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National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

X New Submission ___ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

EPISCOPAL CHURCHES OF NORTH DAKOTA

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Episcopal Churches of North Dakota, 1872-1920s

C. Form Prepared by

name/title Barbara Beving Long, architectural historian

organization Four Mile Research Company date 1992

street & number 315 N. Elm St. telephone 319/547-4344

city or town Cresco state Iowa zip code 52136

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

James E. [illegible] North Dakota, SHPO 10-13-92

Signature and title of certifying official Date

State Historical Society of North Dakota

State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Patrick Andrus 12/3/92

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

Introduction

Newcomers to Dakota Territory as a matter of course brought with them the equipment and furnishings necessary for daily living. But they also conveyed their cultural baggage, the social and cultural institutions of their heritage. The desire to improve their lot in life may have been the primary factor in stimulating settlement in the developing West, but social and cultural matters were not simply abandoned. Cultural institutions such as national church bodies also assisted in this transplantation of heritage. The "interplay of culture with environment over time" reveals the distinctiveness of the historical development of North Dakota.[1]

Members of the Episcopal and Anglican Churches, many of them Yankee entrepreneurs and Canadian immigrants, were central to the mercantile and also cultural development of the many railroad towns in North Dakota. Despite their small numbers, the Episcopalians were able to muster the resources and commitment to construct a visually cohesive and highly distinctive set of church buildings, tangible representations of a cultural heritage transplanted to the Plains.

Not only were these churches representative of a valued American cultural heritage, they were also of liturgically correct design. The designers were aware of and applied principles of the Anglican Ecclesiological movement which called for a return to medieval forms of worship and church design. An Ecclesiologically correct church was of Gothic or Late Gothic Revival* design and contained features of symbolic and liturgically functional use, including a distinct chancel, steeply pitched roof, honest use of materials, asymmetric design, and richly decorated interiors.

The most prominent examples in North Dakota were built of field-stone and displayed Ecclesiologically correct Gothic Revival elements. Construction of nine fieldstone churches in the 1880s

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*For brevity's sake, the term "Gothic Revival" in this report is understood to include late Gothic Revival in those cases where early 20th century churches are being discussed, including statements encompassing both late 19th and early 20th century Episcopal churches in North Dakota. See the Property Type discussion for details.

and seven more in the early 20th century, periods of intense settlement and development in North Dakota, highlighted Episcopal home missionary efforts to transplant cultural institutions and thereby "save the West." Design sources for the churches were varied, ranging from a church in Medway, Massachusetts, an English architect who settled in Fargo, and the collective vision of missionary priests and bishops in the Diocese of North Dakota. The results illustrated the broad interest among Episcopalians in liturgically correct Gothic Revival churches. The churches provided tangible evidence of the process of settlers transplanting existing cultural practices to a new and unfamiliar setting. They conveyed the underlying design philosophy as well as the hopes and aspirations of their builders.

The context statement, Section E., is organized as follows:

period of first Dakota Boom. Modeled on Christ Church, Medway, Massachusetts. (Undated historic photo, SHSND #A831)

4. Grace Church, Minnewaukan (c. 1905). Example of Ecclesiologically correct Gothic Revival church from period of second Dakota Boom. (Undated historic post-card, SHSND #180-1)
5. Map of North Dakota, showing Episcopal churches constructed during first Dakota Boom, 1878-97, and second Dakota Boom, 1898-1920s
6. Plan, Alvord Memorial Church of Our Savior, Langdon (1904). (The North Dakota Sheaf, January 1904, p. 8)
7. St. Stephen's Church, Casselton (1885) and Christ Church, Medway, Massachusetts (1874). Comparison of these churches. (Postcard, 1986; Dahl, reprinting original Earle and Fuller perspective drawing)

The Home Mission Movement

To ensure that "suitable" religious institutions and practices were established in the developing West, the American Protestant clergy devised the home missionary movement. Missionary pastors left familiar parishes in long-settled communities for the raucous untamed places as well as the more permanent settlements of the West. The former, which included railroad camps, mining towns, fur trading and military posts, and remote cattle operations, were often temporary outposts, primarily male in population, and established solely for purposes of economic gain. The latter, more permanent group included market centers and, especially, railroad towns. While interested in economic improvement, settlers of these communities also sought to establish familiar religious and cultural practices in an unfamiliar land. A third category of missionary efforts involved attempts to introduce Christianity to American Indian tribes.

The American missionary movement had its beginnings in the early 19th century when settlement began in the territory west of the Allegheny Mountains, the Old Northwest. Following somewhat tardily on the heels of the Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, the Episcopalians first began work in Ohio in 1817. From there they spread their efforts into Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Michigan by 1830. Continuing westward, by 1840 the Episcopal Church had also sent missionary ministers into Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Wisconsin, Louisiana, and Iowa. Members of the Episcopal

clergy also pushed into the Minnesota region in the 1840s, culminating in 1857 with the organization of the Episcopal Diocese of Minnesota.[2]

Members of the Protestant clergy considered themselves to be the primary bearers of the national cultural tradition. It was their responsibility to "save the West," and many individuals as well as the broader institutions heeded this call to serve. Drawing on fears about the moral degeneration of remote outposts, the clergy felt a keen sense of urgency. Characterizations of dire moral degeneration were not uncommon. In North Dakota Catholic Abbot Vincent Wherle reported that Minot contained but three or four decent Catholic families, the remainder being "gamblers, saloon keepers, escaped jailbirds, men run away from their wives and wives run away from their husbands." Bismarck in the 1870s was seen as a "frontier town, and seventeen men 'had died with their boots on' within the previous year."[3]

The religious crusade employed various types of participants, including missionary bishops, settled pastors, and itinerant evangelists. In addition, organizations such as the American Bible Society, American Tract Society, American Home Missionary Society, and congregations in the East poured funds, men, and Bibles into the fray. The early 19th century efforts in the Old Northwest were deemed a success, for settlers did not fall into a morass of moral decay and did establish sound religious bodies. The Protestant establishment interpreted this as a validation of their efforts, which they then continued to employ as westward expansion continued. Through these varied activities, the home mission movement helped pioneers transplant their traditions to new settings.[4]

