social practices of an individual and less on agreement on doctrine regarding salvation. The idea that a homogeneous Christian host is central in either promoting, or struggling, with incorporation of the religious other based on factors involved in exclusive belief, does not seem to be supported. The second is that both protective and encouraging structures have to exist in order to allow a social space for an ideal of normative pluralism to develop. Without a proactive governmental investment in protective structures, social reform and protest groups might develop along national and religious identity lines, but their purpose would providing protective structures and it is unlikely that the encouraging structures could develop in that scenario.
Data Selection

The newspapers that were used to determine the messages and themes that were shaped through public discourse in large cities included The Chicago Tribune, Detroit Free Press, The Atlanta Constitution, The Los Angeles Times, The New York Times, and The Washington Post. The Wall Street Journal was the only major newspaper published at that time (and available in the database) that did not appear to have addressed the activities on the Midway.

The newspapers that were used to determine the public information and discourse in small cities included The Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock, AK), The Grand Rapids Press (Grand Rapids MI), The Jackson Citizen (Jackson, MI), The Kalamazoo Gazette (Kalamazoo, MI) The Kansas City Times (Kansas City, MO), The Oregonian (Portland, OR), St Alban’s Daily Messenger (St. Albans, VT), and the Trenton Evening Times (Trenton, NJ). Six other small city newspapers were published at that time (and available in the database) but did not appear to cover the aspects of the Midway that were being examined.

Forty four periodicals were published during the time span of the Columbian Exposition that included relevant subject matter such as religion, law, philosophy, politics, popular culture, social life, history, and satire. The Christian Recorder was the only African American periodical available that was published during the Columbian Exposition time frame. There were no articles in the Christian Recorder that made any
substantive reference to the Midway. Of the 43 remaining potential periodicals, 17 addressed the Midway in one or several articles.

Six of the periodicals were published by religious groups or groups with religious ties and accounted for 7 of the 38 articles that were selected. However, in general, the religious publications were favorable in their descriptions of the villages on the Midway. The remaining periodicals covered literature, social life, science, children, and outdoor sports. Six of the 38 articles were from Harper's Bazaar, and 8 of the 38 articles were from Current Literature magazine.

Data Analysis

Selected articles were initially coded in relationship to the research questions which are as follows:

- How did “insiders” involved on the Midway Plaisance act, and perceive, and portray their activities and the activities of others?

- How did the multiple religious communities view one another, what perceptions were communicated?

- What conflicts, collaborations, and intended or unintended consequences resulted from the interactions on the Midway?

- What social forces and institutions were involved in the structure and outcomes of life on the Midway?

- How did the “outsiders” who visited the Midway villages perceive, and portray what they observed?

- What were the public perceptions and presentations of the events and circumstances? How did the larger society, including those who were not religious, react to the events and circumstances?
The initial coding was structured so that actions, portrayals and ideas in the articles were analyzed in relation to either a positive or negative portrayal of different cultures, religions and activities on the Midway. In the process of this analysis, it became clear that a category of mixed portrayals would have to be added to the analysis because there were a significant number of articles that made hierarchical and comparative statements and an accounting of each as a separate incidence of positive or negative portrayal and perception would not accurately represent what appeared to occur. Institutional involvement, and individual actors, and author perspective, were noted for each entry. Open coding and axial coding were completed in order to determine the themes that existed for each of the research questions.

Additionally, Bancroft, Johnson, White and Inglehart’s books of the fair, the Official directory of the World’s Columbian Exposition, and the local directory president’s final report were reviewed to place the events in order and context. Additional newspaper articles were consulted in order to gain insight regarding the motivation of individual actors; secondary sources and newspapers were reviewed for insight regarding the operations and capacity of institutions, and; secondary sources were consulted in order to place human exhibits in the nineteenth century in context.
CHAPTER VI

THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS

Introduction

The primary questions involved in this exploration of the Parliament of Religions is whether a religiously pluralistic public square could exist, and if so, what its foundations would be; and identifying the motivations that actors had in either seeking out or avoiding an intentionally pluralistic religious dialog. In this chapter I will explain the larger forces and structural conditions that contributed to a case of a pluralistic religious public square. The larger social forces that contributed to the possibility of the Parliament of Religions included late nineteenth century advances in industry; progress in transportation, communications and international relations; patterns of earlier colonization that led to "diasporas" of missionary and educational institutions; an American desire to showcase their intellectual and social progress, and; hope for a resolution to divisiveness among Christians in America as well as international peace and social progress.

Within these larger forces, there were several structural conditions that led to an unprecedented and successful seventeen day program that represented over twenty religions in an open forum. Some of the structural conditions that supported the Parliament were the religious makeup and energy of the organizing committee; the generous federal funding of the Auxiliary Congresses; the rules and organizational structure of the proceedings; broad support from religious and academic leaders around
the world, and; the support of the secular and religious press. The discourse, and the relationships formed through the Parliament of Religions did result in informing and changing other structures such as missionary activities and methods and ecumenical activity in America. Additionally, the perception of a secularizing society as problematic contributed to the motivation of the insiders. However, the “problem” of secularization was approached with global focus on religion, in general, as a positive force in society and in international relations.

In this chapter I will outline the scope and mission of the Auxiliary Congresses of the World’s Columbian Exposition and the scope and mission of the Parliament of Religions as one of the Auxiliary Congresses. Then I will discuss the strategies that Parliament leaders employed to convince the American public to accept an interreligious forum where all religions were equally presented, and the conditions that supported the successful recruitment of foreign delegates to the event. In addition, I will present the views that the multiple religious communities held about the Parliament and each other; the conflicts that either emerged, or were expressed, during the proceedings; and the attitudes of the general public in America and as attendees of the Parliament.

The Auxiliary Congresses of the World’s Columbian Exposition

The crowning glory of the World’s Fair of 1892 should not be the exhibit, then to be made, of the material triumphs, industrial achievements, and mechanical victories of man, however magnificent that display may be. Something still higher and nobler is demanded by the enlightened and progressive spirit of the present age. (Bonney 1889: 2)
Charles C. Bonney, who served as a judge for the Supreme Court of Illinois and was involved in the Swedenborgian Church, first proposed holding an Auxiliary Congress to the World’s Columbian Exposition in 1889. At that time the Columbian Exposition was projected to take place in 1892, but for a variety of reasons, the event was later delayed to 1893. In September of 1889 he discussed his draft letter with Thomas Mills, editor of *The Statesman*, who encouraged him to submit it for the October issue (Higginbotham 1898: 326). *The Statesman* focused on politics, industry and self-help for the Chicago market. The subscription cost was equivalent to 49 dollars per year, so it is likely that the communications it included were aimed at an elite rather than general audience. Bonney requested companion support letters from Judge L. D. Thomas, an ex-commissioner of the civil service; Professor David Swing, pastor of the nondenominational Central Church in Chicago; E. Nelson Blake, Ex-President of the Chicago Board of Trade; Thomas B. Bryan, Chairman of Chicago National Agitation Committee on The World’s Exposition of 1892; Rev. P. S. Henson, Baptist pastor of First Church in Chicago, and; John H. Barrows, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Chicago.

When the formal Auxiliary Congress oversight committee was formed, Charles C. Bonney served as President; Thomas B. Bryan served as vice president; Lyman J. Gage, president of First National Bank, and president of the local committee of the Columbian Exposition served as treasurer, and; Benjamin Butterworth, a Republican U.S. Representative from Ohio who also served as secretary of the local exposition oversight committee, served as secretary. The individuals involved in this early organizational effort all had some degree of personal or business relationship with at least some of the
other early supporters of the idea. For example, in his memoir, Lyman Gage discussed religion and his gradual disassociation from conservative, exclusive or dogmatic expressions of religion. He fondly described Professor David Swing’s resignation from the Presbyterian Church after charges of heresy were made against him, and called him a “freed soul” from that point forward. He then discussed the significant popularity of the Central Church, and how he became an avid church member and follower of Professor Swing. (Gage 1937:176).

Charles Bonney’s letter to *The Statesman* became the basis of the invitation circular that was distributed throughout the world. Higginbotham estimated that over one million circulars were distributed (1898: 333). Bonney laid out a plan for an Auxiliary Congress to the World’s Columbian Exposition whereby the best minds in the world would gather to present and discuss subjects such as language, literature, art, science, religion, education, economic, and industrial issues. The discussions, from Bonney and his supporter’s point of view, should have specific aims. Those aims are worth outlining here to illustrate how their concerns were related in many ways to contemporary concerns.

Among the great themes that such a congress would naturally consider are the following:

I. The grounds of fraternal union in the language, literature, domestic life, religion, science, art, and civil institutions of different people.

II. The economic, industrial, and financial problems of the age.

III. Educational systems, their advantages and their defects; and the means by which they may be best adapted to the recent enormous increase in all departments of knowledge.

IV. The practicability of a common language for use in the commercial relations of the civilized world.

V. International copyright, and the laws of intellectual property and commerce.

VI. Immigration and naturalization laws, and the proper international privileges of alien governments, and their subjects or citizens.
VII. The most efficient and advisable means of preventing or decreasing pauperism, insanity, and crime; and of increasing productive ability, prosperity, and virtue throughout the world.

VIII. International law as a bond of union and a means of natural protection; and how it may be enlarged, perfected and authoritatively expressed.

IX. The establishment of the principals of judicial justice as the supreme law of international relations; and the general substitution of arbitration for war in the settlement of international controversies. (326-327)

The general tone of the Auxiliary Congresses proposal was hope for a movement toward global progress and knowledge sharing that would benefit all countries in the pursuit of economic, industrial and social ideals. The Auxiliary Congresses organizers did not limit their aspirations and saw the meetings as a way to reduce war throughout the world (Bancroft 1893; Houghton 1893). This part of the plan was the only message that was consistently put forth by the leaders of the Auxiliary Congresses that never did seem to gain any traction in the general public discourse or understanding.

The Auxiliary Congresses were held in what is now the Art Institute of Chicago, which at the time was designed to seat about 3,000 people in each of the main halls and another 6,000 in a variety of other conference rooms and halls. Total expenditures for the Auxiliary Congresses, including a $200,000 contribution to the construction of the building, were about $300,000. This figure would be equivalent to approximately $7,500,000 in current value (Officer and Williamson 2010). One important fact for the purpose of this analysis is that President Harrison afforded the Auxiliary Congresses Committee special congressional recognition under the Foreign Relations committee and authorized them to carry out their activities. The plan for an international forum of inter-religious interaction was not buried within the paperwork of the general undertaking of the Columbian Exposition. The Auxiliary Congresses plan was explicitly endorsed in a
separate act of congress and significant funding was allocated to the Auxiliary Congresses activities.

The Auxiliary Congresses planning committees had a remarkable scope and world-wide participation. Local Chicago subcommittees that included 1,600 people were established to organize the proceedings. Under the auspices of each of those committees, foreign auxiliary committee members were recruited to participate through correspondence. Houghton estimated that more than ten thousand representatives from foreign countries participated in the planning for the congress events (1893:17). Higginbotham reported that there were “210 working committees of organization, embracing a local membership of about 1,600, besides a non-resident membership of in the advisory councils of the different congresses, amounting to about 15,000 persons” (1898: 333). Higginbotham is not clear what is meant by non-resident, so it is possible that both estimates are accurate.

The Auxiliary Congresses were organized under 20 departments with more than 200 divisions. The departments included Medicine and Surgery, Temperance, Moral and Social Reform, Commerce and Finance, Music, Literature, Education, Engineering, Art, Government, Science and Philosophy, Social and Economic Science, Labor, Religion, Sunday Rest, Public Health, Agriculture, Public Press, and Women’s Progress. There also was a general department which included congresses that did not fit under the other departmental categories or could not schedule their meetings during the assigned departmental time (Houghton 1893; Barrows 1893).

The Congresses that received the most public attention were the Press Women’s Congress, the Religious Press Congress, and the Congress (or Parliament) of Religions.
The congresses that had the highest attendance included the women’s congress, the educational congress, and the religious congresses. The 12,000 seats that were available were not enough to accommodate the number of people who attempted to attend these congresses. The records of the Auxiliary Congresses indicated that a total of 1,245 sessions had been held and 5,974 papers had been presented or submitted (Higginbotham 1898: 328-333). The attendance at the congresses was estimated by multiple sources and the estimates ranged from 700,000 by Houghton, 750,000 by Higginbotham, to nearly 1,000,000 by Bancroft. Bancroft highlighted that there was a notably large attendance of people from foreign countries and that at least two thirds of those in attendance were women. This information was not specifically verified in any other sources, but there were many remarks that support the fact that women’s attendance at the congresses was significant (Houghton 1893; Bancroft 1893; Higginbotham 1898).

The Parliament of Religions

The Department of Religion was the culminating achievement of the world’s congress scheme, and the world’s first Parliament of Religions was the crowning event of these congresses. (Higginbotham 1898: 332).

The Parliament of Religions opened with a grand ceremony on September 11, 1893. Forty four religious leaders representing twelve religious traditions walked “arm and arm” through the center aisle of Columbus Hall and took their place on the stage (Barrows 1893:62). A little less than half of the group represented Protestant denominations, Catholicism and Buddhism were about equally represented, Brahmo-Somaj, the Greek Orthodox Church and Islam each had several representatives, and the
Anglican Church, Theosophy, Confucianism, Shintoism, Hinduism, and Idealism each had one representative. The remaining eighteen dignitaries in the procession to the stage represented colleges, government groups, the Women’s Auxiliary Congress committee, and staff of the Parliament of Religions organizing committee.

Barrows did not want the occasion to appear to be “mere pageantry” but the opening moments of the Parliament were described by an anonymous source as a “most picturesque and impressive spectacle” (1893:62). For the crowd of 4,000 people, the gathering was an amazing sight to see. Two Bishops from African Methodist Episcopal Church took their place on the stage with other Protestant representatives. Five women, including an ordained Universalist and the Vice President of the Women’s Branch of the World’s Congress Auxiliary were present on stage. India, Japan, China, and Germany all had multiple representatives ranging from nine from India to two from Germany. Russia, Greece, France, Liberia, Canada, Austria, England, Sweden and New Zealand were represented as well. In “Will Go Down In History”, an account that is more restrained than most of the news coverage of the opening ceremonies, the reporter sums up his or her perceptions of the gathering:

Ingress was impossible to the spacious art palace on the lake front before the hour appointed for the beginning of the proceedings. No such immense crowd had gathered before during all the memorable series of congresses since the beginning of the world’s fair. Aside from the size of the crowd, it was even more distinguished by its cosmopolitanism, which some of the enthusiastic participants declared had never been exceeded, not merely since the beginning of the world’s fair, but from the beginning of the world itself. Brilliant costumes of the orient mingled in picturesque array with the appeal betokening the prominence of the wearers in the high religious councils of Europe and America, and in the almost bewildering throng it was nearly impossible to particularize individuals... One of the most notable of the many addresses was that of Rev. Augusta Chapin, welcoming the parliament on behalf of women. She said the assemblage was among the grandest and most magnificent ever assembled upon the face of the earth, and not the least of its glories was its recognition of women (1893: 2).
The invitation to foreign guests may have caused organizers to consider the representation of at least some minority religious leaders in the United States, which added a significant component to the visual effect of the assemblage on stage. Additionally, according to Bancroft, the audience had a cosmopolitan nature as well, which only added to sense that an unprecedented gathering was in process (1893). The Christian hosts' encountered polite and enthusiastic guests as the full assembly joined in singing a hymn of Psalm one hundred and then followed Cardinal Gibbons in reciting the Lord’s Prayer. Barrows reflected “thus is came to pass, without preconcert or intention, that the first act of common worship, so far as it was expressed in English, was uttered in the Hebrew psalm and the ancient Christian hymn…” (1893:67).

