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The Others: Finding and Counting America's Invisible Churches

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The 2010 U. S. Religious Census: Religious Congregations and Membership Survey (RCMS) is the most comprehensive picture of U.S. religious life, county by county. How thorough is the RCMS in covering local religious groups? To answer this question, three county snapshots were performed with collected data compared to the RCMS 2010 reported numbers. Data suggest that there has been an underreport by as much as 25 percent of the number of local congregations in these counties. New and emerging religious movements and denominations as well as ethnic congregations comprise much of this percentage, making it more imperative for scholars to develop methodologies and frameworks in order to capture these "others" and invisible churches in America.

Keywords: *American religion, denominations, megachurches, nondenominational, church growth, migration.*

Introduction

Since the 1930s religious scholars and social scientists have in various ways attempted to respond to the loss of the *Religious Census*, previously compiled by the U.S. Department of Commerce, that provided overall data on America's religious denominations. Most recently, that effort to assemble similar data has been ably assumed by the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies (ASARB)[1], with their most recent report being published in 2012 as the 2010 U. S. Religious Census: Religious Congregations and Membership Survey (RCMS) (Grammich et al. 2012). To check the thoroughness of the 2010 RCMS reported data, this study was developed, focusing on three county case studies on church presence.

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[1]One of the co-authors of this paper has been an active participant of ASARB for several decades and took the lead in compiling the data on Buddhist and Hindu groups on both the 2010 RCMA, and the soon to appear 2020 report.

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Background

Drawing primarily on data supplied by more than 200 Christian denominations, the RCMS presents a picture of religious life on a county-by-county basis for every state in the U.S. These data are summarized in a national map that highlights the dominant religious groups in each county and offers a visible picture of America's religious (largely Christian) diversity.

Methodologically, RCMS offers a check and confirmation on religious polling as it bases its report on congregational and membership data supplied by the various reporting bodies and reminds us of the varied ways of measuring religion's permeation of the culture—(1) adherence of membership to various religious groups over time, (2) individual religious behavior (including attendance at religious gatherings, regular prayer, and acknowledgement of a deity), and (3) self-reported religious identity (or lack thereof)—three markers which, in contemporary Western societies, often refuse to correlate closely.

RCMS 2010 included data from 236 religious groups, beginning with 220 Christian denominations. The included Christian groups ranged from the larger denominations such as the Roman Catholics and Southern Baptists to several dozen smaller groups that report fewer than 10 affiliated congregations. Non-Christian groups were reported in 16 groupings. For example, the 200 Buddhist sect (denominational) groups were reported in three groupings—Theravada, Mahayana, and Vajrayana—while the many Hindu groups were reported under four similar categories. Among the most substantial non-Christian groups were the three larger Jewish groups–Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform—and the largest of the Buddhist (Soka Gakkai with 300,000 members) and Hindu (Swaminarayan with 100,000+ members) groups. Also, data were added for Baha'i, Jain, Shinto, Taoist, and Zoroastrian groups[2].

RCMS is forthcoming about the perennial problems associated with compiling data from the larger nonreporting groups such as the Jehovah's Witnesses[3] (JW) and several of the larger African American denominations. In the former case, while there are published lists of the JW kingdom halls, each kingdom hall houses from two to five congregations, data hitherto not so easily compiled, while membership and congregational data on the various African American churches remains one of the main issues in assessing American religious life.[4]

The RCMS represents an important effort at understanding American religion, of which the compilers can be justly proud. It is the most thorough report on religious affiliation that the state and county level academics have and one of the best records of the very different religiosities that prevail in the country's different regions. At the same time, the RCMS is best understood in the larger context of the trends in American religion, the most important being the steady growth of religious membership in the United States over the last 200 years (Gaustad and Barlow 2001; Grammich et al. 2012; Melton et al. 2017; Melton 2007).

The research behind this paper began as a small project in the summer of 2015 in McLennan County, Texas, initially suggested by a relatively minor typo in the RCMS data (which has since been corrected) indicating that McLennan County has a significantly different religious profile from the adjacent counties in central Texas. Whereas the RCMS had originally reported total adherents constituting 98 percent of the population, a figure far too high, the error correction dropped the number to around 60 percent. In fact, the total number of religious adherents for the

[2]The 2020 Census will report on 360 groups, a notable increase in reporting Christian denominations.

[3]The 2020 RCMS will notably for the first time include detailed data on the Jehovah's Witnesses provided with cooperation of the organization.