What may be considered mainline Protestant ministries were leaders in the home mission effort to evangelize the West. They consisted of five denominations, Methodist (north and south), Baptist (north and south), Presbyterian (north), Congregationalist, and Episcopalian. In the 19th century these denominations formed the core of Protestant America. According to the 1906 special religious census, the five were the primary religions in America (in order listed above), after Catholicism. Lutherans ranked seventh in church membership. The dominance of the five mainline Protestant denominations had held, with slight shifts in order, since the 1850 census.[5]

With its considerable immigrant population, including Scandinavian Lutherans and German-Russian Catholics, religious representation in

North Dakota differed from national religious preferences. The Lutheran and Catholic denominations established an early domination in the state. The five mainline Protestant churches were also represented, in smaller numbers, especially among Yankee merchants and entrepreneurs in new towns along the railroads. The early Lutheran and Catholic domination has persisted. In 1950 North Dakota had 775 Lutheran churches, 301 Roman Catholic, 149 Methodist, 113 Congregational, 106 Presbyterian, 31 Episcopal, 28 Baptist, 21 German Reformed, 5 Dutch Reformed, and 2 Disciples of Christ.[6]

The missionary efforts of Catholics and Lutherans differed from those of the mainline Protestants in some important respects. In general, they sought out those of the same ethnic as well as religious background, often forming tight immigrant communities of relative stability. There was less outside involvement (financial or otherwise) in decisions related to church matters. Many of these communities were rural settlements with rural churches. In contrast, the contribution of the Episcopal Church and other mainline Protestants on the Plains occurred almost exclusively in the new rail towns that sprang up, actively sought assistance from eastern congregations, suffered from a highly mobile membership, and was at least English-speaking if not American-born.

The Protestant Clergy on the Plains

The Protestant clergy and the churches and missions they served were a fundamental, though often overlooked, part of everyday life in the Great Plains, especially after the Civil War. Camp meetings were held in temporary surroundings, missions were established in new settlements, and attempts were made to bring Christianity to the Indians. Perhaps more important if only because they were so widespread, the traditional ceremonies marking life's passages from birth to death as well as sermons and Bible readings enriched life on the prairie. These rites insured a continuity with familiar culture and provided a measure of succor and consolation in an unfamiliar and isolated setting.[7]

In addition to various religious roles, the clergy (as well as women) were viewed as purveyors of Victorian culture. Not only did the clergy preach sermons and minister to the individual needs of their flocks, they also delivered public lectures on secular topics, developed libraries, and helped found educational institutions. For example, the Rev. Richard Wainwright, an Episcopal missionary, gave a series of lectures on Labrador and its people

upon his arrival in Fargo, North Dakota in 1875. In many developing communities churches sponsored private academies, seminaries, and colleges. They sought to transplant familiar cultural institutions to new places.[8]

Characteristics of Great Plains settlement challenged the clergy in new and difficult ways. The extreme mobility that characterized settlement patterns affected church membership and development, for it was difficult to establish a strong and functioning religious community when membership fluctuated so highly. Brief pastorates and floating congregations were the norm. North Dakota Episcopal reports often mentioned this mobility. In 1885, "the great discouragement of the work is the constant change by removals, making it impossible to increase in the number of communicants." Another report from the same year, from Trinity Church in Lisbon, noted the "constant removals." The condition continued into the 20th century (1903):

> The stable progress of this mission [Larimore] has been hindered by the chronic migrations of a western town, and especially the perpetual change of a railroad center. More than thirty missions here and there are the richer for our loss, so we feel that the 'labour is not in vain.'"

Indeed, Episcopal priest Edward W. Burleson noted ruefully that an apt patron saint for North Dakota would be St. Exodus.[9]

Not only were Episcopal church members on the move, but their numbers were relatively few and widely dispersed across a difficult environment. Missionaries discovered, to their peril, the nature of the Plains. In the late 1870s a party headed by the Rev. Richard Wainwright was lost for two days and a night between Fort Abraham Lincoln (Mandan) and Fargo. They finally used telegraph poles along the Northern Pacific route to find their way to Fort Seward; Wainwright only lasted from 1875-77.[10]

The representatives of the main Protestant denominations devised ways to deal with the vastness of the Plains. One approach was to adopt and adapt the proven methods of the Methodist circuit rider. With a scattered flock, the shepherd must reach out to find them. In 1835 the Episcopal church first designated missionary bishops to direct the activities of missionary priests. In North Dakota their territory was indeed vast; the Rev. Wainwright logged some 400 miles a month on the railroad in the 1870s. Even in the 20th century, distance remained a major factor in North Dakota. In

1910, when settlement was all but complete in the state, population density was but eight persons per square mile. The national density then was 31 persons per square mile.[11]

The earliest circuit riders had typically used horse power. In the 1870s in Minnesota and northern Dakota Territory, representatives of the home missionary movement rode the rails of the Northern Pacific Railroad. The Presbyterians even designated the Northern Pacific Presbytery. The Episcopal church also used the Northern Pacific Railroad as a conduit to save souls. In 1872 the Rt. Rev. Henry B. Whipple, Bishop of the Minnesota Diocese, designated the Rev. Joseph A. Gilfillan as the "missionary on the Northern Pacific, R.R." From a base in Brainerd, Minnesota, Gilfillan rode the rails as far west as Bismarck.[12]

The Cathedral Car of the first Episcopal bishop of North Dakota was the most unusual and prominent product of this ecclesiastical relationship with the railroad. The rail car was transformed into a small rolling church with seating for 80 people. The idea, which received international attention, epitomized missionary efforts in the West on the railroad, illustrated the Bishop's promotional gifts, and underscored the role of fundraising among the wealthy as a means to finance missionary activities in North Dakota. Bishop Walker approached his wealthy contacts in the East to fund the Cathedral Car. The first donor was Cornelius Vanderbilt. Churches and individuals from the East provided the furnishings, including the family of George Cass, president, Northern Pacific Railroad, who gave a Bible. On his first trip through the diocese in 1891-92, the Bishop visited 53 small towns with his mobile cathedral.[13]