Charles Bonney, President of the Auxiliary Congresses, opened with a speech followed by welcoming remarks from John H. Barrows, Archbishop Feehan of Chicago (Catholic), Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore (Catholic), Rev. Augusta Chapin of Chicago (Universalist), Henry N. Higginbotham, and Rev. Alexander M'Kenzie of Cambridge (New England Puritan). Responses to the welcome addresses were provided by Archbishop Dionysios Latas of Zante Greece (Greek Orthodox), P. C. Majumdar of Calcutta, India (Brahmo-Somaj), Commissioner Pung Kwang Yu of Washington (Secretary of the Chinese Legation representing Confucians), Prince Serge Wolkonsky of Russia (not present in a formal or religious capacity), Rt. Rev. Reuchi Shibata of Japan (Shinto), Banriu Yatsubuchi, Zitzuzen Ashitsu, Shaku Soyen, and Horin Toki all Buddhist priests from Japan who greeted the audience jointly, Count Berrstorff of Germany (Evangelical Protestant), M. Bonet-Maury from France (Protestant), Archbishop Redwood from New Zeeland (Catholic), Anagarika Dharmapala of Ceylon
(Buddhist), Mr. Virchand A. Gandhi of Bombay, India (Jain), Professor Tcheraz from Armenia, Professor Chakravarti of Allahabad, India (Theosophy), Rev. Alfred Williams Momerie from London, England (Catholic Church of England), Swami Vivekananda of Bombay, India (Hindu), Principal Grant of Canada (Christian), Miss Jean Sorabji From Bombay, India (Christian), Mr. B. B. Nagarkar of Bombay, India (Brahmo-Somaj), and Bishop Benjamin W. Arnett of Chicago (African Methodist Episcopal). Bishop Arnett’s opening paragraph is worth repeating:

Through the partiality of the Committee on Arrangements, I am put in a very peculiar position this afternoon. I am to respond to the addresses of welcome, on behalf of Africa. I am to represent on one side the Africans in Africa, and on the other side the Africans in America. I am also, by the Chairman, announced to give color to this vast Parliament of Religions. [Laughter] Now, I think it is very well colored itself, and, if I have any eyes, I think the color is in the majority this time, anyhow. (Barrows 1893:107).

Bishop Arnett’s remarks reinforce the idea that in inviting the world to participate in a dialog of how religion should inform social practices, the Parliament organizers became awkwardly aware of their own image in selecting who would speak and who would sit on the stage. Many of the decisions that occurred during the Parliament and the planning phases were informed by the specific aims that organizers had for the proceedings. The setting of the stage for the opening ceremonies was not the only evidence that the Parliament goals initiated self-reflection on the part of the organizers regarding at least some of the moral or ethical gaps in American society. The goals were as follows:

1. To bring together in conference, for the first time in history, the leading representatives of the Historic religions of the world.
2. To show men, in the most impressive way, what and how many important truths the various religions hold and teach in common.
3. To promote and deepen the spirit of human brotherhood among religious men of diverse faiths, through friendly conference and mutual good understanding, while not seeking to foster the temper of indifferentism, and not striving to achieve any formal and outward unity.
4. To set forth, by those most competent to speak, what are deemed the important distinctive truths held and taught by each Religion and by the various chief branches of Christendom.

5. To indicate the impregnable foundations of Theism, and the reasons for faith in Immortality, and thus unite and strengthen the forces which are adverse to a materialistic philosophy of the universe.

6. To secure from leading scholars, representing the Brahman, Buddhist, Confucian, Parsee, Mohammedan, Jewish and other faiths, and from various Churches of Christendom, full and accurate statements of the spiritual and other effects of the Religions which they hold upon the Literature, Art, Commerce, Government, Domestic and social life of the peoples among whom these faiths have prevailed.

7. To inquire what light each religion has afforded, or may afford, to the other Religions of the world.

8. To set forth, for permanent record to be published in the world, an accurate and authoritative account of the present condition and outlook of Religion among the leading nations of the earth.

9. To discover, from competent men, what light Religion has to throw on the great problems of the present age, especially the important questions connected with Temperance, Labor, Education, Wealth and Poverty.

10. To bring the nations of the earth into a more friendly fellowship, in the hope of securing permanent international peace. (Barrows 1893: 18)

The Parliament was so popular that after the first few days Washington Hall was often opened and the program arranged so that the most popular delegates could run from Columbus Hall to Washington Hall and present their speeches in a back to back schedule.

The majority of the speeches given at the Parliament represented Christianity. One hundred fifty two of the one hundred ninety four papers and speeches were contributed by Christian representatives. However, there were several speakers who were allowed far more opportunities on the stage than most Christian speakers were afforded. Swami Vivekananda spoke at least nine times during the proceedings, followed by Anagarika Dharmapala and Kinza Riuge M. Harai (A Buddhist layperson) at five or six speeches each. P. C. Majumdar, Zitzuzen Ashitsu, Virchand A. Gandhi, Rev. R. Shibata, Zenshiro Nocichi, and B. B. Nagarkar all spoke at least three times. Other representatives of Buddhism, Shintoism, and Hinduism spoke at least two times, and in the 17 day period of
the Parliament 42 speeches were made representing Eastern religions. Multiple appearances on the stage allowed reporters and audiences additional access to their messages and personalities.

The popularity of the representatives of Eastern religions was evident at the opening ceremonies and only increased as the proceedings moved forward. It is difficult to determine whether the additional opportunities to speak evolved to meet the demands of the large audiences or from an effort to over represent the underrepresented on the organizers part. One thing that is clear is that there was not an attempt on the part of the organizers, or the audience, to stop the speakers even though they had on several occasions spoken out extremely negatively against Christian missions and the gap between Christian doctrine and the behavior of Christians toward, or within, their countries. They were continually encouraged by applause and cheers from the audiences. It is also difficult to determine if at any point in the proceedings the delegates had worked together on this common agenda. However, as the Parliament moved forward, Swami Vivekananda joined a group presentation that was made by the Japanese Buddhist representatives and later presented on Buddhism jointly with Anagarika Dharmapala (Barrows 1893:112-154).

The general population was surprised by, and enchanted with, the delegates’ command of English, their oratory skills, and their religions as they represented them. This was an unanticipated outcome of the Parliament for many of the American Christian delegates and American society in general. The public admiration toward the delegates became an unexpected threat to conservative Christians. It is commonly suggested in the literature that the organizing committee was surprised, and that this unexpected
consequence thwarted their hope that the event would end in a common unity under Christianity. In the next section I will illustrate how closely the committee was involved in communications with foreign delegates and the missionaries who knew them. It is likely that Barrows was aware of the capacity of at least some of the delegates representing Eastern religions during the few weeks leading up to the Parliament. From my perspective, the documentation of both Barrow’s and Bonney’s communications does not support a final conclusion that their personal motives for the Parliament of Religions revolved around unifying all religions under Christianity. For example, sections taken out of context from both of their welcoming speeches would clearly support this notion, and other sections would just as clearly support a motive for peace and understanding among the different religions.

The Parliament of Religions did provide a platform for a movement toward unity among the Christian delegates. American Catholic and Protestant delegates believed that their interactions and joint support of the Parliament helped to heal the wounds suffered during the battles over education funding that had occurred in the mid and late nineteenth century. The uniqueness and candor of the foreign delegates drew considerable attention, but Christianity, or more accurately Christianities, in America did take a center stage and the activities were the foundation for ecumenical movements and reform in mission methods. A few Christian speakers reacted strongly to the accusations of the delegates from the East, but overall an attitude of hospitality prevailed. In fact, in his closing speech, Bonney glossed over the fact that Swami Vivekananda and others had made claims against Christian activities and noted that if there had been any divisiveness, it was caused by Christian speakers. He stated “If some Western warrior, forgetting for the
moment that this was a friendly conference, uttered his war cry, let us rejoice that our Oriental friends, with a kinder spirit answered ‘Father, forgive them, for they know not what they say’" (Barrows 1893:185).

The Parliament of Religions ended on September 27, 1893 with both halls overflowing. From Barrows perspective, and this perception is supported in the majority of the sources, the objectives of the event had been accomplished. In his final address he said:

Our hopes have been more than realized. The sentiment which inspired the Parliament has held us together. The principles in accord with which this historic gathering has proceeded have been put to the test, and even strained at times, but they have not been inadequate. Toleration, brotherly kindness, trust in each other’s sincerity, a candid and earnest seeking after the unities of religion, the honest purpose of each to set forth his own faith, without compromise and without unfriendly criticism – these principles thanks to their loyalty and courage, have not been found wanting.

Men of Asia and Europe, we have been made glad by your coming, and have been made wiser. I am happy that you have enjoyed our hospitalities. While floating one evening over the illuminated waters of the White City, Mr. Dharmapala said, with that smile which has won our hearts, “all the joys of Heaven are in Chicago;” and Dr. Momerie, with a characteristic mingling of enthusiasm and skepticism, replied “I wish I were sure that all the joys of Chicago are to be in Heaven.” But surely there will be a multitude there, whom no man can number, out of every kindred people and tongue, and in the perpetual parliament on high the people of God will be satisfied (Barrows 1893:183).

Barrow’s described the purpose of the Parliament as “uniting all religion against irreligion”, and if not on earth, then at least he pictured it in heaven.
To Gather All Religions for Peace and Brotherhood

Inviting the World to Participate

John Henry Barrows, a highly regarded Presbyterian minister in Chicago and beyond, opened his discussion of the details of the Parliament planning by noting that the celebration of the Columbian anniversary “carried the mind back to an era of persecution and of abysmal separations between the Christian and non-Christian peoples”. He argued against the notion that a Parliament of Religions would engender “the animosities which have embittered much of man’s past history” because he believed that the conditions of the modern age would promote a change toward unity among the nations and their respective religions (1893:5). Barrows credits the Religious Congresses committee with formulating the plan for a Parliament of Religions as a feature of the Religious Congresses so that “the religious world in its historic developments, and not any one section of the world, should be invited to make any representation” (8).

The committee that made the decision had been appointed by Charles Bonney to carry out the planning and implementation of the Religious Congresses under John H. Barrow’s leadership. The members of the committee were Rev. L. P. Mercer, who was a minister in the Swedenborgian Church; J. W. Plummer, who was active in the Society of Friends; Rev. J. Berger, a minister in the German Methodist Church; Rev. John Z. Torgerson, who represented the Norwegian Lutheran Church; Rev. M. Renseen, who represented the Swedish Lutheran Church; Rev. Charles Edwin Cheney, who was one of the founders of the Reformed Episcopal Church; Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, who represented the Unitarian Church; Rev. Dr. A. J. Canfield, who was the pastor of St.
Paul's Universalist Church of Chicago; Dr. E. G. Hirsh, who served as Professor of Rabbinic Literature at University of Chicago and as a Rabbi at Sinai Temple; Rev. Dr. Frank M. Bristol, who was a well-known Methodist pastor in the Northwest U.S.; Rev. William M. Lawrence, who served as pastor of the Second Baptist Church of Chicago; Rev. Dr. F. A. Noble, who represented Union Park Congregational Church; Rev. William E. McLaren, who was the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Chicago; Rev. P. A. Feehan, who served as Archbishop of the Catholic Church, and; Rev. David Swing, who was the founding pastor of Central Church of Chicago (Barrows 1893:7-8).

In June of 1891, over three thousand copies of the preliminary invitation were sent to religious leaders around the world. Many of the first responses and endorsement came from Christian missionaries who highlighted that their ideas had changed when they were exposed to other faiths. George Washburn, President of Robert College in Constantinople wrote “I have no doubt that such a Congress, meeting in the right spirit, would impress the world with the fact that there is unity in religion, broader and deeper than has ever been generally recognized. I am more and more impressed with the thought every year, as I am brought into close contact with many faiths...” (Barrows 1893:14). Missionaries in similar positions to Washburn in India, China, Japan, South Africa, Scotland, Turkey, Italy and many other countries assisted the Parliament of Religions organizers with correspondence and information. Some, like William Miller, the president of Christian College in Madras, India contributed generously to the effort with their own personal funds (1893: 32).

Other missionaries expressed that they were initially unsure, but once they saw the detailed plans they could endorse the project. Most of the missionaries who were...
contacted were supportive of the project, but even those with reservations became an important part of the network that was leveraged in recruiting representatives of foreign religions to participate in the Parliament of Religions. For example, Rev. Francis E. Clark, President of the Christian Endeavor Society, “had gone around the globe and spoken of the plans” for the Parliament and Religious Congresses, yet later the Christian Endeavor withdrew from the Religious Congresses along with most of the Baptists, due to their frustration over the Sunday closing issue (Barrows 1893:60).

Academics and Christian church leaders from all continents also quickly supported the venture in the interest of the study of religion, and the hope that the Parliament could increase Christian unity. Barrows enhanced the productive use of this early interest by specifically requesting personal endorsements from religious leaders all over the world. By his count, “more than ten thousand letters and forty thousand documents were sent out, and the list of Advisory Councilors finally reached beyond 3,000” (Barrows 1893:44). Given that the Auxiliary Congresses had between 10,000 and 15,000 foreign or non-resident advisory members in total, and that there were 20 departments and 200 divisions within the Auxiliary Congresses, a twenty to thirty percent share of the global interest supports the idea that the official, and public, assessment of the Parliament’s reach and popularity was not exaggerated.

The list of Advisory Council members encompasses approximately 5 pages of text in Barrow’s documentation of the event planning and includes religious leaders from Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Holland Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, France, Italy, Bulgaria, Spain, Turkey, Africa, India, China, Australia, the Hawaiian Islands, Haiti, Mexico, Japan, and Canada. Advisory members from the United
States included a broad representation of religious leaders, college presidents and numerous professors, and editors of several of the Christian periodicals. Parliament supporters routinely crossed vocational boundaries to attend to the work of the Parliament as well. For example, the first draft of the program and potential participant list was sent to “more than three hundred scholars for criticism and suggestion” by Bishop Keane, a Catholic Archbishop based in Washington. Barrows noted that “it was no easy task to select and secure the best men, representing ten different religions, and a score of Christian churches, who should properly handle the most important of all themes” (1893:58).

Advisory members from foreign countries also employed their publications and assisted in organizing events on behalf of the Parliament. Rev. Zitsuzen Ashitsu promoted the Parliament in a Buddhist magazine that he edited in Japan, and the editor of the Hindu assisted in promoting the Parliament in India. An essay contest on Taoism and Confucianism was held in China and over 60 scholars submitted papers. The winning papers were read during the Parliament proceedings (Barrows 1893:57-59). The majority of the communication appeared to take place through religious and academic networks. However, the Department of State, through their foreign relations activities and consuls, also assisted the committee with contacting foreign governments in areas where their other networks were not as efficient (p. 59). Government representatives assisted in contacting the King of Siam to represent Buddhism at the Parliament. He could not attend, “but his brother, Prince Chandradat, contributed and important paper which was read before the Congress of Religions” (Barrows 1893: 32). Barrows was advised by
Rev. McGilvary, a Presbyterian missionary stationed on Laos, that a contact from the government would be the proper method for engaging the King.