[4]RCMS used mailing lists compiled from nondenominational sources for several of the larger African American groups including the Church of God in Christ, the several National Baptist denominations, and the three African Methodist groups (though they were able to supplement these lists with church finder data in the internet sites of the three Methodist denominations).

state of Texas was reported at about 60 percent, a figure picked up from the RCMS and reported in the annual *Texas Almanac*. This number seemed low. Thus, a testable hypothesis was formulated in order to check the RCMS data:

Hypothesis 1: The number of churches has been significantly undercounted by the RCMS 2010.

Methods

To test this hypothesis, two authors of this paper devised a convenience sample study to create a comprehensive directory of all the churches and religious groups (synagogues, temples, mosques, etc.) operating in McLennan County, Texas (Melton and Ferguson 2018). To do this, the authors started with the database of all the churches reported in the RCMS, which was 378 congregations. For each congregation, addresses, various contact points (telephone, web address, and email), and some basic identifying information were recorded, especially its denominational affiliation and whether it served a specific ethnic or linguistic community. Several in-print denominational directories not otherwise on the Internet were also consulted (Royster 2012).

Next, available local church directories were checked. In 2015, McLennan County had three competing telephone books, each with their own unique yellow-pages listings. Several standard internet directories available on sites such as churchFinder.com, churchangel.com, and yellow-pages.com were also utilized. While checking out the online listings, a directory of African American churches compiled by a now-defunct local periodical was surfaced. It was quickly discovered that all of the online directories were outdated and/or undated, and each had included only a miniscule portion of then-existing congregations[5].

The state of the internet directories led to a decision to verify the existence of each congregation, which was done by physically visiting each church and taking a picture of it. This began systematically with downtown Waco and expanded outward, neighborhood by neighborhood, and lastly to the suburbs and outlying towns around the county. In residential areas, we drove around the area looking for additional unreported church buildings. Meanwhile, with every trip to each congregation, churches were observed that were not on the RCMS list. At each site, pictures were taken and the congregation added to the research database if verified.

Before adding a newly discovered congregation to the data base, we attempted to confirm its current functionality through indications that property and buildings are in use and being cared for, that it has an active telephone number, a current webpage or Facebook site, and/or a denominational website recognition of its existence, etc.

In between field trips, websites of the 800+ denominations not reported upon by the RCMS were also consulted. This began with larger denominations such as the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World and the Bible Baptist Fellowship International, both of which report more than a million members nationally. Smaller groups such as the new Anglican, Pentecostal, and Adventist groups were then covered. As the number of unidentified congregations discovered in the field trips grew, congregational websites were checked to ascertain their denominational affiliations. While doing this, it was discovered that Waco was home to congregations affiliated with several new denominations that had never been reported in the literature before.[6]

[5]Thus, these internet sites still carried a variety of congregations that no longer existed not to mention a number of obsolete addresses, while missing the host of newly founded congregations. New congregations frequently begin informally meeting in someone's home and move to multiple rented locations before purchasing more permanent facilities.

[6]including the Bethel Methodist Church headquartered in San Antonio, the Independent Methodist Episcopal Church based in Houston, and the Five Fold Ministry International Faith Center Inc. headquartered in El Campo, Texas, which has four congregations in McLennan County.

In the light of these findings in the small McLennan County Project (2015–16), the original researchers decided to test their findings in two other convenience sample locations (and brought in other researchers to assist in data collection). The project was expanded to two additional counties, Whatcom County, Washington (2016–17), and Richmond County, Virginia (2017–18) which are significantly different than McLennan County. Whatcom County was chosen because it has a very similar population to McLennan County but possesses a radically different religious profile. Richmond has both a notable urban center with more than a million residents and a separate county-like structure in the state and its urban area that includes the two counties that surround it (Henrico and Chesterfield, which were included in the analysis).[7] The same pattern used in the McLennan County study was followed to compile a raw list of congregations and then verified their existence by noting an active internet site (including Facebook sites), a current phone number, and a reported meeting address.

Results

McLennan County, Texas

Besides the several additional denominations discovered as a result of the church counting, the most impressive and surprising data were the number of churches discovered. While originally a count of 450 churches would be well worth reporting, the end number of 527 was more than ever imagined. That is, 140 churches, (26.6 percent of the congregations) in the county were not included in the RCMS count.