Bold initiatives such as the Cathedral Car were well received in a place where a man had to prove his measure to earn respect. Unlike the more settled East, the prestige and deference traditionally accorded the clergy was not automatically bestowed. Writing soon after his arrival, Bishop Walker noted in 1884, "It is not as in many an eastern parish--the well oiled grooves of a methodical parochial system you have to move in." Longevity and personality were key factors. Clerics of strong temperament who remained for some years could attain a position of influence, in contrast with the itinerant evangelist of fleeting impact. For example, Bishop Henry B. Whipple of Minnesota exerted considerable influence, serving from 1859 to 1901. An enduring contribution was his substantial church building program. Built primarily during the 1860s and 1870s, the result was some 73 "Whipple Gothic" churches and 22 chapels. Essentially symmetric interpretations of noted

Gothic Revival architect Richard Upjohn's work, most of these churches were wood frame, with board-and-batten siding, pointed arch windows, an offset chancel, and a prominent steeple placed opposite the chancel.[14]

Missionary Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church maintained and developed an especially strong record in the home missionary movement on the Plains. Nine bishops, including William Hobart Hare in South Dakota (1871-1909) and William D. Walker in North Dakota (1883-97), made their mark all across the West. The careers of these nine bishops spanned from 1867 to 1926 in Montana, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona in addition to the Dakotas.[15]

Strong and enduring leadership was fundamental to individual successes within the home missionary movement, but all five mainline Protestant denominations typically followed certain steps in their quest to bring Protestant religious life to the Plains. First, of course, they organized the overall institutional framework, then set about establishing missions in newly settled communities and among farming settlers. Like the settlers, representatives of the home missionary movement followed the railroads. When the numbers merited further organization, a congregation was organized out of the mission. Beginning in the 1870s, representatives of the five mainline Protestant denominations embarked upon ambitious missionary programs in North Dakota following these general steps. All were dependent on outside monies.[16]

Building a church--preferably the first one in town--was the next step. The denominations vied for the honor of building the first church. Churchmen responsible for Dakota Territory were aware of this competition. Appealing to the Board of Missions in New York for funds to build a church in Fargo in 1872, Episcopal Bishop R.H. Clarkson noted that "local contributions will go to the church, of whatever name, that is first erected." (Clarkson served as the Episcopal Bishop of the Dakotas and Nebraska between 1872 and 1883.) Later reports to the bishop were regularly filled with painful admissions that congregations had to hold services in another's church.[17] According to Szasz (p.23), the early churches of the Great Plains were typically wood frame, boxy in appearance with a steeple attached to one end, measured 30x80, and seated from 100-300 worshippers. They were modest in size, decoration, and, sometimes, architectural philosophy. Stylistic influences, such as

pointed arch openings, were typically limited to diluted references to the Gothic Revival Style.

The stone Episcopal churches of North Dakota constituted a distinctive exception to this pattern of wood frame churches. It does not appear that other denominations employed the abundant fieldstone for their churches in the state. The extensive photo archives at the State Historical Society of North Dakota contain images of a handful of non-Episcopal stone churches: a chalk rock church built in 1875 at Fort Randall; a very modest St. Martin's Catholic Church in Huff built in 1942; and a fieldstone church only identified as "Emegabowh's Church." There were attempts to build a stone Protestant community church in Dunseith early in the 20th century. Its plan and material were very similar to the Episcopal church in Rugby, but other information is sketchy and inconclusive.[18]

Episcopal Church in North Dakota

Perhaps the earliest presence of the Episcopal (or Anglican) church in present North Dakota dated from 1820 when the Hudson's Bay Company sent a chaplain to its fur trading settlement in the Red River region. This and other efforts were scattered and not associated with the permanent settlement of the area.

Beginning in 1872, the home missionary movement arrived in earnest in the developing West that included Dakota Territory. Dakota Territory was the administrative responsibility of the Bishop of Nebraska, but Minnesota churchmen such as the Rev. Gilfillan served that part of the territory the Northern Pacific had reached. The somewhat unorthodox arrangement was a recognition of the considerable distances involved between Omaha and North Dakota and also the opportunity the railroads afforded nearby Minnesota missionaries to extend their efforts westward.[19]

In addition to the normal administrative framework within the Episcopal Church, the American Church Missionary Society of New York was interested in this fertile territory for "saving the West." Their participation underlined the perception and treatment of the West as a colony for Eastern interests to exploit. Jay Cooke, noted financier and then owner of the Northern Pacific, approached the society to propose a mission for his railroad. The Northern Pacific then had thousands of land grant acres in North Dakota to sell. Cooke may have seen Episcopal missionary efforts as a means to colonize the rail route. In 1873 the Rev. H.C.

Hamilton Dudley from the American Church Missionary Society arrived to augment the efforts of Gilfillan. Their territory extended from the Red River west to Bismarck, "the extreme northwestern limit of civilization." [20]

With rail construction and the trappings of civilization entering Dakota Territory, the region seemed poised for a substantial boom in settlement and economic development. However, outside forces stilled those thoughts. In 1873 Jay Cooke and his railroad went bankrupt, and the nation entered a period of intense financial depression. Efforts to establish thriving Episcopal missions were similarly stilled in North Dakota after 1873.

With the end of the 1873 financial panic, the long-sought Dakota Boom took place, beginning in 1878 and continuing through 1886. Technologically improved mills in Minneapolis provided a market for wheat from the Red River valley, a factor in the Boom. Financiers and railroad builders quickly built railroad lines into Dakota Territory to serve the voracious mills. Optimism replaced depression in the national financial community. As part of this economic boom, settlers who had delayed moving poured into the developing Dakota Territory. A new wave of immigration, especially from Norway, further populated the landscape. And the weather cooperated, as a substantial period of drought ended. Population in North Dakota spiralled, up more than 1000 percent from 1878 to 1890 (estimated 16,000 to 191,000).[21]

While Fargo was the initial port of entry for settlers following the Northern Pacific rail line, settlement rapidly spread northward toward Grand Forks in the northeast corner of the state. In addition, English immigrants and Canadians, including people from Ontario, occupied the lands north of Grand Forks in increasing numbers. Place names common both to Ontario and northeast North Dakota, including St. Thomas, Guelph, and York, reflected this heritage. In the late 1870s Canadian currency was more prevalent than American dollars around Grand Forks. By 1880 7.9 percent of Dakota Territory residents were Canadians. The Canadian presence persisted; in 1910 they constituted the largest foreign representation in three counties in the northeast corner of the state. At first Canadian clergy served the Pembina area just across the border in Dakota Territory. The presence of Canadians, many of whom were members of the Anglican church, provided promising territory for Episcopalian representatives of the home missionary movement.[22]