That such responsive global networks existed at that time may be unexpected, but it also is interesting that the idea of a Parliament of Religions in the United States so productively mobilized the network. Houghton stated that “It is only in a land where church and state are classed as independent works of God and man, where a free and untrammeled press spreads the light of truth in fearless candor every direction, that such a meeting and such a parting could have been possible!” (1893:29). Many of the accomplishments of the Columbian Exposition were heralded as being undergirded by freedom and progress in the United States, but there were also factors in the social life of the participants’ countries that encouraged them to become involved in the Parliament of Religions. The successful recruitment of foreign delegates through the missionary network indicates that there were many good personal relationships between missionaries and religious leaders in their host countries. However, it appeared that concerns about Christian missionary activity in their countries may have been one of the primary motivators to travel so far, at great expense, in order to speak at the Parliament of Religions. Houghton was correct that the Parliament participants would be afforded freedom to speak with fearless candor, but it was a surprise to many religious leaders that they often were applauded for doing so (1893).

Barrows made it clear in his report that as many social support and communication mechanisms as possible were employed to promote and sustain the Parliament of Religions. He credited the strong early support of the American Catholic Church and other prominent religious bodies and individuals, as well as the support of the
academic community, for smoothing out and mitigating the possible detrimental effects of public detractors. Barrows was well aware that the public relations messages regarding the Parliament were a key part to its acceptance by American Christians, and in the following section I will address how the committee’s internal communication strategy was for the most part as successful as their foreign communications.

News Paper and Periodical Accounts of Insider Activity

The majority of the accounts of insider activity were published in Christian periodicals and periodicals that covered religion as a topic of criticism or study. Unlike some of the other accounts of insider activity in this study, the reports in large papers were distributed fairly equally in the New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Atlanta Constitution, the Chicago Daily Tribune and the Washington Post. There were 41 articles that addressed insider activity across the sources and only one account included a negative portrayal of either the Parliament or John H. Barrows. That account was in a Baptist periodical titled “The Watchman” and addressed Barrow’s decision to leave the Presbyterian Church to lecture in India after the Parliament (“Chicago Letter” 1895: Dec. 12, p. 6).

It should be noted that, in general, any negative references to the Parliament of Religions, and insiders, tended to emerge after the Parliament, rather than before or during the event, particularly in the religious periodicals. It should also be noted that the African American periodical reports of insider activity did include some references to Barrows and the widespread support of the Parliament by religious leaders, but the
contributions and successes of Bishop Arnett of the African American Methodist Episcopal Church were the focus of the positive reports. He was not highlighted as an insider in newspaper or periodical accounts, but he took a leadership role in the AME Church Religious Congresses, presented a paper at the Parliament, and was invited to sit on the stage and speak at the opening and closing ceremonies, and was the most important insider for AME congregations. Table 17 summarizes the frequency of positive and negative portrayals of Parliament insider activity and messages.

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<th>Table 17</th>
<th>Perceptions and Portrayals of Insider Activity in the Parliament of Religions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number of articles</td>
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<tr>
<td>Large city papers</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small City Papers</td>
<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td>Periodicals</td>
<td>90</td>
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<tr>
<td>African American Periodicals</td>
<td>14</td>
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In addition to the support that Barrows and the oversight committee received from the religious and academic communities, it appears that there was some level of commitment on the part of the press and periodical editors to allow Barrows to steer the information that was disseminated regarding the Parliament. The majority of the reports on insider activities covered letters and progress reports that Barrows or Bonney had submitted, or presentations that Barrows made at conventions such as the Christian Endeavor Convention and the International Missionary Union Convention, which were both held in New York. Barrows also presented the Parliament plan at the Bay View
Assembly, a Chautauquan summer educational camp in Northern Michigan (Barrows 1893: 26).

After receiving an unexpected flood of early support, Barrows determined five motivations that he believed explained the response. The various motivations involved a:

- Desire to improve and expand the study of comparative religions.
- Conviction that the comparison of religions would show the superiority of some form of Christianity.
- Feeling that one’s own religion had been misunderstood and “had cherished and important truths which others would do well to heed”.
- Progressive Christian belief that it is right to show “brotherly spirit” toward other faiths.
- Belief that the Parliament would increase Christian unity.

Barrows used this early understanding of the motivations for support and participation in the Parliament of religions to hone in on the most potentially successful message for each group that he had to convince and win over. The messages crafted for groups like the Christian Endeavor Convention or Conservative Christian periodicals resulted in periodical articles that put forth the idea that Christianity would have a chance to shine, and that while the rules indicated that all could speak equally, the Parliament of Religions organizers were not asserting that all religions were equal. Conversely, for large city papers and general periodicals the overarching themes in the messages included emphasis on the significant approval of a broad spectrum of religious leaders as well as the idea that the Parliament would promote world peace, religious brotherhood and universal good. It is not clear that specific messages were aimed toward small city newspapers, but the rules and expectations of the Parliament were widely published. Small city newspapers tended to focus on the Parliament rules and that the rules would be fair, impartial, and designed to reduce conflict and debate.
Barrows did print some of the negative responses that he received from religious leaders in his documentation of the planning phases of the event. Rev. E. J. Eitel, a missionary in Japan, warned him that his participation in the Parliament committee was equal to “planning treason against Christ”. He notes that as Chairman, he “formed a resolution, strictly adhered to, never to notice by public reply any criticism of the Parliament” while simultaneously noting that he did have to proactively defend the Parliament on “Christian and scriptural grounds” (1893: 26). As negative assessments of the Parliament’s effect on American’s views of mission methods started to appear in periodicals and newspapers in 1894, Bonney, Barrows and Advisory Council members who were missionaries did begin to publicly reply to the criticisms of outsider religious groups. In general, they pointed out that the majority of missionaries continued to support the Parliament as beneficial to their work.

A few of the details of the committee’s strategies to increase acceptance of, and attendance at, the Parliament are difficult to verify in other documents. It is also difficult to determine what the other committee members contributed to the implementation of the plan from Barrow’s account, though Barrows was effusive in documenting the contributions of Advisory Councilors and other supporters. However, on the Religious Congresses program published in 1893, it is clear that the original committee remained intact over the three year planning period (World’s Congress Auxiliary 1893). Additionally, the positive portrayals of insider plans and activities, the significant support and interest from the religious world, and the consistency between Barrows’ preferred messages and what was reported in the press and periodicals, would indicate that the Parliament organizers were, for the most part, able to prevent negative portrayals and
promote the messages that would foster cooperation and participation in the Parliament of Religions.

There was one documented exception to the success of the communications plan. The Parliament organizers relied on their foreign advisory council members and circulars to communicate with prospective foreign delegates and did not consider that the messages crafted for different segments of the American population would migrate to foreign countries. Barrows describes being contacted by Christian missionaries from Japan who wanted a clear agreement that the Japanese delegates would be treated with fairness and respect. He was a bit taken aback until it was explained that several Buddhist priests in Japan had become aware of the text of one of his speeches to a Christian convention. They were offended by his focus on the Parliament as a method of advancing Christian interests and had become divided on the subject of attending the Parliament at all (Barrows 1893: 61). They did attend, but the nature of this unintended communication may have contributed to the strong message that some of the Japanese delegates brought to the Parliament. Table 18 summarizes the themes that for the most part were intentionally portrayed by insiders.

Religious Communities Views

Complicated Messages

The Parliament of Religions organizers had been able to steer public communications so that very few negative messages about their activities and the general notion of the Parliament would emerge while the event was being established and carried
Table 18 Themes in the Perceptions and Portrayals of Insider Activity in the Parliament of Religions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive portrayals of, or by, insiders</th>
<th>Negative portrayals of, or by, insiders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Large City Newspapers</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious leaders from many denominations and religions have endorsed the Parliament and will participate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parliament will promote religious progress, unity and peace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parliament provides hope for progress in Christian unity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Small City Papers</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious leaders from many denominations and religions have endorsed the Parliament and will participate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parliament will be fair and impartial to all speakers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compliments and accolades to John H. Barrows for the progress of event planning and the global interest in the Parliament</td>
<td>Negative portrayal of J.H. Barrows decision to leave his congregation and travel to India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Periodicals</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parliament will promote international peace and brotherhood and will unite those who are adverse to materialistic views of the world</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detailed outlines of how the Parliament will establish fairness and equality and reduce opportunity for conflict</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>African American Periodicals</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop Arnett of African Methodist Episcopal Church radically changed the perception and position of the Black church through his Parliament activities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

out. However, religious communities did express their concerns, and excitement, about interacting with each other. The communications by religious groups were distributed widely throughout the country in large and small city newspapers. The distribution was
narrow in periodicals. All but one of the 55 articles were printed in religious periodicals or in periodicals that covered religion as a topic.

The messages about and by religious communities were too complex to categorize generally into positive and negative categories. Religious community views are best explained by the following categories: 1) positive portrayals of their own religious group; 2) positive portrayals of the religious other and religious unity; 3) negative portrayals of the religious other and; 4) mixed portrayals of the religious other by Christians. The types of portrayals were somewhat evenly divided among the categories indicating that religious groups relied on varying strategies and attitudes as they were facing an unprecedented, and clearly unstoppable, forum among the religions. Additionally, the battle for Sunday at the Exposition was occurring through much of the same time frame, and may have affected attitudes among Christian groups and newspaper and periodical editors to some extent. If this is evident anywhere, it would be in the large city secular newspaper coverage, which leaned toward negative coverage of conservative Christians.

The extended categories contain additional complexities and elaboration of the types of negative portrayals is necessary. The category of negative portrayals of the religious other includes cases where conservative or liberal Christians disparaged each other for their attitudes toward equality among the religions. The discourse covering the divisions within Christianity was most often carried on in the periodicals. Mixed view communications were far more prevalent in the periodicals as well. They seemed to follow a formula of showing a great deal of respect to the Parliament, it’s leadership, and foreign religious delegates, but the conclusion would be a claim that while the “other” religions brought some light, they were dimly illuminated compared to Christianity.
During the Parliament, foreign delegates, and some liberal Christians, communicated negative messages regarding the gap between Christian beliefs and Christian behaviors in United States foreign relations with, and Christian mission activities within, other countries. Large and small city newspapers were most likely to report the text of these speeches and highlight the audience applause. For example, 5 of the 14 negative portrayals of the religious other in large city newspapers were aimed at conservative Christians and the remainder covered speeches against Christian activities by foreign delegates. Negative portrayals of the religious other by Christians increased considerably after it became clear that delegates representing Buddhism, Hinduism, Shintoism, Bramo-Somaj, Confucianism, and Jainism had become popular with the audiences at the Parliament. These messages were picked up in newspapers to some extent, but by the end of 1895, this type of discourse became the most prevalent theme for negative portrayals in Christian periodicals. If only articles that occurred prior to and during the Parliament had been reviewed, the mixed view articles would have been predominant in periodicals.

Finally, in African American periodicals, all 5 negative references, and one mixed reference, were aimed at Swami Vivekananda. He was one of the individuals who was often negatively referenced in other Christian periodicals, but it was difficult to determine why he was the sole individual who was disparaged in the selected articles from the Christian Recorder. Table 19 summarizes the frequencies of several categories of religious communication within and among religious groups.
The Christian Host

If newspaper reports had been the only data considered for this chapter, it would appear that citizens of the United States were religiously liberal and unilaterally eager to embrace religious pluralism. However, the majority of the newspaper reports occurred within a two month time frame and captured the attitudes at the time that the Religious Congresses were in process. There are multiple descriptions, by leaders, participants, and audience members that communicate feelings of transcendence and unity during the proceedings. This excerpt from a Chicago Tribune article titled “In Common Cause: Parliament of the World’s Religions is Open. Words of Love Spoken” is an example of the general sentiment:

The people felt the importance of the day...they filled the great hall of Columbus, crowded the aisles, banked themselves back of the rising tiers of chairs...there were hundreds of notable men, scholars, teachers, dreamers...to them the opening of the World’s Parliament of Religions was like the dawning of a long expected sun...When the long line of delegates, many of them in splendid robes, moved toward the platform tears of joy glistened in many earnest eyes (1893: Sept. 12, p.1).
The excitement regarding such an unprecedented experience, and the attitudes of brotherly love and unity, compounded during Parliament activities and affected large groups of people.

The majority of the large city newspaper reports focused on the common ethical elements in all religions, the importance of understanding the value and tenants of all religions in order to reduce prejudice, and a hope for brotherhood and universality among the religions of the world. Negative themes reinforced these ideas by promoting the concerns of foreign delegates regarding Christian missionary activity and questioning the ideas and attitudes of conservative Christians. Small city papers echoed this agenda by highlighting the concept of Americans as a Christian host that could reduce bigotry and discord without discarding its exclusive truth. Like the large city newspapers, the predominant negative focus was aimed toward conservative Christians.

The themes in the periodicals are more representative of how American Christian reactions and attitudes “rolled out” throughout the process of the Parliament planning, implementation and after effects. When the Parliament of Religions was in the early planning stages, periodical accounts focused on the positive messages that were put forward by insiders. The Parliament would promote brotherhood, peace and religious tolerance. Some periodical articles addressed the theme of the Christian host as well, but with less emphasis on brotherhood and more emphasis on the Christian “problem” of prevailing at the Parliament. An untitled article from the “Methodist Review” indicates the circumstance that some Christians anticipated:

Parsees from Bombay, Moslem Scholars from India, Hindoo representatives, a Confucian scholar sent by the Chinese Government, a high priest of Shintoism, and the most able representatives of the many branches of Christianity will grace the occasion with their presence and their scholarship. August the company and bewildering the range of their discussions! But the presence of Christianity in this
heterogeneous gathering will particularly interest the observer. Accustomed in
the pursuit of its great mission to enter many doors and to sit at the firesides of
the most diverse member of the human family, it is now to meet the many
religions of the earth in formal assembly and to contend for its belief before the
gathered world ("Article 8 – No Title" 1893: May 1, p. 447)

Negative portrayals also focused on the problems among, and within, groups of
Christians. For example, in an untitled article in the Friends’ Review, the author discusses
an invitation for the different branches of the Friends to meet in a joint congress. The
author states “we fully approve the action of the Friend who was asked to become one of
this committee, in declining the proposal. It is not intolerance, but simple adherence to
the truth, to urge that orthodox friends cannot rightly acknowledge those who are
confessedly not orthodox as ‘another branch of the Society of Friends’” ("Article 2 – No
title" 1892: March 10, p. 520).

As the Parliament opening day approached, the discourse changed to highlighting
the strength of Christianity and how it would shine at the Parliament. The messages
addressed that Christians should have no fear and the inevitable result would be a
unification of all religions under the umbrella of Christendom. At the same time, mixed
portrayals increased. Christian writers promoted a tone of respect for the religious other,
but Christianity could fill the gaps and uplift the populations who were “on the right
track” but just not quite complete in their development.