There were a large number of Baptist congregations (see the Appendix for a full breakdown of McLennan County). This was to be expected. The RCMS overreported the number of Southern Baptist congregations and underreported the number of National Baptists, and very much undercounted those reporting no affiliation beyond the local congregation. Although, a number of Baptist congregations affiliated with the National Baptist Convention of America were located, the same cannot be said with the equally large National Baptist Convention of the United States of America. There were also a large number of Pentecostal and Charismatic churches. Finally, it was of little surprise that many of the new congregations were Independent Evangelical churches—offering non-Pentecostal forms of conservative Protestant and post-Protestant teachings.

Whatcom County, Washington

Whatcom County, though similar in population size to McLennan County, had a much different church profile. Whereas McLennan had some 378 churches reported in the 2012 religious census, Whatcom had only 150. As in the original survey, an initial look at various church directories for the county quickly added more than 50 churches to the list, though later attempts to verify the congregations' existence would prove a few to be defunct. However, in the attempt to verify the existence of the congregations, an additional 50 churches (and religious congregations) were located. The final verified count was 250 congregations (see Table 1).

The final count on Whatcom County identified 40 percent of the local congregations as being absent from the ASARB congregation count—an even higher percentage than that in McLennan County—though the nature of the uncounted congregations were virtually the same, namely independent Evangelical and Pentecostal/Charismatic congregations.

[7] As the process of gathering the data for Richmond began, we had originally thought of collecting data only within the city proper, but rather quickly recognized the growth of the city far beyond its officially designated border into the significant suburban sprawl surrounding it. After due consideration, we agreed on expanding the count to include not only the city of Richmond proper (an autonomous city with county-like status) but also the two surrounding suburban counties.

Table 1: Summary statistics for church count project of three case counties

	McLennan County, TX	Whatcom County, WA	Richmond, VAa
RCMS reported numbers (2010)	387	150	766
Additional congregations	140	100	265
Total (2015–2017)	527	250	1031
Percentage unreported	26.57%	40.00%	25.70%

[a] These findings include two counties surrounding Richmond: Henrico and Chesterfield Counties.
Abbreviation: RCMS, religious congregations and membership survey.

Richmond, Virginia

The initial count from the RCMS was 275 in Richmond, 262 in Chesterfield, and 229 in Henrico, for a total of 766 congregations. The final count of congregations was 1031. Thus, this study was able to locate and verify the existence of an additional 265 congregations, representing a 25.7 percent undercount, virtually equal to that found in the count in McLennan County. When the funding ran out on the Richmond project, there were still more than 100 additional reported congregations that are yet to be satisfactorily verified.

Reflections on RCMS 2020 and the U.S. Census in McLennan County, Texas

While out of the scope of this research project due to funding reasons, we acknowledge the recent release of 2020 RCMS data. The RCMS has made publicly available McClennan County findings for this most recent wave of the RCMS through the Association of Religion Data Archives (2023), and it appears as though our findings still hold. There remains a massive undercount of religious organizations in McLennan County (see Table 3):

While our percentage of undercounted churches drops from 26.6 percent to 23.3 percent, our initial hypothesis that the RCMS has substantially undercounted the number of religious congregations in McLennan County is upheld. It is notable that there was an increase in the number of congregations reported by the RCMS from 2010 to 2020—an increase of 17, or 4.2 percent of the original reported number. This change suggests that there is an overall increase in religious affiliation. But why? Here we must turn to speculation.

To this question, we look at U.S. Census (2023) data. The U.S. Census reports population estimates for every year for census tracts, as well as estimates on natural and migratory increases in the population (see Table 4).

Although in this dataset, 2019 and 2020 are projected estimates, we can see that McLennan County has grown by a population of 13,809 in the period between 2010 and 2020, an increase of 5.3 percent. Of this, net increase in population migration accounts for 44.4 percent and natural births account for 55.6 percent. This suggests that the increase in religious congregations that we picked up in our study is connected to population growth and migration.