The fall of Jay Cooke in 1873 had a direct impact upon North Dakota settlement. Stockholders in Cooke's bankrupt Northern Pacific Railroad could exchange their stocks and bonds for lands granted to the railroad. The lands were considerable: nearly one-fourth of North Dakota. To demonstrate the effectiveness of large-scale wheat farming in North Dakota and thereby stimulate land sales and related railroad usage, General George W. Cass and Benjamin Cheney, president and a director, respectively, in the re-organized Northern Pacific, established near Casselton the first bonanza farm in the state. Eventually spread over some 12,000 acres and under the control of one manager, such a crop-raising operation was without precedent in the state.[23]

Primarily interested in promoting rail lines usage, the Northern Pacific (and other railroads) encouraged settlement along the railroad through a variety of techniques. One means was to donate lots for churches for the various denominations represented in a fledgling community. Christ Church in Fargo was built in 1874 on lots General Cass provided them. In Bismarck, the Bishop sought and received lots for an Episcopal church; in an apparent effort to stimulate lot sales by creating a magnet for residential development, the donated lots were less valuable than those located distant from the center of town. In Jamestown the Lake Superior and Puget Sound Land Company donated lots for a church. Episcopal records contain a number of references to lots donated for churches.[24]

As settlement proceeded, Dakota leaders not unnaturally sought to establish and control, as much as possible, their own institutions. Among these changes were the administrative agencies Protestant denominations established. In 1880 Dakota representatives at the annual Convocation of the Episcopal Church called for a new Diocese of Dakota to be created which was separate from Nebraska. However, the Bishop of Nebraska retained responsibility, and no missionary bishop of Dakota was named. There were then in Dakota Territory 14 church buildings, 12 clergymen, 30 missionary stations and parishes, and perhaps 500 communicants. (Communicants have received Holy Communion and are thus in good standing with the Church.)[25]

Just two years later, in 1882, the number of communicants in Dakota Territory had grown to 1,295. Of that number, between 300 and 400 lived in North Dakota. Five clergy served them, and there were four parishes (Fargo, Grand Forks, Jamestown, Valley City) and nine "preaching stations" or missions. Optimism pervaded during the

late 19th century in North Dakota. Religious leaders believed that North Dakota would ultimately be "as thickly settled as Pennsylvania...the country dotted with churches."[26]

With the "immense tide of immigration" pouring into Dakota Territory, the time was right to divide responsibilities into north and south halves of Dakota and assign missionary bishops for these sections. The distances were so great, the population so rapidly increasing that, if the Episcopalians were to remain competitive and reach Church communicants, a more responsive organization was necessary. Unlike 1880, the proposed change was accepted in 1882 at the annual convocation. The 1882 ecclesiastical division into north and south halves thus preceded the political division establishing North and South Dakota by seven years.[27]

Named the first bishop of the North Dakota Episcopal Diocese in 1883 and consecrated on December 20 of that year, William D. Walker illustrated some of the characteristics of advocates of the home missionary program. As he noted in his first address to the Convocation of North Dakota in 1884, he felt he had been called to serve in the West. While in New York, he had been moved by the "thrilling words and a marvelously winning power" of Bishop Clarkson (of Nebraska) and then "vowed a part of life to that service," the home missionary movement. After twenty years at Calvary Chapel in New York City, at the age of 45, Bishop Walker fulfilled that vow and headed West.[28]

The Episcopal Bishops, including Walker, have been described as the "ecclesiastical robber barons of their era." One of their important assets were the substantial contacts with wealthy and influential easterners eager to donate funds to the home missionary movement. Thus, eastern money was invested in the West for financial gain but also to save souls. Bishop Walker's eastern contacts poured money into the state, their contribution to "save the West." North Dakota was in many ways treated as a colony of the more settled areas to the East. Non-resident financiers and developers exploited the state's natural resources and dominated its interests, but did not settle there themselves.[29]

Because of his prior service for a wealthy eastern parish--their 800-seat New York church was built for $130,000 during his tenure--Bishop Walker could tap the finances of parishes and individuals. The parish was a wealthy one, having sent Bishop Walker to Europe five times. Walker did not hesitate to use his contacts. Indeed, at least six of the churches built during his tenure (1883-96)

received help from the east. Assistance came from congregations in New York City, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, organizations such as the Society of the Double Temple and Calvary Chapel's Sunday School, and individuals, including George Cass. "Most of the beautiful little stone churches which were erected during [Bishop Walker's] episcopate were largely paid for with money from the East." The Cathedral Car was an effective advertising tool, for it "brought the bishop of North Dakota before the world" which, in turn, brought many gifts. The pattern of eastern donations continued after Walker's time; his efforts set the standard.[30]

In the 1880s Bishop Walker reportedly raised between $30,000 and $40,000 for church construction. He also arranged for the donation of additional monies for church insurance, repairs, and supplements to clerical salaries which averaged an estimated $800 per year. "Fonts, altars, lecterns, organs, communion services, pews, carpets, lamps, stones, chancel books, etc. etc." poured into the state. The bishop also contributed $4500 from his own salary during his time in the state. The donations supplemented what the state received ($2000 each year) from the Episcopal Board of Missions during this pivotal period.[31]

By the time Walker arrived, the raw stage of occupation had passed in many sections of North Dakota, and he saw his role as primarily serving "law abiding, energetic, generous-hearted citizens." His perception was that the time of "the old time frontiersman with his bowie knife and hair-trigger revolver, the lawless trapper to whom blood had no terror" had passed. In its place were "homes of taste, an atmosphere of thought, of industry, of refinement," in Walker's words. To provide for these (reasonably) permanent settlers, to bring them into the Episcopal fold, Bishop Walker determined that church building formed the cornerstone of his missionary endeavors. Like many others in the state in the boom years of the 1880s, he believed that the "marvelous spectacle of colonization" was "remarkable and wonderful" and heralded the beginning of a great future in North Dakota.[32]

The Gothic Revival and the Ecclesiologists

Walker brought proven experience in fund-raising and in church construction to his new post, his first outside of New York City. Through his trips to Europe between 1863 and 1883, which presumably included England, the seat of Anglicanism, he had been exposed to European culture. He must have been aware of the at times

passionate debate concerning the proper characteristics of a liturgically correct Anglican church building.[33]

Beginning in the early 19th century in England, a growing chorus of churchmen, religious philosophers, and architects espoused the Gothic Style as the only one suitable for churches. Led by Augustus Pugin and others, the Ecclesiologists rebelled against the cool rationalism inherent in 18th century Anglican church design and religious practices. A reform movement within the Anglican Church, Ecclesiology advocated a return to traditional medieval forms of worship within suitable church buildings. Ecclesiologically correct church buildings and furnishings were not merely decorative; they reflected the liturgical and symbolic functions of the worship service.