During the Parliament, after delegates representing Eastern religions expressed
their negative assessment of Christian missions, the positive portrayals of the religious
other in periodicals began to focus on the importance of using this knowledge to reform
mission methods and the negative portrayals focused on disparaging the speakers and the
religious other in general. A letter printed in the Christian Advocate represents a collection of the type of ideas that were expressed. It states:

There is much discussion and difference of opinion as to whether the Parliament of Religions will tend to weaken or strengthen faith in Christianity. The general opinion is that it will in the end prove beneficial by leading men to a more careful examination of the foundations of our belief, which will show its superiority to all others. On the other hand Dr. P. S. Henson characterized it as “a conglomeration of religions, which instead of doing good will do temporary harm. People say to me ‘if you believe in Christianity you should not be afraid.’ I am not afraid of the ultimate result, but I fear for the present many may be led astray...I do not see why the microbes of false religions should be given the opportunity to spread. Sentimental people go to the meetings of the Parliament and they hear clever men presenting the claims of Buddhism, Confucianism and Mohammedanism, and they are astonished at the intelligence of these men...they think there is something in it (“Chicago Correspondence” 1893: Oct. 12, p. 662)

It should be noted that Rev. Henson provide one of the original support letters for Charles Bonney’s Auxiliary Congress proposal that was printed in The Statesman, and his concerns are representative of the religious leaders who were surprised by the capabilities of the foreign guests. The negative portrayals continued as H. A. Dharmapa, Virchand Gandhi, Shaku Soyen and Swami Vivekananda traveled in the U.S. after the Parliament. Table 20 summarizes the themes in the communications of religious groups. The themes in the periodicals section are organized chronologically rather than according to number of occurrences.

Conflict, Collaboration, and Outsider Perceptions

The Parliament of Religions would not have been possible without a massive collaborative effort that included participants from around the globe. Earlier sections of this chapter outline the scope of the collaboration that took place. The joint effort of
### Table 20  Themes in Religious Community Discourse Regarding the Parliament of Religions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Portrayals</th>
<th>Negative Portrayals</th>
<th>Mixed Portrayals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Parliament will show the commonalities among religions and promote hope and universality</td>
<td>Negative portrayals of Christians and Christian missionary activities by Parliament speakers</td>
<td>Positive assessment of the Parliament and religious other in order to underscore why the religious “other” needs Christian salvation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parliament will help Christians understand the value of other religions rather than stigmatize them out of ignorance.</td>
<td>Negative portrayals of conservative Christians by liberal Christians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parliament will be good for Christian groups and will help Christian missionaries with their work. Highlights the role of the Christian host and the responsibility to honor the best in all religions and decrease bigotry.</td>
<td>Negative Portrayals of the religious other by Christians</td>
<td>Liberal Christian negativity toward conservative Christians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority religions in the United States will benefit from the Parliament.</td>
<td>Christianity should not accept others on equal terms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parliament could help bring about Christian unity.</td>
<td>Negativity toward other factions or attitudes of own religious group. Primarily among Presbyterians and Friends and liberals and conservative Christians</td>
<td>Positive assessment of the Parliament and religious other in order to underscore why the religious “other” needs Christian salvation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parliament will promote brotherhood, reduce prejudice and increase tolerance.</td>
<td>Negative portrayals of Christians and Christian missionary activities by Parliament speakers</td>
<td>Mixed acknowledgements of Swami Vivekananda, and arguments against his popularity primarily in African American periodicals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christianity will shine at the Parliament and may provide the umbrella for all others to unite around.</td>
<td>Negativity of Christians toward religious other. Discrediting of credentials to speak and truthfulness.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The new understanding of foreign religions will help reform mission methods.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chicago business and religious leaders, missionaries, religious leaders, government representatives, academics, and newspaper and periodical editors from all over the world made the Parliament an event that exceeded all expectations. It should be made clear that cooperation, collaboration, mutual respect, and common goals were the foundation for the vast majority of the Parliament planning and proceedings. Numerous reports underscore this fact. Only 11 newspaper articles and 6 periodical articles addressed conflicts directly as the subject of the account. Three types of conflicts occurred in relation to the Parliament proceedings. Certain religious ideas and representatives were excluded; there were several issues that caused divisiveness among Christians, and; the most intense conflict revolved around foreign delegate’s negative remarks about Christian missionary activities.

Exclusions and Expulsions

One of the goals of the Parliament was that each representative should fully and clearly present “what are deemed the important distinctive truths held and taught by each Religion…” and in general there were no restrictions on what those truths might be (Barrows 1893: 18). One exception was that the Parliament organizers had determined that polygamy was not to be spoken of in Parliament speeches, and for this reason a representative of the Mormon Church was not allowed to speak, even though B. H. Roberts, an elder in the church from Salt Lake City, had asked to speak. He claimed that he was left with no answer and put off by both Bonney and Barrows until it was too late to be placed on the schedule (“Mormon Church is Aggrieved” 1893: Sept. 28, p. 2).
Speakers who represented Islam were instructed not to address the topic of polygamy yet Mohammad Alexander Russell Webb, an American who had converted to Islam, did address the topic. The reporter described the audience erupting into “cries of shame!” when Webb addressed polygamy, “but there was enthusiastic approval when he said that the Musselman daily offers his prayers to the same God that the Christians adore”. Webb tried to explain that “there are conditions under which it is beneficial... but we must first understand what it means to the Musselman, not what it means to the American”, which was met with hisses and boos from the audience that turned to applause at the end of his sentence (“Discourses on the Religion of Islam” 1893: Sept. 21, p 9). The reporter faithfully recorded audience reaction in brackets throughout the article, and this is one of the many examples of crowd reaction to speakers presenting religions other than Christianity. For the most part, they were applauded, and even when Webb covered an offensive topic, the applause continued after the hissing was done.

One expulsion from the Parliament periphery was reported in the newspapers. E. C. Betts, a Free Thinker set up a booth for the sale of literature in the Art Palace lobby and claimed that he had a concession agreement to do so. In his lawsuit, Betts asked for $5,000 in damages from Bonney for ordering him to leave. The Detroit Free Press reported that Bonney “was furious at the spectacle of what he considered “infidel books” being distributed in such a place” (“Sued for $5,000 Damages” 1893: Sept. 27, p. 1). The Los Angeles times reported on the incident as well.

Sultan Abul Hammad II of Turkey was the only religious leader, other than the Archbishop of Canterbury, who refused the invitation for religious leaders from Turkey to participate in the Parliament. This refusal caused the Islamic representation to be less
than desired though Islamic representatives from the U. S. and other countries, and
Islamic scholars, did participate. Many religious ideas were less actively excluded from
the Parliament. The concept of religion that the organizers were operating under included
the idea of identified historic world religions. Religion was also posited as being central
to culture and society and as having effect on the formation of the arts, literature,
education and government. To a large extent, religions were identified as representing
countries and the flow of information and invitations followed this cognitive model. For
example, the Parliament organizing committee did not consider Native American
religious practice as representative of the United States and did not seek out religious
representation from countries where religion, in their understanding, was not in a central
position in cultural or societal development.

Divisiveness Among Christians

There are several examples of divisive views regarding the Parliament of
Religions within Christian denominations. Rev. John H. Barrows, a Presbyterian, and
Rev. W. M. Lawrence, a Baptist, served on the organizing committee. Yet the Baptists
withdrew their religious congress plans based on the resolution to the Sunday opening
question, and the Presbyterians voted against participating in the Parliament at their 1892
convention. It was clear that there was division within the Presbyterian Church regarding
the wisdom of promoting equality among the religions. Presbyterian ministers advocated
both for and against the Parliament in sermons, letters and submissions to periodicals.
The Presbyterians did not hold a Congress, but there were two presentations on the Presbyterian Church in the denominational sessions (World’s Congress Auxiliary 1893).

Divisions also occurred among Catholics in America and Europe. The Archbishop of Canterbury responded to Barrows’ invitation with a refusal to participate based on the plan that all religions would be presented equally. Bishops in the Catholic Church in America were early and consistent supporters of the Parliament of Religions. After the Parliament, The New York Times reported that a decree had been issued by Pope Leo indicating that “Catholics must not join religious congresses. The letter was looked at as a direct blow at the policy of Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland, who not only were prominent in the congress of Religions, but openly urge the holding of such congresses” (“A Decree from Pope Leo” 1895: October 18, p. 1). Archbishop Ireland followed up quickly with information that stated the Catholics were not really prohibited from interacting with other religions; the Pope had just set up guidelines for participation (“What the Pope Means: Archbishop Ireland Interprets the Recent Letter” 1895: October 18, p. 4). It is not clear how seriously this rift affected the progress that Protestants and Catholics in America had made toward reconciliation, but the restriction on Catholic participation in ecumenical forums could not have helped.

Missionary Activity

Missionary activity was the greatest source of conflict during, and after, the Parliament of Religions. There were several points of view that emerged in the conflict. The first was put forth by the delegates from Ceylon, Japan and India who believed that Christian missions had a negative effect on the people of their countries. The second was
the strong reaction by conservative Christians against the accusations of the Buddhist, Shinto and Hindu delegates. This conflict extended far past the Parliament when the tables turned and Buddhist, Jain and Hindu delegates had extended their stays in America and were establishing missionary activities and converts of their own. The third reaction was a compromising attitude put forth by Christian missionaries who supported the Parliament and believed that reforms were in order.

Representatives of Buddhism, Shintoism, and Hinduism chastised Christian missionaries, American morals and the American government. It should also be mentioned that Commissioner Pung Kwang Yu, Secretary of the Chinese Legation, discussed the negative effects of American government policy in China. Barrows had anticipated this and introduced him with a brief speech outlining his belief that America had been unjust in its relations with China. He apologized to the Commissioner, and this may have mitigated any strong reaction toward Pung Kwang Wu’s comments. Similar disclaimers were not offered during the introductions of representative from Japan and India. Anagarika Dharmapala was the first to open the conversation. In “Stout Defender of His Faith” the reporter describes one of Dharmapala’s speeches. Reporters did occasionally make mistakes; Dharmapala was from Ceylon, but the rest of the following report is accurate:

With his index finger extended and every muscle of his body quivering with excitement, Dharmapala, the Buddhist priest and scholar from Calcutta, stood upon the edge of the platform in the hall of Washington and hurled defiance at the great audience before him. A volley of cheers was the response... [Dharmapala then asked the audience members if they had read the life of Buddha, and five hands were raised]... Five only said the Buddhist with a tone and look of disdain. Four hundred and seventy five millions accept our religion of love and hope. You call yourself a nation, a great nation, and yet you do not know the history of this great teacher. How dare you judge us? And the audience cheered again and again. (1893: Sept. 15, p.1).
Dharmapala then turned his topic to the harm that Christian missionaries had caused, and the audience continued to cheer. The point he made regarding the number of adherents to Buddhism was not lost on reporters. The realization that vast numbers of people around the world believed in “other” religions was reported in many accounts as well. In “Cry from the Orient” the reporter covered a speech by Kinza Riuge M. Harai, a Buddhist layperson from the Japanese delegation, and described the audience reaction. The reporter represented Harai’s role inaccurately. Rev. Reuchi Shibata spoke right after Harai, but the sentiment and issue was not lost in the error:

Christianity has brought riot bloodshed and rebellion [to Japan]. Verily it had brought instead of peace, a sword. The government was forced to drive out the Christian missionaries in self-defense. It was then that the audience of 4,000 men and women – most of themselves Christian – rose to their feet and cried “Shame!” Shame on the missionaries they had themselves sent out...It was like a voice out of darkness, a cry of oppression form a strange land. It came to thousands of Christians who listened as a thunder blast, and when the Shinto priest had finished the people rose again to their feet and gave him three mighty cheers” (1893: Sept. 14, p. 9).

Swami Vivekananda made similar remarks, focusing on missionary behavior in India. He pointed out that, from his observations, the missionaries lived in large homes with servants and did not spend any time with the people other than to preach. Vivekananda proposed that missionary practices needed to be changed to improve the social, education and health status of the Indian people. Like the others, his message focused on the existence of a gap between Christian doctrine and Christian behavior in the activities of missionaries in his country.

The second perspective was put forth by Christian missionaries and ministers who did not accept the rhetoric of the foreign delegates, disparaged their religious attitude, and denied their claims. Conservative denominations, particularly the Baptist Church, did not
take the attacks or reaction lightly and fought back. These accusations were probably the most harshly worded, but in general the delegates and religious and social conditions in their respective countries were disparaged by angry missionaries and clergy. Rev. Joseph Cook, a conservative Protestant minister from Boston, and Rev. George F. Pentecost, from London, were the only speakers who directly confronted the delegates from Ceylon, Japan and India during the actual Parliament proceedings. Pentecost was reported to have attacked the “religious systems of India on the point of morality” indicating, among other things, that the temples in India were full of prostitutes (Barrows 1893: 143).

After the Parliament, several delegates representing Eastern religions acted upon opportunities afforded them by enthusiastic American audiences and supporters. Swami Vivekananda, P. C. Majumdar, Rev. Shaku Soyen, Virchand Ghandi and Anagarika Dharmapala took the opportunity to travel, speak and do missionary work in the United States. This effort on their parts is identified by many scholars as one of the larger social changes that came out of the Parliament activities. As reports of their speeches and popularity continued through the next several years, the negative attacks from conservative Christians escalated. For example, in the Baptist Missionary Magazine, A.C. Thompson, D. D. described Hinduism as a hypocritical religion where the Hindu who is “so careful of the life of a flea or bedbug does not hesitate to starve his cow, beat his horse to death – beat his wife – inflict the most inhuman cruelty on his widowed relatives, or poison his neighbor” He went on to state that infanticide, prostitution, and “other rites too horrible to mention were still essential parts of Hinduism” (“Missionary Outlook” 1894: October 1, p. 491).
Finally, the third perspective was taken up by Christian ministers and missionaries who regarded the foreign delegate’s claims as having validity. Their stake in the conflict became one where they argued for reforms in mission activities and methods. It was not unusual for speakers in this group to have adjusted their speeches to acknowledge the concerns of Dharmapala, Vivekananda and the others. In fact, on the twelfth day of the Parliament, Anagarika Dharmapala; Rev. George T. Candlin, a missionary from Tientsin, China; Nara Sima Chavar of Madras, India; Rev. R. E Hume, a missionary from Bombay, India; Rev. Dr. George E. Post, a missionary from Beirut, Syria, and; Rev. Haworth, and missionary from Japan; jointly presented “How can the Methods of Christian Missionaries be Improved?” On the following day, Rev. Dr. S. L. Baldwin, a former missionary to China, presented a paper titled “International Justice and Amity” (Barrows 1893: 140). In the years following the Parliament, this group of missionaries and ministers were more likely to submit letters and articles to periodicals and newspapers arguing against the conservative missionary’s portrayals of the foreign delegates or the Parliament organizers. The majority of religious representatives and leading missionaries reacted positively to the criticism, and their ideas had a significant effect on mission practices moving forward.

A Mighty Change Among the Nations

A total of 138 newspaper and periodical articles were selected as representative of outsider views of the Parliament of Religions because large portions of the articles addressed a general assessment, or the foundational ideals, of the Parliament. Many of the article selected also described audience and public reactions to the Parliament.
Newspaper accounts were again widely distributed in large city newspapers. Small city newspapers throughout the country addressed the Parliament, but Michigan papers were overrepresented, probably in this case due to the distribution of papers in the database. The majority of the periodical accounts were in Christian periodicals or periodicals that covered religion as a topic. Several accounts represented periodicals that covered literature, culture and society.

Of the 138 articles, 112 presented a positive assessment of the Parliament, the ideals that it represented, or described positive reactions of the audiences. A “mixed view” category was necessary for clear explanation of how the Parliament was viewed. There were some articles in Christian periodicals that addressed the Parliament in a positive manner, but expressed fear that the overwhelming audience response to foreign delegates may signal that Christians might convert. Table 21 summarizes the frequencies of positive, negative and mixed perceptions and portrayals of the Parliament of Religions by outsiders.