This implies that the religious congregations we are finding in our survey are likely uncounted because they are the product of migration. A natural birthrate increase would not yield immediate affiliation and establishment of additional religious congregations within a 10-year time period. Migration, however, would. Although the census does not readily offer a breakdown of internal versus international migration, Hispanic is the largest minority population in McLennan, and it grows substantially every year (accounting for more than half of the growth in population from 2010 to 2020 of the county—Smith 2021). In this case, it would make sense that most of these

Table 2: Result by church family

	McLennan County, TX		Whatcom County, WA		Richmond, VA	
Tradition	RCMS	2017	RCMS	2017	RCMS	2017
Baptists	154	230	15	22	202	305
Methodists	43	43	8	9	76	72
Lutherans	11	12	17	18	13	11
Presbyterians	13	12	28	32	35	52
Adventists	4	6	6	8	13	9
Pentecostals	29	66	10	29	69	112
Restorationists	31	34	9	8	36	28
Roman Catholic	14	12	6	10	21	30
Anglicans	5	5	3	3	26	40
Eastern Orthodox	2	2	2	3	6	8
Additional denominations	60	90	47	91	173	286
Additional religious traditions	12	15	17	22	34	78
Total	378	527	185	255	708	1031

Abbreviation: RCMS, religious congregations and membership survey.

Table 3: Church count project compared to RCMS 2020a of McLennan County, TX

	McLennan County, TX
RCMS reported numbers (2010)	387
RCMS reported numbers (2020)	404
RCMS difference	17
Total (2015–2017)	527
Additional congregations	123
Percentage difference (2020 RCMS)	23.3%

[a] RCMS 2020 data retrieved from ARDA.
Abbreviation: RCMS, religious congregations and membership survey; ARDA, the association of religious data archives.

Table 4: Census growth from 2010–2020 in McLennan County, TXa

Population	2010	2020
Total	234,906	259,730
Natural increase	-	13,809
Total percentage of natural increase	-	55.63%
Migration increase	-	11,015
Total percentage of migration increase	-	44.37%

[a] Data pulled from county population totals available at https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest/technical-documentation/research/evaluation-estimates/2020-evaluation-estimates/2010s-counties-total.html. Note 2019 and 2020 are estimated values.

congregations remain unreported—RCMS would have difficulty collecting data on ethnic congregations, and they seem to be growing in number.

Simultaneously, we have the rise of megachurch plants, nondenominational congregations, etc. The seat of McLennan County, Waco, is gentrifying due to a recent influx of development from "Fixer-Upper" stars Chip and Joanna Gaines. McLennan County still remains a majority "white only," and so the influence of white migration likely also has an impact on the generation of new congregations as well.

These speculations aside, it is quite clear that our initial hypothesis is substantiated even with 2020 data—there remains a substantial undercount in the RCMS data. Future studies should attempt to recreate our findings with more funding, especially in the case of McLennan County. It remains imperative that academics continue to count the underreported congregations that exist within the United States, and to wrestle with the impact of migration and church planting on religious affiliation.

Discussion and Conclusion

It should be noted that this project was carried out with very modest funding. As mentioned in the findings section, more than 100 additional reported congregations in the Richmond sample were not satisfactorily verified due to funding issues. Though there was little doubt that almost all would have been added to the final count, these groups were excluded due to a lack of resources to complete the verification process. Had they been added, it would have substantively increased the gap between the county number reported in the 2010 RCMS and our findings by 10 percent.

This study has sampled three geographically separate and religiously diverse areas of the United States and found large undercounts in each area (See Table 1 above). This finding offers a variety of reflections upon our views on American religious life. First, that more than 23 percent of the congregations in McLennan, Whatcom, and Richmond/Henrico/Chesterfield Counties, were not reported in the RCMS, is consistent with what is known about religious life in America as a whole—that both total church/religious membership and the number of denominations/ religious bodies has been on a 200-year growth trajectory that continues to the present (Gaustad and Barlow 2001; Melton et al. 2017; Stanton 2019). While during that time religious bodies have been founded, grown, topped out, declined, and eventually even died, overall, the total Christian community aligned to a church has grown from 15 percent (1800), to 35 percent (1900) to 50 percent (1945) to the super majority it enjoys today.

While a handful of the older larger denominations that have been so important to American religious life have been on a downward membership trajectory in the new century, the growth of several older denominations (including the Roman Catholic Church, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, and the Assemblies of God), the emergence of literally hundreds of new denominations (some of which have grown into substantial national organizations), and the appearance of more non-Christian religious groups have more than compensated for their losses. It is highly possible that our findings are based on a natural generation of new religious congregations over time. These hundreds of newer Christian denominations constitute the "others"—a largely invisible religious community hiding in plain sight in America. The relative lack of attention paid to their presence has contributed substantially to a popular misconception that religious life, especially as manifested and measured in adherence to churches (and analogous religious organizations), has been on the decline in the United States.