Because there were strong underlying reasons behind design choices, the Gothic Revival Style for Anglican (and Episcopal) churches went beyond the fashionable and thus endured far longer. Specific elements were included to make the church functional at the symbolic and ceremonial levels, not to indulge in capricious design choices. Rather, the Ecclesiologists designed Gothic Revival churches based on careful study of medieval examples of the Gothic Style, especially the English country parish church. The Late Gothic Revival Style employed for Episcopal churches continued to draw strength and inspiration from these earlier symbolic foundations.

Irregular asymmetrical massing was intended to provide movement and animate the exterior, to highlight the natural and honest use of building materials and to call attention to specific liturgical elements. Features of the exterior included a steeply pitched roof, chancel offset from the main horizontal mass, solid buttressed tower, small side porch, and small projecting side sacristy or vestry.

The steeply pitched roof displayed a strong upward thrust to heaven, the ultimate goal of the devout. The chancel was most properly placed at the east to face the dawn, the side porches on the south. The south porch sometimes contained specific functions, such as provision for infant baptisms and stoups or wall-mounted basins containing holy water. The sacristy or vestry where vestments were stored was a functional service space for the chancel and thus adjoined it.

Because it contained the principal ceremonial space of the church and was therefore the most sacred, the chancel was made separate from the nave. Restoration of the chancel was a key feature of Ecclesiology. During the secularization of Anglican liturgy in the 18th century, the altar remained the focus of worship but the separate chancel was eliminated.

Surface richness on the interior continued the impression of animation and movement from the exterior and conveyed that one was in a very special place. Exposed rafters and trusses, stained glass windows, polychrome tile flooring, and surfaces decorated in vivid color, including gold, were considered fundamental functional features, not just decoration. The emphasis on the sacred space of the chancel also continued. Several steps led up to it--it had to be "entered." An altar or chancel rail or more elaborate rood screen between nave and chancel underscored the distance between these spaces, between worshipper and worshipped. The cumulative result was in many ways a new type of church building consciously based on Ecclesiological philosophy, the small parish church.

American architects were aware of and influenced by the Gothic Revival from England. In particular, Richard Upjohn's design for the Church of the Holy Communion in New York (1844-45) (and other Upjohn work) introduced an influential example of the small parish church type to America. It displayed Ecclesiologically correct features: small size, asymmetrical plan, steep roofline, crenelated corner tower, well defined chancel, corner buttresses, prominent window, pastoral setting.

Other influential Gothic Revival churches from the 1840s were based on specific English examples. For example, St. Mary's in Burlington, New Jersey (also by Upjohn, 1846-8) drew specific design inspiration from the 14th century St. John the Baptist Church at Shottesbrooke, Berkshire. Thus, there was ample precedent for drawing substantially upon proven Ecclesiologically correct examples for adaptation.

Many of the early examples, especially those constructed in American cities, were large and displayed a prominent tower. A particularly influential example, St. James-the-Less (Philadelphia, 1846-8), was well suited to small rural parishes. It became a prototype for churches constructed across the American landscape as settlement spread from east to west. St. James-the-Less also underscored the strong relationship between the Anglican Ecclesiologists and American Episcopalians, for it was based on drawings

sent to the United States by the Cambridge Camden Society, an influential Ecclesiological group. The Church of St. Michael in Longstanton, Cambridgeshire (c. 1230) was the source of inspiration for St. James-the-Less.

An important design feature of St. James-the-Less was the bell gable or bell cote, which replaced the tower. (All Saint's Church in Valley City was the only North Dakota example displaying a bell cote.) As befit a small rural parish and in contrast with larger churches, the church displayed simple but religiously functional features:

- Liturgical (east chancel) orientation
- Bell cote (rather than towering steeple)
- Simple nave plan (rather than cruciform)
- Asymmetrical massing (nave, chancel, porch)
- Animated exterior (strong stepped buttresses)
- Honest use of materials through emphasis on texture and pattern (random granite walls)

The small bell-cote church type was eminently suitable for small parishes in developing communities and became common throughout the American Episcopal community after 1850. Because it and other examples of the English rural parish church so completely and properly fulfilled symbolic and liturgical concerns within a relatively modest package, it remained popular long after the heat of the Gothic Revival had passed.

As a major proponent of the Gothic Revival and the most popular architect in the Episcopal community, Richard Upjohn designed Episcopal churches in the Midwest. Examples included the Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin at Nashotah Episcopal Theological Seminary in Nashotah, Wisconsin (1858-60) and churches in Delafield, Wisconsin and Litchfield, Minnesota. The presence of Upjohn churches in nearby Minnesota and Wisconsin allowed Episcopal priests in the region the chance to be exposed to Ecclesiologically correct Gothic Revival churches. A number of missionary priests serving in North Dakota received training at the Nashotah Seminary.[34]

By the 1880s when North Dakota saw rapid settlement, Bishop Walker and others in the Episcopal ministry had ample opportunity to know of American Episcopal parish churches based on English antecedents. They could (and should) have been familiar with church doctrine and the importance of a liturgically correct church building. It was a natural extension of their collective interest in "saving the

West" to favor construction of Ecclesiologically correct rural parish churches during this period.

Upon this Rock...

Episcopal church construction in North Dakota can be divided into three time periods. Phase 1, Early churches, 1872-77, was the initial period of settlement activities in North Dakota. The home missionary movement began in the state in 1872, and only one church building, Gethsemane in Fargo (1874, not extant), dated from this brief introductory period. A nationwide financial depression began in 1873 and was a factor in the lack of church building in the then north half of Dakota Territory in the 1870s.

The second phase of Episcopal church building, 1878-97, coincided with the first Dakota Boom which began in 1878. The end date of 1897 for Phase 2 allows for any lag between church building planning and actual construction, includes the tenure of the influential Bishop Walker, and leads into the second Dakota Boom which began in 1898.