<p>| Table 21 Outsider Portrayals and Perceptions of the Parliament of Religions |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of articles</th>
<th>Articles portraying outsider views</th>
<th>Positive portrayals of the Parliament</th>
<th>Negative portrayals of the Parliament</th>
<th>Mixed Views</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large city papers</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small City Papers</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periodicals</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American Periodicals</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The most prevalent theme in newspaper accounts in large and small cities was the sense that the Parliament was an indicator of a “mighty change” among the nations of the world and that an age of toleration and peace was beginning. Enthusiasm for the religious other was high. Numerous accounts described standing room only audiences during the foreign delegate’s speeches, and it was often reported that hundreds to thousands of people could not enter the building. One account even accused Parliament planners of making it appear that foreign delegates like Swami Vivekananda and Dharmapala would speak first only to entice them to arrive early and attend speeches they were not interested in.

Reporters often provided detailed accounts of the religious beliefs that had been described in Parliament speeches, indicating that their readership was interested in the details. Barrows reported that Chicago newspapers allocated 45 to 60 columns per day to coverage of the Parliament of Religions (1893 v. 2: 6). Audience reactions were widely reported in the press and the enthusiasm for the religious other extended to a broad support of their concerns regarding activities of Christian missionaries. Audience support was also higher for Christian speakers who presented liberal and inclusive Christian views.

Positive perceptions in periodical accounts were a bit more restrained in assessing the Parliament while it was occurring. It was recognized as an unprecedented event, but the focus was on the value of the proceedings for education concerning the world’s religions. Articles that positively portrayed the Parliament after its conclusion judged the event as successful in meeting the goals of increasing tolerance and brotherhood and focusing attention on the non-material components of progress. The negative perceptions
and portrayals were in the minority and generally addressed the conflicts that emerged during the Parliament. The positive reaction to the religious other did not extend to discussions of polygamy and as was indicated in the prior section, the audience reacted negatively to that part of Mohammed Alexander Russell Webb’s presentation.

There was one newspaper account of the attitudes of Atheists toward the Parliament of Religions. Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, a lawyer and nationally recognized speaker, was well known for his defense of Freethought and attacks upon Christianity. He had published a collection of essays on subject of the mistakes of religion (Wheeler 1889: 183). He stated that it was good to get the religions together to reduce prejudice and bigotry. Ingersoll pointed out that Buddha was a great teacher and that even the least of all Buddhists was as good as any Christian. He expounded on the malice caused by religion and pointed out that the religions were equal, but that was because they would all be discarded eventually based on the fact that people would no longer believe in the supernatural (“Col. Ingersoll on the Parliament” 1893:Sept. 25, p. 2). Table 22 summarizes the themes in outsider perceptions and portrayals of the Parliament of Religions.

Finally, a speech given by Rev. H. K. Carroll includes information from the 1890 Government Census of Churches and his perspective may be helpful in understanding the religious landscape and attitudes in 1890. In the opening paragraphs he states:

The first impression one gets in studying the results of the government census of the churches is that there is an infinite variety of religion in United States. We have churches small and churches great; churches white and churches black; churches high and churches low; Christian and pagan, Catholic and Protestant, liberal and conservative, orthodox and heterodox, Calvinistic and Armenian, Trinitarian and Unitarian, native and foreign. All phases of thought are represented by them; all possible theologies, all varieties of polity, ritual, usage and forms of worship.

In our economical policy as a nation we have emphasized the importance of a varied industry...We have invented more curious and useful things than any other nation. In matters of religion we have not been less enterprising and productive.
Table 22  Themes in Outsider Perceptions and Portrayals of the Parliament of Religions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Portrayals</th>
<th>Negative Portrayals</th>
<th>Mixed Portrayals</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Large City Newspapers</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Parliament is the feat of the century and will cause a mighty change among the</td>
<td>Negativity about other religions being held equal to Christianity</td>
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<td>nations toward toleration and peace</td>
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<td>Enthusiasm for religious “others” leadership and religious belief</td>
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<td>Reports on overcrowded Parliament halls and numbers of people turned away</td>
<td>Negative audience reactions when polygamy is mentioned by Muslim speaker</td>
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<td>The Parliament is a new milestone. Proceedings and crowds are extraordinary and</td>
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<tr>
<td>remarkable</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Small City Newspapers</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Parliament promotes equality for all religions</td>
<td>Criticism of Christians who oppose equal standing for all speakers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inaccurate but positive highlights of “other” religions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Highlighting the unprecedented nature of the Parliament and its value for accurate</td>
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<td>education regarding world religions</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>African American Periodicals and Periodicals</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Parliament organizers have realized their goals of brotherhood and tolerance</td>
<td>Christianity should be the only religion that is allowed to testify, it is impossible</td>
<td>People are too sentimental and enamored by the Oriental speakers and this will</td>
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<td>to pray or worship in mixed groups</td>
<td>weaken Christianity.</td>
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<td>Reports of accolades and progress of own group. Primarily African Methodist Episcopal</td>
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<td>Church and Friends</td>
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We seem to have about every variety known to other countries with not a few particular to ourselves... I would specify three grand divisions: First the Christian; second the Jewish; third, miscellaneous. Under the last head come the Chinese, Buddhists, the Theosophists, the ethical culturalists, some communistic societies, and pagan and Indian....

We are a nation made up of diverse race elements. All varieties of speech, habits of thought, mental moral religious training are represented among us by the older and the newer, the European and the Asiatic immigration. Here is the utmost freedom for all forms of religion with no exclusion of any. We must expect from such comingling current, counter-currents and eddies of religious thought...Thus there are various forces acting upon religion in the United States and producing phenomena in our religious life which someday will command the most careful study. I cannot stop to consider the tendencies manifested in the history of the religion in the United States, but I must say a word about that toward liberal views. Most denominations have become more liberal than they used to be. It was this manifestation of the liberal spirit which caused so any of the divisions of the past sixty or seventy years (Houghton 1893: 690).

He points out that the Roman Catholic Church was the largest with 6,231,000 communicants; The Methodist Episcopal Church was second with 2,240,000 communicants; the Black Baptist Church was third with 1,362,000 communicants; Southern Baptist was fourth with 1,308,000 communicants; and Southern Methodist Episcopal was fifth, with 1,210,000 communicants. The religious population overall contained 57,720,000 communicants and adherents, “leaving about 5,000,000 to compose the non-religious and anti-religious classes” (1893:696). The interesting issue is the comparison between actual communicants or members of churches and those that were counted as adherents:

And we must not forget that in the millions counted as the religious population are many who are indifferent to the claims of religion and scarcely or never go into a house of worship. Adding these and the large number of members on whose lives religion exercises practically no power to the 5,000,000 we have a problem of significant to engage the mind, heart, and hand of the church for a generation. One out of twelve is either an active or passive opponent of religion; two out of every three are not communicants of any church (1893: 696).
Theoretical Implications of the Parliament of Religions

One of the overarching issues in this exploration of the Parliament of Religions is to understand how a religiously pluralistic public square could exist and what its foundations would be. The exploration of this event best addresses one of the basic issues of this study, which is moving beyond normative theories regarding religious diversity and public life and examining the mechanisms and motivations that were involved in an example of intentional religious pluralism in the public square. The larger social forces that contributed to this case of an intentionally religious public square included industrial and economic advancement; progress in transportation, communications and international relations; patterns of colonization that led to “diasporas” of missionary and educational institutions; an American desire to showcase their intellectual and social progress, and; hope for a resolution to divisiveness among Christians in America, which in part was a result of patterns of liberalization of religious belief and practice, and changes in social practices due to early secularization.

Within these larger forces, several structural conditions supported the implementation of the Parliament and provided the mechanisms that resulted in a platform for open expression. The religious makeup and energy of the organizing committee; the generous federal funding; the rules and organizational structure of the proceedings; broad support from religious and academic leaders, and; the support of the secular and religious press all contributed to the success of the Parliament which did result in informing and changing other structures. Additionally, the perception of a secularizing society as problematic contributed to the motivation of the insiders. However, the problem of secularization was approached differently than it was
approached by the individuals and groups that were involved in the battle for Sunday. The Parliament organizers focused the contribution of religion, in general, in a global society. The sociological debate regarding the effect of religious diversity on social structure in the United States is the main theoretical issue to examine in relationship to the Parliament of Religions.

The Effect of Religious Diversity on Social Structure

To review the original problem statement, the effect of religious diversity on social structure is one of the central debates in the sociology of religion. Proponents of these arguments present two future alternatives. In one scenario, religious pluralism becomes the normative ideal that religious ideas would be regarded as a resource for society, communities and individuals. Elshtain puts forth the idea that an intentional and active religious pluralism would stabilize American society at a higher level of moral engagement (Banchoff 2008:102). Casanova takes a stand similar to Elshtain's side of the argument (1994).

In the opposing scenario, most often put forward by Bruce and supported to some extent by Norris and Inglehart, public life in the United States is already secularized to the extent that religious diversity will have little effect on our public experiences (2002, 2003; 2004). Bruce argues that religious diversity itself obstructs the efforts of any one group to actively and effectively have a voice in public policy and the result is that institutions are stable because they are secular.
This debate is waged largely in normative theory, and offers little in terms of how a pluralistic public square could exist; and if it could, what its foundations would be. This examination of the Parliament illustrates the motivations and mechanisms that supported one example of intentional and active religious pluralism which was intended to stabilize American and global society at a higher level of moral engagement.

Motivations for Intentional and Active Religious Pluralism

One of larger social forces that set the stage for the Auxiliary Congresses and Parliament of Religions was the dissonance that was created by industrial and economic advancement and, to some extent instrumental rationality. Auxiliary Congress organizers, supporters, and participants perceived this as encroaching on the importance and progress of literature, art, religion, the sciences, and social and civil life. The “higher and nobler” issues of the “enlightened and progressive spirit of the present age” were left out of the picture in displays of material progress that formed the foundations of World’s Fairs (Bonney 1889: 2).

In addition to this broader social and moral issue, two specific religious issues were being addressed by the Parliament organizers. The Parliament planning occurred over the same time frame as the battle for Sunday and the perception of a secularizing society contributed to the motivation of the insiders. The problem of secularization was approached differently than it was by conservative Christians in the battle for Sunday. Insiders took the position that “the horse was already out of the barn” on the trend toward liberalizing beliefs and a reduction of the power of the church to order people’s lives.
They wanted to examine and highlight the contributions of religion in a global society. If one religion could not prevail, at least all religions united against the idea of a global society with no religion, might be able to contribute to peace, brotherhood, social and intellectual progress, and an ethical society.

There also was some hope that the Parliament of Religions would help resolve the divisiveness of Christians in America. Conservative Christians were responding to an increase in liberal attitudes with court battles over Sunday laws and other activism that involved government officials. Government officials may have been some hope of channeling that energy toward a productive dialog through the Religious Congresses and the Parliament of Religions. In addition to possibly envisioning the Parliament as a solution to Christian divisiveness, the United States Government viewed the Columbian Exposition as an opportunity to showcase the triumphant progress in the United States to the world. Upon receiving Bonney’s proposal, the idea that intellectual, social and religious progress should be showcased along with material and technological progress was quickly adopted.

Motivations for Participation

Patterns of colonization, which in part supported missionary activity and a “diaspora” of academics in colonial education systems in foreign lands, were important social forces that affected the motivations of the participants. The Parliament of Religions would not have been successful if these religious and academic network structures were not available to be employed by the Parliament of Religions organizers. The issues
involved in colonization and the resulting missionary activity, and the issues involved in unjust international relations, were the impetus for many of the foreign delegates to attend the Parliament. These forces also contributed to one of the interesting paradoxes in the case; missionaries assisted foreign delegates in making connections to the Parliament, yet it was missionary presence that was problematic for the delegates.

Academic and religious leaders from all faiths had several motivations for participation in, and support, of the Parliament. These motivations continue to underscore that Christian Americans were heterogeneous in their understandings of religious diversity even at that time. Rev. John Barrows summed up the motivations accurately. They were, a desire to improve and expand the study of comparative religions; a conviction that the comparison of religions would show the superiority of some form of Christianity; a feeling that one's own religion had been misunderstood and important truths to offer to moral, ethical and social life; a progressive Christian belief that it is right to show "brotherly spirit" toward other faiths, and, belief that the Parliament would increase Christian unity.

There were also several attitudes in the general public that motivated participation in the Parliament activities. The most prevalent attitude was that the Parliament was an indicator of a "mighty change" among the nations of the world and that an age of toleration and peace was beginning. Enthusiasm for the religious other was high and newspaper readers were clearly interested in detailed accounts of the religious beliefs that had been described in Parliament speeches. Also, the activities were acceptable to many sectors of the population. Conservative and liberal Christian leaders had endorsed the Parliament, minority religious leaders had endorsed the Parliament; many Christian
denominations were liberalizing in response to societal changes, and; two thirds of the population did not hold membership status in a church that may have interfered with their feeling of approval to participate. However, that did not mean that religious belief meant nothing to the vast majority of the population. Nearly 78% had at least some association with a religious congregation. Additionally, the Parliament provided an opportunity for minority and emerging religions to be recognized as equals and gain traction with the general public and their adherents. Finally, the positive response to a religiously liberal event could have contained an element of backlash toward conservative Christians and their efforts to impose Sunday rest restrictions through government regulations. The preponderance of negativity in popular sentiment involved questioning the ideas and attitudes of conservative Christians.

The fact that a World's Fair was occurring certainly drew many of the participants from the general public. However, during the Parliament, activity on the main grounds decreased and other congresses that were in session basically came to a standstill. Most Parliament sessions had standing room only audiences and often hundreds to thousands of people were reported to have not been able to enter the building. The American people were excited to participate in such an unprecedented experience, and the attitudes of brotherly love and unity appeared to motivate an unexpected level of participation in the event. Americans were idealistic about their accomplishments and progress and may have believed that peace among the nations could be accomplished through religious harmony.
Mechanisms that Promoted Active Religious Pluralism

The religious makeup and energy of the organizing committee, and the idea that a few people in the right place at the right time with the right resources can make a difference, cannot be discounted in this case study. Charles Bonney was a highly regarded and well-connected man. He was able to gather like-minded religiously liberal contemporaries to carry out Parliament oversight. Eleven of the fifteen members on the oversight committee represented liberal Christian denominations, or denominations that were moving toward liberal interpretations of the divinity of Christ and the exclusiveness of salvation through Christianity.

The two members of the Catholic Church had received a hearty endorsement of the Parliament from the American Catholic leadership. Rabbi Hirsh also had reason to support a liberal agenda in that he saw the Parliament as an opportunity for Judaism in America to make progress and gain acceptance. Barrows himself represented one of the two conservative denominations in the group, but his decision to leave the church and lecture in India after the Parliament indicates that his bond to the Presbyterian church may have been changing at the time. While many of the speakers at the Parliament suggested that all religions should ultimately unite under Christianity, there is not enough evidence to come to the conclusion that the Parliament organizers were operating under this agenda. There is reasonable evidence to indicate that they were truly seeking a forum on what each religion could offer in promoting an ethical society.