Table 2 shows the very different patterns of growth in the different denominational church families. Some of the older church families, so important to the narrative of American religious history (Methodists, Lutherans, and Presbyterians) have shown little to no growth (even losses) in recent decades which significant growth has occurred among Baptists, Pentecostals, and those of the many little-known denominations (and it should be noted that the notable Baptist Growth

has been apart from the Southern Baptist Convention, which like other older denominations has shrunk in recent decades). The primary growth has been observed among the new Evangelical groups, those that have formed so many of the new low-profile denominations and those that brand themselves as "nondenominational." This finding confirms much of what we have learned about the growth of the Independent Evangelical community in the last generation. There are at present more than 300 Pentecostal denominations in the United States (i.e., more than a fourth of all of America's denominations). Evidence suggests[8] that the members lost by the older denominations (most of whom have represented the more conservative wing of the parent church) have not gone so much to the "nones," but to these new Evangelical/Pentecostal churches, still largely invisible to us, though surrounding us in plain sight.

There has been some reporting on segments of this new invisible community, for example, the rise of the mega-congregations. What has been missed, however, is that a large percentage of the independent megachurches are in fact the lead churches of new largely underreported denominations. One such mega-church based in McLennan County—the Antioch Church—is the lead church of a new thriving denomination with affiliated Antioch congregations scattered across the country from Seattle, Washington, to Orlando, Florida (Antioch Community Church 2021). A number of the megachurches pastored by popular televangelists (Creflo Dollar, Kenneth W. Hagin, and Kenneth Copeland) are in like measure the center of new denominational associations of churches. The new strategic "church planting" program now popular among Evangelicals stands behind the surge in the development of one set of denominations as it encourages the formation of one church (denomination) manifesting through many satellite campuses (congregations) (Barnes 2010; Hey 2013; Hunt 2019; MacNair 2009; Teel 2008; Thumma and Travis 2007; Tucker-Wongs 2012).

The presence of these many newer denominations, megachurches, and independent congregations represents a challenge to religious demographers. Scholars are aware of their presence, but they also present a significant challenge to any attempt to count. We do not have resources to do the kind of detailed counting as was done in the three counties noted above.

In particular, segments of the "others" are set apart by racial and ethnic differences and linguistic barriers, while many of the "others" have developed both theological perspectives and organizational patterns that discourage attempts to make assessments of their actual growth in adherents. In locations with a large amount of Hispanic migration, not capturing these unseen churches is missing a large part of religious constituency, as we have noted in our excursus on McLennan County. Various forms of electronic tracking are becoming available that might be able to address this gap but offer ethical problems yet to be solved.

Recent studies have suggested that Google maps can be used noninvasively to capture 98 percent of religious congregations in Indianapolis (Fulton 2023). There is promise in this methodology, so long as new congregations are uploaded to Google. Many home churches, for example, might not be captured with this methodology. There remains a stubbornness to broaden church counting electronically, not to mention capturing actual membership, but there is hope for the future.

Others should attempt to recreate our findings with the fully released RCMS 2020 data, perhaps by using alternative methodologies (Fulton 2023). As we can see from our analysis of the publicly available McLennan County data, RCMS 2020 is still underreporting the number of religious congregations in the county by 23.3 percent. Additionally, future studies may be able to assist in linking the growth of these "other" congregations to structural changes such as the rise in nondenominationalism, schisms from the mainline (such as the recent Methodist case), the spread

[8]Overwhelmingly, the newer denominations are schisms of the older larger denominations and largely continue the beliefs and practices of their parent body except for the few issues that led to the schism and consist of the members who left in the schism (Melton et al. 2017).

of Pentecostalism, and the impact of migration by employing ethnographic methodologies. There is a pressing need to understand where these congregations are coming from qualitatively.

Additional problems arise, even in this age of the internet, as demographers attempt to assemble and process data, not on a mere 200 to 300 groups, but on more than 1200 denominational groupings. While large databases on American religion and American religious organizations such as RCMS have been assembled, data on the "others" is largely missing from these databases, and current overviews of American religion secularizing are regularly being made without any reference to this missing fourth of the Christian community (for example, see Inglehart 2021; MaCaffree 2017; Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life 2012; etc.). The "others," part of the growing edge on American religion, remain an obstacle to projecting trends in American religious life in the foreseeable future.