Phase 3 of church construction (1898-1920s) coincided roughly with the second Dakota Boom, 1898-1917. Again, the end date for the second Boom Period is extended to allow for the lag between building planning and construction. As with the 1880s era, stone churches were of continuing interest to the Episcopal community.

First Dakota Boom. In the optimistic time of Phase 2, the 1880s, all things seemed possible, and the newly created Diocese of North Dakota embarked upon an ambitious building program. The bishop established a Building Committee in 1884 to assist parishes and (presumably) see that the churches were liturgically correct. The stone Gothic Revival churches from this phase epitomized the aspirations of their sponsors and mirrored the hopes of North Dakota settlers.

Built in 1881, All Saints Church in Valley City was the first stone Episcopal church in North Dakota and the only one to have a bell cote. Although he was still in New York City when it was conceived and built, Bishop Walker's attitude toward stone churches reflected the preference for stone and set the tone for subsequent stone church construction in the state. Bishop Walker and later North Dakota bishops applied quite literally the Biblical reference, "Upon this rock I will build my Church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matthew 16:18).

During his time as bishop (1884-96), Walker consistently encouraged congregations to build with stone. His statements made in 1885 revealed an awareness of the symbolic importance of the church building. They should be "massive, stable churches as will pass the ordeal of fire and storm" "in this fire-swept, tornado-racked climate."

He also stressed the commitment settlers made to a substantial stone building over a "timber makeshift."

> I find that men and women will give more labor and love and money to the abiding sanctuary than to the timber makeshift. And so wherever a stone church is built the enthusiasm among the people is hot and self-sacrificing.[35]

Walker was not the only North Dakota bishop emphasizing the symbolic importance of stone. At cornerstone laying ceremonies for a stone church in Langdon in 1903, Bishop Cameron Mann stated:

> ...the congregation observing those massive walls now just rising above the ground could have no fear for the permanence of the Church they were to support. And in this material strength of cemented stone had found a fit symbolism of the spiritual body for whose worship this building is erected. The Episcopal Church has the strength of a great spiritual foundation.[36]

These statements and characterizations seemed calculated to tug at the heart and purse strings of wealthy Easterners. Bishop Walker told of hardy pioneers reverently collecting prairie boulders, then "when coming to their market-town, carry[ing] the load of stone and lay[ing] it on the church lot." He continued:

> It is a rugged type of loyalty...which rarely meets the gaze in the East. It is a beautiful Western devotion.[37]

With this approach, it is not surprising that Bishop Walker was so successful at convincing Easterners to invest in Episcopalian souls in North Dakota. His decision to stress distinctive Ecclesiologically correct stone churches ranked as sound advertising strategy. Like his Cathedral Car, it was calculated to appeal to those interested in seeing tangible results from their donations.

The design and construction of Episcopal churches in North Dakota revealed attitudes toward their proper use, and their location

reflected their relationship with railroad construction. Almost without exception, the 20 Episcopal churches built between 1878 and 1897 as a result of the first Dakota Boom were located in towns served by the railroad. Only "Walshville," a rural settlement of Canadians nine miles north of Grand Forks, deviated from this pattern.

Eighteen of the 20 were near the Red River Valley, extending to east of a line from Devil's Lake south to Jamestown. The two exceptions, churches in Dickinson and Bismarck, were west of the Missouri River on the Northern Pacific rail line. (See Figure 1.) The establishment of parishes and construction of church buildings reflected the settlement pattern of North Dakota, which was based on the railroad construction.

The 20 churches from the first Dakota Boom fell into several categories:[38]

- Ecclesiologically correct Gothic Revival designs
  - Valley City* (1881)
  - Jamestown* (1883)
  - Lakota* (1885)
  - Casselton* (1885)
  - Mayville* (1885)
  - Sanborn (1885?)
  - Lisbon* (1886)
  - Devil's Lake* (1886)
  - Buffalo* (1886)
  - Pembina* (1886)
  - Dickinson* (1891)

- Limited Gothic Revival elements but generally lacking in Ecclesiologically correct features
  - Bismarck* (1879)
  - Grand Forks (1881)
  - Bathgate (1888)
  - Grafton (1891?)

- Insufficient data available to analyze what are thought to be modest designs generally lacking in Ecclesiologically correct features
  - Wahpeton (1883?)
  - Crary (1891)
  - Larimore (1892)
  - Northwood (1893?)
  - Walshville (1893)

*Known to be extant

The ten churches in the first category, Ecclesiologically correct Gothic Revival designs, are of primary interest in assessing the enduring physical contribution of Episcopal church building in North Dakota. They convey the underlying design philosophy as well as the hopes and aspirations of their builders. These examples also reflect the builders' awareness of Ecclesiologically correct church design and their belief in the importance of these principles. Built in a flurry of activity in the decade between 1881 and 1891, the ten churches constitute a powerful collective statement. They provide tangible evidence of the process of settlers transplanting existing cultural practices to a new and unfamiliar setting.

Stone was the preferred building material for these ten churches; eight of the ten were stone (as was the church at Sanborn). The churches at Pembina and Dickinson were brick. Congregations preferred to use stone but were not always able to do so. Bathgate parishioners desired stone but had to settle for wood. At Larimore, only a stone foundation was built of an intended stone church, before financial constraints caused a change of plans. The result was an unusually high foundation. At Fargo the initial plans for a stone church gave way to a less costly wood one after the 1893 nationwide financial depression.[39]

The ten liturgically correct churches displayed one or more of the following characteristics: Gothic Revival stylistic detail, pointed arch openings, bell cote, tower, steeply pitched roofline, side porch, vestry, asymmetric massing, offset chancel, simple nave plan, honest use of materials, buttresses, corner buttresses, crosses at the apex of gables, pointed arch windows grouped in 3's, stained glass windows, elaborate wood ceiling trusses, altar rail, and steps up to the chancel. (See Figures 2, 3.)

Within this basic building type, the North Dakota churches exhibited some variations upon the theme. The Lisbon church has a low narthex which seems to grow organically from the nave and the corner tower. Unlike other North Dakota examples, is the presence of a bell cote on the Valley City church and the location of the vestry for the Buffalo church. With its extremely steeply pitched roof and awkwardly placed features, the Dickinson church is unique in the state, probably because an Idaho man not associated with the North Dakota Diocese was the architect.