The generous federal funding of the Auxiliary Congresses and the Parliament was a key mechanism in creating an intentionally religiously plural public square. In addition
to approving the process at the national policy level, the funding supported many of the other mechanisms that contributed to The Parliament's success. The funding allowed the staffing and expenses involved in the global distribution of a vast amount of circulars and communications. This ability to communicate was a major factor in gaining the immense and early support of religious leaders and academics whose endorsements and message mitigation contributed to the acceptance of the Parliament by the majority of religious Americans. Additionally, the generous funding of the Art Palace created the opportunity for a large venue for public access to the speeches. Less religious and non-religious Americans were affected by these messages as well. The support and endorsement of the Parliament in the secular press, which also was negotiated by Rev. John Barrows and other religious leaders, was an additional mechanism in for normalizing and raising interest in a pluralistic religious forum.

The carefully crafted rules and organizational structure for the Parliament also contributed to the ability for all speakers to have their say and demonstrate what their religion offered to the world. The focus on equality of the speakers and religions is a topic that Elshtain addressed in her discussion of deep, or authentic, tolerance. She points out that inequality is exactly what makes deep tolerations important, and “It is through exchanges of ideas, through arguments and evidence, claim and counterclaim that human beings in social settings engage in a search for truth – about what is important to them, about how to live together. The ability to think critically, to communicate, to persuade and be persuaded is part of what defines our humanity” (Banchoff 2008:102). The underlying principles for the rules for Parliament speakers are encapsulated in this quote by Elshtain.

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Finally, some of the social factors that made the Parliament a success were similar to those that were in play in the case of the battle for Sunday. For example, the secular and religious press offered a great deal of support and the American propensity to act in voluntary networks contributed to the Parliament's positive outcome. However, the approach was significantly different in that government leaders proactively addressed a proposal from a small group of community leaders which allowed them to control the messages that Americans heard.

Society and Moral Engagement

This case study does not address in detail some of the longer term contributions that are attributed to the Parliament of Religions such as the interfaith and Christian ecumenical movements. There were some areas where this example of active religious pluralism created results that were consistent with the ideals of stabilizing American and global society and contributing to a higher level of moral engagement. The first, issues in missionary activity, affected practices on a global scale. The second, self-reflection of the organizers regarding treatment of African Americans and minority religions, affected practices on at least a community scale. Additionally, foreign guests could communicate the negative effects of American foreign policy on their citizens to a large American audience. This was not represented in the data enough to discern an effect, but if nothing else an awareness of another point of view was created.

The dialog at the Parliament provided the platform and the impetus for reforms in Christian missionary activities and methods. A minority of Christian ministers took a
negative approach to the concerns of foreign delegates, but the majority of Christian ministers and missionaries regarded the foreign delegate's claims as having validity. They joined the Japanese, Indian, and Chinese delegates in arguing for reforms in mission activities and methods. Speakers in this group adjusted their speeches to acknowledge the concerns of Dharmapala, Vivekananda and the others, and presented a speech titled “How can the Methods of Christian Missionaries be Improved?” in a joint effort with several of the foreign delegates. This group of missionaries and ministers were more likely to submit letters and articles to religious periodicals and secular newspapers supporting the idea that missionary activities should be reformed. The dialog continued at the Congress of Missions which was scheduled right after the Parliament of Religions. The majority of the leading missionaries adjusted their approaches and ideas in reaction to the criticism, and their ideas had a significant effect on mission practices moving forward.

The larger concept of showcasing the triumphant progress in the United States to the world had an interesting effect at a smaller structural level during the Parliament proceedings. Imagining the group that would be collected on the stage must have caused some self-reflection about who should be representing religion in America. This was not carried out across the board, as there were exclusions of certain representatives in proceedings. However, the selection of Bishop Arnett and Bishop Payne as representatives of American Christianity on the opening ceremony stage indicated that the Parliament organizers were aware that racial segregation in America would stand out clearly when audiences viewed the diversity represented by foreign delegates on the stage. The African American Episcopal Church periodicals credited the Parliament with
jump starting a new interest in the church and increases in membership. Minority
religions, like the Theosophists, received a boost from the significant press that their
congress and activities received as well. The opportunity for self-reflection in the context
of America’s global image and relations had an effect on the circumstance of minority
Christians and minority religions going forward.

Contributions to our Understanding of Religious Diversity Related to the Fourth Wave of
Immigration

The speech given by Rev. H. K. Carroll regarding the results of the 1890
Government Census of Churches provided an interesting perspective to contribute in this
section. Even though religious diversity had not reached the kind of representation that
exists in the United States today, the perception of it at the time seemed similar to
contemporary understandings and attitudes. Carroll stated that “that there is an infinite
variety of religion in United States [and] all phases of thought are represented by them.”
He also notes that in comparison to other countries, the United States was a leader in
religious diversity and freedom of religion, which supported the rights and activities of
immigrant religions and populations (Houghton 1893: 690).

In addition to perceptions of religious diversity and the value of religious
freedom, many of the conditions and perceptions that were occurring in late nineteenth
century are occurring today at a faster pace and in more significant transactions and
numbers. Ease of travel and communications; increased knowledge of the culture and
religion of others far away, and next door; growing need for structures of international
law and justice; concerns about peace and war and the contribution of religion to these
conditions, and; interdependence among countries and economies are concerns that are shared across the two centuries.

There are also unique circumstances that were in operation at the time of the Parliament of Religions that have to be considered in the comparison. For example, the intentional religiously pluralistic forum was held in conjunction with a world’s fair that could draw national and international attention to such an event. The social ideal that religious ideas could serve as a moral resource for society was firmly established. The secularization of institutions was in early stages and the federal government contributed generously to the effort. However, the case of Parliament of Religions does indicate that there are social and structural conditions that can support intentionally pluralistic religious dialog and problem solving in the public square. I will be addressing this comparison in terms of motivations for participation at governmental, community and individual levels.

National Motivations for Intentional and Active Religious Pluralism

The perception of a dissonance created by industrial and economic advancement was an important factor in the belief that Auxiliary Congresses were needed, but it was the problem of secularization that motivated the organizers to gather all religions against the potential of a society that was not informed by religious ideas. The separation of church and state was established and efforts to legally establish the United States as a Christian nation were unsuccessful. However, government structures were in early stages of secularization, and the notion of hosting the Parliament, with its decidedly Christian
tenor, was not problematic for the federal government. President Harrison became personally involved in securing the funding and legislative approval for the Auxiliary Congresses. The inclusion of all religions and the broad acceptance of the Parliament concept indicated the liberal religious trends in society, but belief that religious ideas could serve as a moral resource was firmly established. This set the stage for religious ideas to inform social life, public dialog, and policy making. In the current situation, the problem of secularization in American social and public life is not a motivating factor for government activity. Institutions have been secularized. The general population still places a high value on religious belief, but religion has become, for the most part, privatized. Belief that religious ideas could serve as a moral resource still exists, but it is an individual rather than social ideal.

Identification of America as a Christian nation is still prevalent though decreasing. For example, President Obama’s inaugural speech indicated a change in the official discourse regarding what type of country American is. He pointed out that the United States is a nation of all religious backgrounds and specifically included nonbelievers along with Christian, Muslims, Jews and Hindus. He describes America, not as a country formed by Christian ideals, but as a country “shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth” (“Barack Obama’s Inaugural Address” 2009: January 20). The emerging official American identity is that we are a nation built by immigrants that has established equality among all believers and nonbelievers.

One of the most significant factors in the ability to hold a large scale Parliament of Religions was the generous federal funding and government support of the event. At the time of the Parliament, the prevailing understanding was that a Christian nation was
hosting a religiously plural forum and the religious other was a foreign guest. In the
current situation, a secular host would be the official structure and in a sense, there is no
guest. The forum would be among religiously diverse American citizens attempting to
put forth their understanding of a good American life. Given this new identity, a
motivation for the federal government to invest in a forum like the Parliament of
Religions is difficult to find, because the assumption would be that the current democratic
structures already provide a forum for the voices of equal citizens to be heard.

It is also difficult to find a motivation for the United States government to
examine or facilitate this process in the same manner as it did during the Columbian
Exposition. In an official discourse is that American religious diversity is a historical fact
and religiously diverse, and nonreligious, voices have already formed, and will continue
to form, American identity and public policy, there is little motivation to separately
facilitate religious dialog. However, it is a discourse that allows for equality but does not
examine how that equality will become accomplished or what the federal government’s
role might be in that process other than maintaining the current structures.

Finally, the discourse at the federal level has recently shifted and there are many
indicators that the suggested American identity has not taken hold on the general public.
As Putman and Wuthnow both noted, Americans in general are not working through the
issues that come with increasing ethnic and religious diversity in the public arena, they
tend to fall into patterns of avoidance and mistrust (2007; 2005). As I suggested in my
conclusions regarding life on the Midway, there is a possibility of an intentionally
religiously plural public square, but it most likely would be the result of locally
motivated, rather than nationally motivated, activity.
Local and Individual Motivations for Participation in Intentional Religious Pluralism

Religious diversity in a rapidly changing American environment is a more salient problem in the current American awareness than the problem of secularization. The problem of religious diversity includes the notion that as religiously diverse populations gain representative capacity, the differences in moral and social ideals based on religious understanding could cause civic disruption and unacceptable changes in the informally Christian basis for American life. The problem also involves a possible withdrawal from the concepts of democracy, civil rights, and religious freedom on the part of the religious majority in order to reduce representation for religious minorities at least at the state and local levels.

Wuthnow expresses the concern that “we might be tempted to curb the First Amendment freedoms that are so fundamental to American democracy because we doubt the capacity of practitioners of newer religions to exercise their freedom responsibly” (2005: 79). This concern is well founded and illustrated by the current movement to ban any legislation that allows for Sharia law in at least a dozen states. On the other hand, Kusumita Pederson finds that “the most striking and important feature of the interfaith movement, is the growth of interfaith activity at the local level” (2004: 93). Pederson estimated that there are between two and three thousand formal interfaith organizations in the world today, with the preponderance of them located in United Kingdom, Canada and the United States. If less formal groups are considered she estimates that the number would increase to over ten thousand (78).
Some Americans are addressing religious diversity in their communities rather than limiting the religious other or withdrawing from religious difference. At this level of non-governmental activity, we can compare the motivations for religious and social leaders, and the general public, to engage in a religiously plural forum. The factors that lead to this type of motivation for religious and social leaders during the Parliament that appear to be applicable to our circumstance today are their responses to perceptions of unjust international relations; a feeling that one’s own religion had been misunderstood and had important truths to offer; and a progressive Christian belief that it is right to show “brotherly spirit” toward other faiths. The factors that lead to the participation of the general public include; the possible endorsement of Christian leaders; liberal religious views; the importance of religious belief for the majority of the population, and; the opportunity for participants in minority and emerging religions to be recognized as equals.

Pederson’s study, “The Interfaith Movement: An Incomplete Assessment” draws some strong links between the motivations of the actors in the two centuries. Probably the most striking comparison is in the diverse motivations of Christians in either being involved in or avoiding religiously plural activity. Pederson found that most of the international interfaith organizations are run by Christians. She states that “the bad conscience, repentance and self-examination of Christians in connection with anti-Semitism and the Holocaust and also with the sufferings of colonized and missionized people” has been one of the foundational factors for the development of these organizations. However, other Christian interfaith organizations are motivated by the goal of “pre-evangelization” and establishing mission work, and many Christian
denominations still oppose interfaith work (24). Individual motivations for interfaith activity range from desiring inclusion and community interaction to reducing violence and hate crimes and resolving international wars and conflicts.

In general, religions other than Christianity focus on establishing local activities aimed at inclusion, though loosely tied national organizations do exist. For example, Sikhs experienced increased hate crimes after the destruction of the Twin Towers and have established a national network for reporting hate crimes toward Sikhs and coordinating local outreach efforts. She also points out two issues that were addressed in my conclusions in the chapter on the Midway Plaisance. The first is that these efforts cannot be neatly separated from work on inter-ethnic and intercultural relations; and the second is that most of this activity is occurring in communities that are, or are becoming, multi-religious.

The conclusion that can be drawn is that the heterogeneity of Christian attitudes and motivations that brought Christians to a religiously pluralistic forum in 1893 still exist today, but for most part span local or international interests. The motivations for participants from minority religions to engage in a pluralistic public square are similar as well. Intentional religious pluralism can occur, and does occur, at local, national and international levels in a variety of models for a variety of reasons. However, as Pederson notes, these efforts are multiple, often horizontally linked, and occasionally loosely organized into a national network. There is no circumstance where an interfaith organization has anything other than a consultative capacity in terms of informing public policy, laws or regulations (2004).
Finally, at least Christian Americans are basically “all over the map” on the issue of ethnic and religious diversity. Even though the motivations and potential models exist for religious pluralism, Putnam is likely to be correct in his suggestion that the problem of ethnic and religious diversity, from all sides of the experience, will with be with us for a while (2007). The hope is that the motivations for pluralism and tolerance and employment of practical models for religious dialog in the public square grow more quickly than efforts to increase restrictions on democracy or religious freedom do.

Mechanisms that Promoted Active Religious Pluralism

Many of the mechanisms that supported religious pluralism in the public square in the case of the Parliament of Religions could still be employed today to the same end. For example, an exemplary communication strategy, support from the media, clear rules of engagement that are based on civil discourse and equality, and endorsement of religious leaders could encourage positive attitudes and participation. However, I have established that two of the most powerful mechanisms that were in play then are unlikely to be available to be employed. It is highly unlikely that a small group of liberally minded business leaders would be able to gain support from the federal government and mobilize all of the above resources in the same way. Even the idea of a focal point like a world’s fair would not allow for this, in my estimate, because the forum would be for current American citizens, not invited guests.

There is one mechanism that is worth discussing here that is applicable and might offer a translation from the time of the Parliament to the contemporary case. As has been
mentioned several times, at the time of the Parliament, the social ideal that religious ideas could inform moral, social and public life was firmly established. Part of the perceived problem of religious diversity is that there is some evidence that as the country grows more religiously diverse this ideal will emerge again at least for some groups. Initially I critiqued both Elshtain and Casanova for establishing normative rather than empirical cases for their ideas, but in light of the results of the case study, I want to review their claims again.

Elshtain and Casanova question the validity of the argument that a secularized civic life is necessary to protect the public from the claims of religious believers. Elshtain states, “American democracy from its inception was premised on a complex intermingling of religious and political imperatives” (Dionne et. al. 2004:94) and “If religious freedom meant nothing more than religion should be free as long as it is irrelevant to the state, it does not mean much” (Elshtain and Griffiths 2002:35).

Casanova’s case studies indicate that taking the position that secularization of public life is necessary in order to “safeguard modern liberties and differentiated structures” is “indiscriminate” and “unfounded”. He believes that there are situations where the influence of religion may have a desirable effect “from a modern normative perspective” (1994: 220). This clearly happened at the Parliament when the representatives of the Eastern religions influenced reforms in missionary activity.

Additionally, Casanova points out that religious institution’s attempts to influence the public sphere are not a traditionalist backlash, but are an expression of the modern condition. One of the concerns that Elshtain proposes is that the current system is structured with a superficial understanding of tolerance that denotes a sense of hope that
minorities will be satisfied by less than equal acceptance. My question regarding mechanisms in the current system revolves around the access that the current secular discourse allows to minority religions. During the time of the Parliament, religious ideas, in a transparent form, were sought out to inform public life and maintain a focus on the nobler things in the face of increasing materialism and the reality of war. In our current secularized governmental structure, religious ideas are better received in the legislative and policy making process when they have been translated into their secular analogs. American Christian political activists have understood and had the opportunity to practice this for quite some time. This type of translation probably works in a relatively smooth manner for Christian political activists because many of our legal and cultural understandings are based on foundations derived from Western Christianity.