REPLICATION STATEMENT

All the data on the churches reported in this article have been deposited with the Association of Religion Data Archives (ARDA) at Penn State University and will be available once this article is accepted for publication. The Appendix is included with the submission online.

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APPENDIX A

Table A2a, Table A2b, Table A2c, Table A2d

Table A2a: Final church count of McLennan County by denomination, Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, and Presbyterian

Denomination	RCMS (2012)	McLennan Study
Baptists		
Alliance of Baptists	1	1
American Baptist Association	2	1
Baptist Bible Fellowship International	0	1
Cooperative Baptist Fellowship	0	6
Independent Baptist Fellowship International	2	0
National Association of Free-Will Baptists	1	1
National Baptist Convention, Unites States of America, Inc.b	1	?
National Baptist Convention of America, Inc.a	3	31
National Missionary Baptist Convention	1	1
North American Baptist Conference	2	2
Primitive Baptist	0	1
Southern Baptist Conventionc	151	126 (9)
Independent and unaffiliateda	0	50
Methodists		
African Methodist Episcopal Church	6	5
Bethel Methodist Church	0	1
Christian Methodist Episcopal	1	1
Independent Methodist Episcopal Church	0	1
United Methodist Church	36	35
Lutheran		
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America	5	5
Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (LCMS)	6	7

Continued

Table A2a: Final church count of McLennan County by denomination, Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, and Presbyterian

Denomination	RCMS (2012)	McLennanStudy
Presbyterian		
Cumberland Presbyterian Church	3	3
Presbyterian Church in America	1	1
Presbyterian Church (United States of America)	4	3
United Church of Christ	4	4
Evangelical Association RCC	1	1

[a] Notable difference between the RCMS data and the McLennan study findings.
[b] There is a question mark for the NBC USA Inc. because roughly a dozen congregations were not able to be verified–they do not publicly identify themselves.
[c] The congregations reported in the parentheses do not regard themselves as members of the SBC but were reported as such in the RCMS data.
Abbreviations: RCMS, religious congregations and membership survey; RCC, religion communicators council.

Table A2b: Final church count of McLennan County by denomination, Adventists, Pentecostals, and Restorationists

Denomination	RCMS (2012)	McLennan Study
Adventists		
Seventh-day Adventists	4	4
Intercontinental Church of God	0	1
Jehovah's Witnesses	2	6
Living Church of God	0	1
Davidians	0	2
Pentecostals		
Antioch Churcha	0	1
Assemblies of God	10	10
Calvary Chapel	1	1
Church of God of Prophecy	1	1
Church of God in Christa	5	16
Full Gospel Baptist	1	0
Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, Inc.	0	2
Pentecostal Church of God	3	3
United Pentecostal Church International	8	5
Independent/charismatica	0	27
Restorationist		
Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)	5	5
Churches of Christ	26	29

[a] Notable difference between the RCMS data and the McLennanC study findings.
Abbreviations: RCMS, religious congregations and membership survey.

Table A2c: Final church count of McLennan County by denomination, Catholics, Anglicans, Eastern Orthodox, additional denominations, and additional religious traditions

Denomination	RCMS (2012)	McLennan Study
Roman Catholic Church	14	12
Anglicans		
Anglican Church of North America	2	1
Episcopal Church	3	3
United Anglican Church	0	1
Eastern Orthodox		
Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese in America	1	1
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America	1	1
Additional Denominations		
Christian and missionary alliance	1	1
Church of the Nazarene	2	2
Church of God (Anderson Indiana)	1	1
Cowboy Church (not Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) or Church (C) of Nazarene)	0	2
Evangelical Free Church	1	1
Mennonite	1	2
Metropolitan Community Church	1	1
Moravian Brethren	1	1
Salvation Army	1	1
Other independent Evangelical churchesa	4	72
Additional Religious Traditions		
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints	4	4
Community of Christ	1	1
Church of Christ Scientist	1	0
Unitarian Universalist	1	1
Unity School of Christianity	1	1
Baha'i	0	2
Islam	2	1
Judaism	2	2
Wicca/neopaganism	0	3

[a] Notable difference between the RCMS data and the McLennan study findings.
Abbreviations: RCMS, religious congregations and membership survey.

Table A2d: Percentage change between reported RCMS and McLennan study data in McLennan County

	RCMS	McLennan Study
Total number of churches reported	378	527
Percent increase	100%	36.18%