Built between 1885 and perhaps 1887, the churches at Mayville, Lisbon, Lakota, Devil's Lake, and Pembina are sufficiently similar

to suggest the same design influence, although definitive attribution is not now possible. The Pembina example was the only one executed in brick rather than stone. The church at Casselton, which was strongly modeled on Christ Church in Medway, Massachusetts, is the clearest example of the Ecclesiological practice of drawing on existing examples.

The ten examples are of interest in representing American Plains adaptations of Ecclesiological tenets to American technology, materials, builders' expertise, and matters of economy. In particular, the bell towers--stone with wood frameworks above and topped with a steep wood shingle polygonal roof--display American abilities in working with wood. Examples were built in Mayville, Devils Lake, Buffalo, Pembina, Lisbon, and Lakota. Wood shingle (another "honest material" along with stone) was often used in the gable ends. The choice likely saved money, reflected the need to maintain designs within the limits of local builders, and contributed to the picturesque appearance of the church. (Mayville and Lakota are examples.)

Second Dakota Boom. The third and final phase of Episcopal church construction (1898-1920s) coincided roughly with the second Dakota Boom, 1898-1917. Having weathered the severe financial doldrums of the 1890s, the early years of the 20th century appeared to bring extraordinary promise of substantial settlement and sustained economic development in North Dakota. Fueled in part by increased European immigration, population again swelled, especially in the Missouri Plateau in the center of the state. Between 1898 and 1915, 250,000 people sought to tame the winds and prairies of the state. In the first decade of the new century, North Dakota's population rose by 80 percent.[40]

The departure of North Dakota's first bishop, William Walker, in 1896 occurred on the eve of the second Dakota Boom. After a temporary (and reluctant) replacement by the Missionary Bishop of Duluth, Samuel Cook Edsall became the state's second bishop. His tenure was brief, from 1898 to 1901, but was marked by a change in philosophy. Bishop Edsall traveled far less than his predecessor, de-emphasizing the missionary role of the position while emphasizing the need for tighter administrative procedures. And unlike Bishop Walker, he felt that

> small frame Churches, paid for, are better investments than more pretentious structures encumbered with a debt. If a town grows and the mission prospers, it is always possible to

> enlarge and beautify. While, if the town decays, or is given over to an exclusively Norwegian population, we can either move the church across the prairies to some point where it can be sustained, or at the worst, less money is lying idle in unused property.[41]

During Bishop Edsall's time four, perhaps five, church buildings were constructed, none of them of stone. The churches were located in Fargo (replacement church completed in 1899), St. Thomas (1900), Minot (1900), and Park River (1901). (A church was also built in Alfred, apparently sometime in the first decade of the century.)[42]

Bishop Edsall's replacement, Cameron Mann, more closely reflected the approach of Bishop Walker, both in philosophy and outlook. Serving North Dakota between 1901 and 1913, Bishop Mann was also born in New York City, well educated, and High Church in outlook (favoring ritual, symbolism and ceremony). Embracing the renewed optimism of the second Dakota Boom, he too embarked upon a stone church building program, albeit more restrained than the 1880s version.

Six stone churches were built during one brief spurt of time, 1902 to perhaps 1905, at Linton (1902), McHenry, Rugby, Webster (all begun in 1903), Langdon (1904), and Minnewaukan (c. 1905). The design and materials of the churches reflected the continuing importance of a symbolically correct church building to Episcopalians.[43]

The cessation of stone church construction coincided with a growing realization of the limited financial and population resources of North Dakota. Like his immediate predecessor, Bishop Mann came to feel that unseemly competition among the denominations to build churches in new towns of tenuous existence was not a constructive practice for the Church. In 1905 he announced that the Diocese would no longer "invade each small town" to erect "one more cheap edifice to compete with the three or four already decaying [churches] there." Henceforward, congregations must finance their own buildings. The Diocese would place its emphasis on missionary activities and would be very "sparing with building."[44]

The Episcopalians were not alone in this assessment of the problems with denominational competition. An historian of North Dakota Methodism concluded:

> There was a wild scramble to hold the first service in as many towns as possible....The Mission Boards had funds from eastern donors anxious to convert the Indians, the cowboys, and the outlaws of the New West. The result was that many churches were built on less than a "shoe string," and located where there were few members and no permanent constituency.[45]

Using a combination of financial resources, a number of Episcopal congregations did build churches after 1905. The results reflected the bishop's scaled down approach. Only one, at Lidgerwood, was built of costly stone, and that was due to the munificence of a wealthy local donor. Fieldstone was not necessarily an inexpensive material: it required some expertise to lay it and, especially in the early 20th century, it was purchased rather than donated by parishioners.

The churches built during Phase 3 of Episcopal church construction in the state fall into three categories:

- Late Gothic Revival designs in stone
  - Linton (1902)
  - McHenry (1903)
  - Rugby (1903)
  - Webster (1903)
  - Langdon (1904)
  - Minnewaukan (c.1905)
  - Lidgerwood (1910)

- Late Gothic Revival designs in wood (stylistic influence may be minor and one of several represented)
  - St. Thomas (1900)
  - Minot (1900)
  - Park River (1901)
  - Alfred (1900s)
  - Cando (1902)
  - McClusky (1907)
  - Williston (1908)
  - Beach (c. 1910)
  - Oakes (1914)
  - Guelph (1919)
  - Towner (?)