It is theoretically possible that religious values from a variety of religions, translated in this manner, can affect secular policy, but it is difficult to assess whether that translation is as easily accomplished for religions other than Christianity. It is important to consider this issue because from a systemic perspective the favoring of secular translations of religious ideas over transparent presentations of religious ideas may contribute to power differentials and inequality if such a method of translation cannot be accomplished when the religious ideas were not a part of the formation of the system in the first place.

If the growing occurrences of interfaith activity at the local level begin to foster a different model for problem solving, it is possible that individual beliefs that religious ideas can inform social order will again become a social ideal. Could this lead to a sense of “disenchantment” with secular discourse? This is an important issue for further study.
because religious sentiment in America may be changing, but as Casanova claims, it is here to stay (1994).

Notes on Data Selection and Analysis

Data Selection

The newspapers that were used to determine the messages and themes that were shaped through public discourse in large cities included The Chicago Tribune, Detroit Free Press, The Atlanta Constitution, The Los Angeles Times, The New York Times, and The Washington Post. The Wall Street Journal was the only major newspaper published at that time (and available in the database) that did not appear to have addressed the Parliament of Religions.

The newspapers that were used to determine the public information and discourse in small cities included The Jackson Citizen (Jackson, MI), The Kalamazoo Gazette (Kalamazoo, MI) The Kansas City Times (Kansas City, MO), The Oregonian (Portland, OR), The Plain Dealer (Cleveland, OH), St Alban’s Daily Messenger (St. Albans, VT), and the Trenton Evening Times (Trenton, NJ). Seven other small city newspapers were published at that time (and available in the database) but did not appear to cover the aspects of the Parliament of Religions that were being examined.

Forty four periodicals were published during the time span of the Columbian Exposition that included relevant subject matter such as religion, law, philosophy, politics, popular culture, social life, history, and satire. Of the 44 potential periodicals,
31 substantively addressed the Parliament or Religious Congresses in one or several articles.

Fifteen of the periodicals were published by religious groups or groups with religious ties and accounted for 53 of the 90 articles that were selected. However, in general, the religious publications were favorable in their descriptions of the Parliament purpose and proceedings. If they were unfavorable, most often it was a note at the end of the article that expressed a caveat that Christianity ultimately was the proper and true religion. Four of the periodicals addressed religion as a topic of study or criticism, and represented 14 of the 90 articles that were selected. The remaining periodicals covered literature, social life, peace advocacy, politics, and children. The periodicals that covered the Parliament most extensively included the “Independent” (12 articles) and “Outlook” (9 articles). The “Independent” was not a strictly denominational publication at that time, but had been a Congregationalist periodical. The “Outlook” covered religion as a topic of study and criticism.

Data Analysis

Selected articles were initially coded in relationship to the research questions which are as follows:

- How did “insiders” involved in the Parliament of Religions carry out their activities, and perceive and portray their activities and the activities of others?
- How did the multiple religious communities view one another, what perceptions were communicated?
- What conflicts, collaborations, and intended or unintended consequences resulted from the planning and implementation of the Parliament of Religions?
• What social forces and institutions were involved in the structure and outcomes of the Parliament of Religions?

• How did “outsiders” perceive and portray The Parliament of Religions?

• What were the public perceptions and presentations of the events and circumstances? How did the larger society, including those who were not religious, react to the events and circumstances?

The initial coding was structured so that actions, portrayals and ideas in the articles were analyzed in relation to either a positive or negative portrayal of the Parliament activities and purpose. The question regarding religious communities perceptions and portrayals of themselves and others were analyzed as positive or negative portrayals of the religious other by a Christian, positive or negative portrayals of a Christian by a religious “other”, or positive or negative portrayals within a religion by others of the same group. Mixed portrayals were considered in the analysis, but the mixed portrayals were not as significantly represented as they were in the analysis of life on the Midway Plaisance. Institutional involvement, and individual actors, and author perspective, were noted for each entry. Open coding and axial coding were completed in order to determine the themes that existed for each of the research questions.

Additionally, Bancroft and Johnson’s books of the fair, the local directory president’s final report, Barrows and Houghton’s collections and comments on the Parliament of Religions, and the Program for the World’s Religious Congresses of 1893 were reviewed to place the events in order and context. Barrows’ account is heavily relied upon. Seager indicated that it is the most accurate and complete of all of the accounts (1993). Additional newspaper articles and biographies were consulted in order
to gain insight regarding the motivation of individual actors; secondary sources and
newspapers were reviewed for insight regarding the operations and capacity of
institutions, and; primary and secondary sources were consulted in order to review the
history of Christian Mission activities prior to and after the Parliament of Religions.
CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND LIMITATIONS OF THIS CASE STUDY

Summary of the Case Study

How increasing religious diversity in the United States will affect social structure is an important debate in the sociology of religion. The proposed outcomes range from the view that religious diversity will dilute the influence of any one group and lead to privatization of religion to the view that religious ideas will influence the formation of public policy as they have always done. The problem is that this debate is waged largely in normative theory. There is little that either side offers in terms of how a pluralistic public square could exist; and if it could, what its foundations would be.

The increasing religious diversity in the United States has largely occurred through immigration. Three waves of immigration have occurred in the United States, and the fourth wave is occurring currently. This exploration of the effect that inter-religious interaction had on society during the third wave of immigration provides a framework for understanding how increases in religious diversity could affect public life during the fourth wave of immigration. One major event, the 1893 Columbian Exposition or Chicago World’s Fair stands out as being well suited for exploration. The Columbian Exposition was nationally and internationally significant, and encapsulated several conditions that could provide a window into formal and informal; intended and unintended, and; cooperative and conflict ridden interreligious interaction.
Three types of interreligious interaction occurred during the Columbian Exposition. Religiously conservative and liberal Americans engaged in a battle regarding Sunday closing at the fair; the fairgrounds contained live “village” exhibits where people from throughout the globe lived closely together for six months, and: the Parliament of Religions was an international effort to bring all religions to the public square in order to counteract the “secular revolution” that was still gathering steam, but had not yet affected public institutions (Smith 2003). This case study allowed for an empirical investigation of the accommodation of religious diversity in a society that was in early stages of secularization and helps address the questions involved in whether a secularized or de-secularized society is better able to accommodate religious diversity, rather than whether one or the other should support that accommodation.

Implications of the Analysis of the Battle for Sunday

The battle for Sunday closing of the Columbian Exposition was carried out by religious and secular activists and organizations. The battle encompassed three years of legislative activity and months of activity in state and federal courts. The battle was carried out in the language of religious ideals and this part of the case study offered a snapshot of a nineteenth century attempt to resolve a religious issue through public process. The major findings in this part of the analysis correspond to the image of a religiously pluralistic public square as described by normative theories. However, there are few empirical examples in the literature of what those foundations actually are, or were, in a specific case.
The three foundations that allowed this religiously pluralist public square to occur in the nineteenth century that have the most application to the late modern situation are the potential for formation of voluntary associations that could communicate local concerns through a national network; the nature of the press which compares to the nature of the internet today, and; the potential for interactions among citizen groups and “legislators as religious citizens and representatives” rather than through proactive government or politically driven structures. I am not considering the first foundation, which was the social ideal that religious ideas could serve as a moral resource for all of society, as reflective of contemporary social ideals in the United States, though in later sections I will discuss the possibility that this ideal could re-emerge. The possibility that the other three foundations could be used by religious communities to promote social change in that direction does exist in the contemporary circumstance.

From a theoretical perspective, Machacek discusses the potential of voluntary associations to impact religious discourse in the public square (2003). In discussing the impact of the four waves of immigration on American society, he concludes that what is new about immigration in the fourth wave is the growing realization that adherents to religions other than Christianity have gained a representative capacity. Machacek proposes that new immigrants are not assimilating, but are using religion as a primary resource for “actively negotiating the terms of American social and cultural life” (2003:147).

An online search of IRS Publication 78, which is a database of organizations and associations that have gained a federal non-profit status indicates that there are over 20,000 Christian associations and churches; over 1,700 almost Islamic centers and
associations; over 1,000 Buddhist temples, centers and associations; and over 250 Hindu temples and associations (Internal Revenue Service 2011). This is most likely an underrepresentation of the number of groups that have the potential to form voluntary networks that would serve the same activist purpose as similar organizations were able to in the nineteenth century.

The potential for these groups to form broader networks and associations via citizen driven communication is the next foundation for a pluralistic public square. Nineteenth century newspapers operated with small staffs, and much of the content was citizen driven. This allowed for religious discourse to be carried out in both religious and secular periodicals and newspapers. While newspapers no longer have those same features, the internet offers the same type of forum that was available through the nineteenth century press. Low cost internet access is widely available to immigrant and native born populations. Internet users supply a significant amount of content and are free to make any religious claims or counterclaims on the web. Study of the impact of the internet on the organization of religious associations and religious discourse is beyond the scope of this case, but our imagination does not have to stretch too far to see the common features in the venues.

The third foundation was the ability of the activists in the battle for Sunday to interact with “legislators as religious citizens and representatives” who also used religious discourse in their public interactions. In the contemporary circumstance legislative and governmental discourse has become secularized, but theoretically that type of discourse could become unavoidable as the members of the fourth wave of immigration increase collective action in society. Bruce and Wuthnow both suggest that
if the legislative structure does not change to accommodate a new population, the legal system is prepared to do so (2003; 2003). In the case of the battle for Sunday, the legislative process was not able to contribute to a consensus and legal proceedings finally decided the case, but Bruce and Wuthnow may be optimistic on this issue for contemporary purposes.

The legal system in the U.S. has a relatively high level of autonomy, but high autonomy legal systems are not immune to external influences. Actors in the legal system have a great deal of discretion in their determinations and could be acting in a manner that is actually discriminatory in a system where a majority religious belief has contributed to the establishment of normative procedures (Richardsdon, 2006). Richardson’s in depth assessment of religious freedom and the potential for inconsistencies in the legal system is far more supported by the evidence of inconsistencies in the legal system in this case study than Bruce and Wuthnow’s contention that the legal structure is prepared for increased action on cases that involve diversity and public expression of religion.

Implications of the Analysis of Religious Co-existence on the Midway

The Midway Plaisance provided a six month long “lived experience” of religious pluralism for residents of the foreign village exhibits on the Midway. Midway villagers interacted with each other, journalists, and visitors of the World’s Fair. The intention of this section of the analysis was to examine inter-religious co-existence in an informal setting. Religious ideas were not an intentional part of the formal activity, but were
present in the day to day life of the Midway. Most of the evidence established that life on
the Midway was in fact a case of lived pluralism where religion was most often used as a
resource for collaboration and communication of culture and country.

The larger social context of contemporary religious co-existence is clearly
different than the context and conditions that brought about a normative pluralism on the
Midway, but some ideas can be drawn from the villagers experiences. The larger social
context in the case of the Midway included a practice of displaying human exhibits, the
outcomes of colonization, a focus on business enterprise, and the popularity of World’s
Fairs in the nineteenth century. The structural conditions that existed included the
lassiez-faire approach of the fair management committee, popular sentiment regarding
the villagers, concessionaires authority and experience levels, and villager autonomy and
authority in the conditions of their day to day experiences.

The larger social context for religious diversity in community life in the fourth
wave of immigration includes increasing globalization, the large scale economic shift
from a manufacturing to a knowledge- based economy in the United States, and changes
in U. S. immigration policies in 1965 allowing increased immigration from countries
where the majority religion is not Christianity.

The 2010 U.S. census results indicate that there is a shift in the past pattern of
immigrant settlement in large cities and immigrant families and individuals are moving
from large urban areas to smaller cities and suburbs. This may lead to less segregation
and more opportunity to experience interactions that in some ways reflect what occurred
on the Midway. I will be addressing the conditions of this emerging pattern of in country
mobility because the conditions on the Midway can, with limitations, more reasonably be compared with this current pattern.

The Christian Host

Early secularization of institutions was occurring during the third wave of immigration. Most of the evidence in this study supports the notion that secularization had not taken hold in mass culture and the United States was perceived as a Christian country. This was evident on the Midway where villagers fused Christianity with tributes to American nationalism even though there was no explicit representation of a Christian host on the Midway.

In the contemporary circumstance, the secularization of public institutions is established and the informal establishment of America as a Christian nation is slowly, but notably decreasing. It is plausible that greater religious diversity, in combination with the absence of a monolithic Christian host, would allow a move toward the normative pluralism that was experienced on the Midway.

However, from the point of view of identity theory, a group with a stronger sense of identity would be more, not less, tolerant of others. The question then, is to what extent does this changing public identity lead to greater or weaker ability to accept religious diversity? The conditions under which the autonomy and freedom of village residents resulted in positive interreligious activity can be translated into a contemporary framework.
Autonomy and Co-existence

In the theoretical implications section of the Midway analysis, I posit that the autonomy, freedom and authority of the villagers and concessionaires lead to an ability to use religion as a resource for positive interaction and collaboration. The autonomy on the Midway made it possible for concessionaires with a high degree of authority to create conditions like shared use of religious buildings and inter-religious joint efforts. The villager's autonomy was supported by an absence of restrictive structures, but the positive interaction was supported by protective and encouraging structures. In the absence of a role like the concessionaires occupied, what are the likely protective and encouraging structures that could create a similar outcome?

Two of Wuthnow's concerns should be compared with the findings of this part of the case study. Wuthnow questions whether religious diversity can result in a normative pluralism when the religious majority is committed to a doctrine of exclusivity. He also discusses the strategies that clergy and lay people use to decrease the potential of religious conflict, which include limiting interaction and focusing on culture rather than religious belief as the foundation for differences (2005). Wuthnow points out that these strategies reduce conflict, but they also reduce the opportunity for discourse on what each religion can offer to public life and policy.

It appears that the American attitude toward religious doctrine as having less importance than social practices has not changed much from attitudes in the third wave of immigration. For Midway residents and visitors, how a religion affected the moral understanding and social practices of an individual was more important to incorporating
religious diversity than agreement on doctrine regarding salvation, which seemed to have little importance. From this perspective, the social structures that would support an increase in religious tolerance would be the social structures that could reduce conflict or avoidance caused by differences in culture and social practices. The role of protective structures would most likely have to be taken on by local government and the role of encouraging structures would most likely have to be taken on by voluntary religious groups and associations.

In his 2007 study of diversity and community, Robert Putnam had the unexpected finding that public resources for social interaction were “positively correlated with ethnic diversity” in the communities selected for his study (157). This suggests the possibility that local governments could be willing to offer resources that would reduce cultural conflict. However, parks and schools allow for social space, but do not incorporate what I am calling encouraging structures.

Even if investment in protective structures did occur, establishing a social ideal of normative pluralism would require a great deal of coordination among religious groups and voluntary associations. If government structures provide protective resources, ethnic and religious tolerance would be more likely, but it is less likely that a normative religious pluralism would occur without encouraging activity of religious groups and voluntary associations.
Religion as a Primary Resource

I noted earlier that one of the foundations for a religiously pluralistic public square in the third wave of immigration was active and widespread engagement in voluntary associations. While Machacek concludes that adherents to religions other than Christianity have gained a representative capacity and are using religion as a primary resource in negotiating social life in America, Putman finds conflicting answers regarding whether the potential to form similar voluntary associations exists (2003, 1995).

Putnam found a much different America than Alexis de Toqueville did in his study of mid nineteenth century Americans. De Toqueville saw that “Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations” (1840 II: 220). In late twentieth century America, Putman found that membership in associations like the PTA, League of Women Voters, and bowling teams had declined by roughly 25% to 50% in the last three decades” and people spent significantly less time on informal socializing. Groups based on nationality and hobby groups did not experience declines (1995).

Putnam also found that immigration and ethnic diversity tended to correlate negatively with measures of social capital in communities across the United States (2007:138). Both Putman and Wuthnow found that increasing diversity appeared to cause an avoidance of differences and lack of trust. Their survey data indicate that Americans experience discomfort in communities where diversity is existent or increasing (1995, 2005).

There are two factors in the current situation that suggest that voluntary organizations could play an encouraging role in promoting normative pluralism. The first
is that nationality groups did not seem to experience the same decline as others and the second is that religious activities did not seem to experience a decline in changing communities even when other social organization and interaction decreased. However, the discouraging factors weigh heavily on American communities.

The exploration of life on the Midway allows for two important contributions to our understanding of the contemporary situation. The first is that in general Americans in both waves of immigration did focus, and are focusing, more on how religious belief affects the moral understanding and social practices of an individual and less on agreement on doctrine regarding salvation. The idea that a homogeneous Christian host is central in either promoting, or struggling, with incorporation of the religious other based on factors involved in exclusive belief, does not seem to be supported. The second is that both protective and encouraging structures have to exist in order to allow a social space for an ideal of normative pluralism to develop. Without a proactive governmental investment in protective structures, social reform and protest groups would be more likely to develop along national and religious identity lines, but their purpose would necessarily focus on providing protective structures rather than encouraging structures. It is unlikely that sufficient resources could be directed toward encouraging structures.

Implications of the Analysis of the Parliament of Religions

The Parliament of Religions was established as one of the Auxiliary Congresses of the Columbian Exposition and the purpose for the event was to represent the ideas that all religions could offer to establishment of a moral and ethical society in an atmosphere
of equality and hope. The Parliament attracted religious representatives from around the
globe who attended to represent their claims against Christian practices in their respective
countries and many Christians also attended with the hope of promoting Christian unity
or establishing Christianity as the unified global religion. The intention of this part of the
case study was to address the nineteenth century motivations for intentionally pluralistic
religious discourse and compare those motivations with conditions in the twenty first
century.

Religious diversity had not reached the kind of representation we have in the
United States today, but the perception of it at the time seemed similar to contemporary
understandings and attitudes regarding religious diversity and freedom of religion.
Additionally, ease of travel and communications; increased knowledge of the culture and
religion of others; growing need for structures of international law and justice; concerns
about peace and war, and the contribution of religion to these conditions, and;
interdependence among countries and economies are perceptions and concerns that are
shared across the two centuries.

Unique circumstances that were in operation at the time of the Parliament of
Religions have to be considered in the comparison. The intentional religiously pluralistic
forum was held in conjunction with a world’s fair that could draw national and
international attention to such an event; the social ideal that religious ideas could serve as
the moral foundation for society was firmly established; the secularization of institutions
was in early stages and the federal government contributed generously to the effort.
However, the case of Parliament of Religions does indicate that there are social and
structural conditions that can support intentionally pluralistic religious dialog and problem solving in the public square.

National Motivations for Intentional and Active Religious Pluralism

The perception of dissonance created by industrial and economic advancement was an important factor in the conception of the need for Auxiliary Congresses, but it was the problem of secularization and Christian divisiveness that motivated the organizers to call for a Parliament of Religions. The separation of church and state was established and efforts to legally establish the United States as a Christian nation had been unsuccessful. However, government structures were in early stages of secularization, and the notion of hosting the Parliament, with its decidedly Christian tenor, was not problematic for the federal government. The inclusion of all religions and the broad acceptance of the Parliament concept indicated the liberal religious trends in society, but religious ideas were still important.

In the current situation, institutions have been secularized even though the general population still places a high value on religious belief; belief that religious ideas could serve as a moral resource exists as a privatized matter and; identification of America as a Christian nation is still prevalent though decreasing. Additionally the official discourse regarding what kind of country America is, is changing. The emerging official American identity is that the United States is a nation built by immigrants that has established equality among all believers and nonbelievers.
The generous federal funding was the most significant factor in the ability to hold a large scale Parliament of Religions. At the time, the prevailing understanding was that a Christian nation was hosting a religiously plural forum, and the religious other was a foreign guest. In the current situation, a secular host would be the official structure and there is no foreign guest. The current forum is among religiously diverse American citizens attempting to put forth their understanding of a good American life. A motivation for the federal government to invest in encouraging a forum for normative pluralism is difficult to find, because the new identity assumes that the current democratic structures already provide a forum for the voices of equal citizens to be heard. However, it is a discourse that allows for equality but does not examine how that equality will become accomplished.

Finally, there are inconsistencies between the suggested American identity and what the research indicates about the attitudes of the general public. Americans in general are not intentionally addressing the social needs and changes that come with increasing ethnic and religious diversity in the public square; they tend to fall into patterns of avoidance and mistrust. If there is a possibility of an intentionally religiously plural public square, it most likely will be the result of locally motivated activity.

Local and Individual Motivations for Participation in Intentional Religious Pluralism

Religious diversity in a rapidly changing American environment is a more salient problem in the current American awareness than the problem of secularization. The problem of religious diversity includes the notion that as religiously diverse populations gain representative capacity, the differences in moral and social ideals based on religious
gain representative capacity, the differences in moral and social ideals based on religious
understanding could cause civic disruption and unacceptable changes in in the Christian
basis for American life. The problem also involves a possible withdrawal from the
concepts of democracy, civil rights, and religious freedom and representation for
religious minorities.

Americans are addressing religious diversity with attitudes from both sides of the
problem. Some groups are attempting to limit minority religious ideas from entering the
legislative process and others are forming protective and encouraging structures. In
exploring the possibility of structures that could encourage a movement toward religious
pluralism in the public square, the case of the Parliament of Religions indicates some
important parallels in the motivations of religious and social leaders, and the general
public, to engage in a religiously plural forum in the twenty first century at the local and
non-governmental levels.

The factors that lead to this type of motivation for religious leaders and social
leaders during the Parliament that appear to be applicable to our circumstance today are
responses to perceptions of unjust international relations; a feeling that one's own
religion had been misunderstood, and; a progressive Christian belief that it is right to
show "brotherly spirit" toward other faiths. The factors that might lead to the
participation of the general public include; the possible endorsement of Christian leaders;
liberal religious views; the importance of religious belief for the majority of the
population, and; the opportunity for minority and emerging religions to be recognized as
equals.
Pederson’s study, “The Interfaith Movement: An Incomplete Assessment” draws some striking comparisons regarding the diverse motivations of Christians in either being involved in or avoiding interfaith activity. Pedersen found that most of the international interfaith organizations are run by Christians, and the same self-examination that Parliament organizers and participants experienced is a component of their motivations for voluntary activity. Other Christian interfaith organizations are motivated by the goal of evangelism and mission work, and many Christian denominations still oppose interfaith work (2004).

Individual motivations range from desiring inclusion and community interaction to reducing violence and hate crimes and resolving international wars and conflicts. In general, religions other than Christianity focus on establishing local activities aimed at inclusion, though loosely tied national organizations do exist. Pederson’s work also supports my conclusions about life on the Midway Plaisance. Encouraging efforts cannot ignore inter-ethnic and intercultural relations; and most of the emerging interfaith activity is occurring in in communities that are, or are becoming, multi-religious (2004).

The conclusion that can be drawn is that the Christian attitudes and motivations, and the more general motivations, that brought people to a religiously pluralistic forum in 1893 still exist today, but for most part span local or international interests. Intentional religious pluralism can occur, and does occur, at local, national and international levels in a variety of models for a variety of reasons. However, there is no circumstance where an interfaith organization has anything other than a consultative capacity in terms of informing public policy, laws or regulations (Pederson 2004).
diversity, from all sides of the experience, will be with us for a while (2007). The hope is that the motivations for pluralism, tolerance and employment of practical models for religious dialog in the public square grow more quickly than efforts to increase restrictions on democracy or religious freedom do.

Mechanisms that Promoted Active Religious Pluralism

Many of the mechanisms that supported religious pluralism in the public square in the case of the Parliament of Religions could still be employed today to the same end. For example, an exemplary communication strategy, support from the media, clear rules of engagement that are based on civil discourse and equality, and endorsement of religious leaders could encourage positive attitudes and participation. I have established that two of the most powerful mechanisms that were in play then are unlikely to be available now. It is unlikely that a small group of liberally minded business leaders would be motivated to organize such an event and it is unlikely that the federal government would provide the funding to mobilize all of the above resources in the same way. Even the idea of a focal point like a world’s fair would not allow for this, in my estimate, because the forum would be for current American citizens, not invited guests.

There is one mechanism that is worth discussing here that is applicable and might offer a translation from the time of the Parliament to the contemporary case. At the time of the Parliament, the social ideal that religious ideas could inform moral, social and public life was firmly established. Part of the perceived problem of religious diversity is that there is some evidence that as the country grows more religiously diverse this ideal
of the Parliament, the social ideal that religious ideas could inform moral, social and public life was firmly established. Part of the perceived problem of religious diversity is that there is some evidence that as the country grows more religiously diverse this ideal will emerge again at least for some groups. Initially I critiqued both Elshtain and Casanova for establishing normative rather than empirical cases for their ideas, but in light of the results of the case study, I want to review their claims again.

Elshtain and Casanova question the validity of the argument that a secularized civic life is necessary to protect the public from the claims of religious believers. Elshtain proposes is that the current system is structured with a superficial understanding of tolerance and denotes a sense of forbearance and hope that minorities will be satisfied by less than equal acceptance (2002; 1994). My concern regarding mechanisms in the current system revolves around the access that secular discourse allows to minority religions.

During the Parliament, religious ideas, in a transparent form, were sought out to inform public life. In our current secularized structure, religious ideas are better received in the legislative and policy making process when they have been translated into their secular analogs. This type of translation probably works in a relatively smooth manner for Christian political activists because many of our legal and cultural understandings are based on foundations derived from Western Christianity.

It is theoretically possible that religious values from a variety of religions, translated in this manner, can affect secular policy, but it is difficult to assess whether that translation is as easily accomplished for religions other than Christianity. From a systemic perspective, the favoring of secular translations of religious ideas over
diversity, is it possible that individual beliefs that religious ideas can inform social order will again become a social ideal? In searching for a discourse that promotes equality will the need for representative equality lead to "disenchantment" with secular discourse to occur? This is an important issue for further study because religious sentiment in America may be changing, but as Casanova claims, it is here to stay (1994).

Conclusions

This case study of the religious aspects of the Columbian Exposition addresses three questions. The first addressed what the foundations of a religiously pluralistic square would be and if those conditions are comparable to conditions today. The second addresses the conditions under which religious co-existence can lead to religious pluralism and considers how those conditions relate to the contemporary environment. The third addresses the nineteenth century motivations for intentionally pluralistic religious discourse and compares those motivations with conditions in the twenty first century.

The four foundations that supported a religiously plural public square were the social ideal that religious ideas could serve as a moral resource for all of society; the potential for formation of voluntary associations that could communicate local concerns through a national network; the nature of the press in the nineteenth century in comparison to the nature of the internet today, and; the potential for interactions among citizen groups and "legislators as citizens and representatives" rather than through proactive government or politically driven structures.
comparison to the nature of the internet today, and; the potential for interactions among citizen groups and "legislators as citizens and representatives" rather than through proactive government or politically driven structures.

The first foundation, the ideal that religious ideas could serve as a moral resource, is not applicable to current conditions. The potential that immigrant communities with diverse religious ideas could form voluntary associations that could communicate local concerns through a national network by accessing the internet for citizen driven communication does exist. However the potential of that communication to influence policy at national and legislative levels is in question due to the nature of institutional secularization and the related political discourse. This issue draws attention to the fourth foundation, which is access to the legal and legislative process and here it is likely that more potential for inequality than representation exists. The findings of this analysis do not support the idea that if the legislative system is not capable of responding to the claims and concerns of religious minorities, the legal system will be prepared to do so.

The most important condition that supported a lived pluralism on the Midway Plaisance was the autonomy and authority of the Midway villagers and concessionaires. This autonomy/authority mix allowed concessionaires to establish both protective and encouraging structures that resulted in multiple collaborations and few conflicts. In contemporary society the protective role of the concessionaire would have to be carried out by local governments providing structures that ease avoidance and conflict in incorporating religiously and culturally diverse populations. There are some encouraging research results that would indicate that local governments understand investment in social spaces in ethnically diverse environments but many other types of programs and
services would have to be in place to open a more abstract type of social space to the possibility of pluralism. The encouraging role would have to be taken up by religious and cultural voluntary groups and associations. There is some potential for this to occur at local levels, but it would have to occur in the face of the strong limiting forces of current American attitudes of avoidance and mistrust in diverse environments.

Late nineteenth century motivations for intentional religiously plural discourse have some striking parallels to the motivations that undergird interfaith activities today. The significant difference is that while motivations and conditions for the federal government to support this type of activity were in place at the time of the Parliament there are no comparisons to draw with conditions today. There is a gap between the official national government discourse, that the United States is a nation built by immigrants that has established of equality among all believers and nonbelievers, and the general attitudes and behaviors of Americans today. Motivations regarding engaging in, or avoiding, interreligious dialog and activity are so similar with nineteenth century motivations that many of the ideas were even articulated in the same words for the same reasons in a study of interfaith activity. Additionally, interfaith activity, which necessarily includes engagement with ethnicity and culture, is on the increase at the local levels in religiously diverse communities.

There are indicators that acceptance of or even a desire for, a religiously plural public square may exist and this points to another area of possible inequality. Minority religions may not have an equal opportunity to accomplish a secular discourse that translates religious ideas in the manner that Christian political activists are able to due to the foundation of the American legislative system in Christian ideals.
There are several methodological limitations of this study in making generalizations and comparisons regarding questions of religious pluralism in the twenty first century. The nature of the selected methodology is more focused on exploration and theory development than hypotheses testing, but since comparisons have been made, the limitations of making comparisons should be addressed. The first limitation is related to the nature of interpretive analysis. A compelling story may give the impression of causal connections that cannot be verified even though the narrative connects outcomes with actions and actors.

Additionally, this is a single case study which is bounded in a very specific and unique event where many of the social contexts, conditions and structures would not be comparable to any other unique event. For example, it is difficult to fully compare the interaction of Midway villagers and visitors to interactions in diverse cities and suburbs in the twenty first century. The villagers and visitors had structured roles and knew there were limits to the length of engagement. However, inclusion of the case of the Battle for Sunday is helpful in mitigating this limitation. That event was not unique, and in fact was representative of a string of similar activist battles in the nineteenth century. Where attitudes, perceptions and motivations that were discovered in the battle for Sunday were comparable with what occurred in the more unique situations of the Parliament and Midway, the confidence that the information was representative beyond the event could be increased.
The limitations of the uniqueness of the event are also compounded by comparing two points in modern history. The possibility of making functionally equivalent comparisons around perceptions, conditions and motivations during two waves of immigration is reasonably strong since technological, social and economic change affected individuals and groups in much the same ways. For example, we could consider something as modern as the process whereby most battles over religious belief are initiated at a local level and the rapid attention of the media carries the activism into a national arena. This process could as easily describe the early modern pattern in the battle for Sunday. However, issues like the levels of secularization of institutions and mass culture do limit the ability to make equivalent comparisons to contemporary culture.


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