- Insufficient data available to analyze what are thought to be modest designs for frame churches
  - Fullerton
  - Ellendale

The 20th century versions of Episcopal churches displayed the important Gothic Revival features present in earlier churches dating from the first Dakota Boom. (See Figure 4.) In addition, these later churches might display one or more of the following:

- crenelated stone tower

- stonework more dressed and tightly fitted
- simpler lines
- other stylistic influences, such as the Craftsman Style

Whether stone or frame, the post-1900 Episcopal churches were typically located in new towns along the advancing rail lines. Most (eight) were just west of the initial 1880s flurry of church building, roughly along a north-south line at Devil's Lake and Jamestown. Two examples (Park River and St. Thomas), also on railroads, reflected the concentration of Canadian immigrants in the northeast corner of the state. But the Diocese also extended westward along the railroads, with churches into the Missouri Plateau and as far west as Williston. (See Figure 5.) During the second Dakota Boom railroad mileage, and related new towns nearly doubled between 1898 and 1915 (from 2662 to 5226 miles of road).[46]

The tremendous burst in population, rail construction, new towns, and church building gave way by 1915 to the beginnings of decline. Disheartened by the realities of North Dakota climate, distances, and growing conditions, outmigration began. A financial depression in farm states after World War I was another factor. The story among already struggling Episcopal congregations was typically one of stagnation or decline, and the 1920s marked the end of Episcopal missionary efforts in the state. While the two dominant denominations in the state held strong--beneficiaries of many new Lutheran and Catholic immigrants--the five mainline Protestant denominations, including Episcopalian, averaged but 48 members per congregation in 1916. In contrast, the Roman Catholics averaged 252 members per congregation, the Lutherans, 72.[47]

By the close of Bishop Mann's tenure and the end of the second Dakota Boom, the nature of the Episcopal Church in North Dakota had evolved. Where well established, in the larger and older communities, it continued to attract communicants. Congregations in Grand Forks, Fargo, and Bismarck, in particular, remained relatively stable but generally continued to experience financial struggles. The number of Episcopal communicants quietly rose with statewide population increases, from between 300 and 400 in the early 1880s to an estimated 900 in 1896, 1,461 in 1901, to 1,984 in 1913. (In 1916 there were 95,859 Roman Catholics and 72,026 Lutherans in the state.)[48]

With the constant shortage of clerics, funds, and communicants, and repeated nationwide financial depressions, even the most liturgically correct church building could not always be properly

supported. Congregations constantly struggled, sometimes closing their doors permanently or temporarily. In addition to those which continue as Episcopal churches, extant examples in 1992 are known to house other denominations, museums, and Masonic lodges, or stand vacant.

Gothic Revival Episcopal Churches. For Episcopal churches built during both the first and second Dakota Booms, the use of locally available stone was an important manifestation of the Gothic or Late Revival. Fieldstone, lightly dressed and neither painted nor stuccoed, represented the honest use of materials. Just as regions in England naturally built with the stone that was locally available, so did North Dakota Episcopalians. In England there was granite in Cornwall, limestone in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and the Cotswolds (including Gloucestershire, Wilshire and Somerset, and flint in Norfolk and Suffolk.[49]

In North Dakota there were fields and fields of stones in grey, tan and pink north and east of the Missouri River, products of the glaciers. This glaciated area varies from "rolling plains to hummocky areas of closely spaced hills and sloughs." Just east of and along these glaciated plains is the slender 40 mile strip of the Red River valley, the eastern boundary of the state. The mixture of glacial sediment (till) deposited as glaciers ground along the landscape resulted from glacial activity. With the exception of churches at Mayville and Casselton, all the stone Episcopal churches are located in the fieldstone strewn glaciated plains. (Lidgerwood is on the edge between the geological entities of the Red River valley and the glaciated plains.)[50] The colors and types of fieldstone used in the churches were variable, but shades of grey and pink typically dominated, with tans and browns and white also present. Granite, gneiss, sandstone, and chert were well represented.

Treatment of the stone also varied. The Rugby church (1903) displays considerable coursed brownish stone on its primary facade (with other colors as well). The earlier church at Devils Lake (1886), in contrast, has brown and grey stone in quite uneven shapes. The stones have been expertly placed so that one unusual shape fits properly and well with its neighbors. Unlike the church at Lidgerwood (1910), the Devils Lake example required far less mortar to lay the uneven shapes. At Lidgerwood, considerable mortar was used to "square up" the stones, and this tuckpointing resulted in a regular ashlar appearance.

The plans of the Ecclesiologically correct Gothic of Late Gothic Revival churches in North Dakota display certain diagnostic features. Virtually without exception, the plan is animated and made asymmetrical by the placement of a side porch or tower at the side of the main body. (See Figures 2, 3, 4, 6.) Of examples where the plan can be determined, only three (first church in Bismarck, Webster, McHenry) appear to lack a side chamber. The additional side chamber or porch may function as the entry vestibule, vestry, organ recess, or the tower (often with entry). Some have two side porches on one side of the nave, typically an entry with tower and a vestry off of the chancel space. Even some of the later modest examples (Park River, St. Thomas, Oakes) which have an entry at the nave end also have a side feature.[51]

A limited number of examples (six) display the articulated chancel associated with Ecclesiological efforts to re-establish the importance of the altar and chancel in the worship service. These include the earliest and latest churches: at Valley City (1881), Jamestown (1883, altered in 1913), Casselton (1885), Langdon (1904), Rugby (1903) and Oakes (1914).

Interior features also functioned symbolically and liturgically in the North Dakota churches. There was considerable emphasis on surface richness, the importance of the chancel, and the heavenward thrust of the ceiling. As with the roof, ceilings were steeply pitched. Exposed rafters and trusses conveyed the honest use of materials as well as emphasizing the distinctive and spiritually uplifting effect of worshipping beneath a soaring ceiling space.

The churches at Lisbon, Casselton, Jamestown, Valley City, and Rugby are known to have this type of heavy visible wood trussing (either scissor- or bow-shaped). Also, their chancels are set apart from the nave by a series of steps and an altar or chancel rail. At Lisbon and Casselton a plaster pointed arch comes to rest on large round wood columns; the treatment further highlights the chancel-nave separation. These churches also all had extensive stained glass windows, including round and pointed arch examples. In a number of cases the pointed arch windows were grouped in threes with the center one placed higher than the others. The collective designers were aware of and applied Ecclesiologically correct design principles to the interiors of these churches.

North Dakota Episcopalians were aware of the liturgical importance of richly decorated surfaces. The church at Bismarck was redecorated in 1887, the interior painted "three shades of terra cotta

red, relieved by silver chamfers" to create a "warm and cozy" effect. Also used were light amber for walls and "faint blue with lime stenciling" for the ceiling. The chancel was elaborately decorated with large panels including "monograms surrounded by a symbolic border of wheat ears and vine leaves." An undated historic photograph of the church interior at Jamestown reveals a wide band of patternwork on nave walls and outlining the three chancel windows. "Praise ye the Lord" is painted around the pointed archway at the juncture of the nave and chancel.[52]

Design Sources

Diocesan records are largely silent or, worse, contradictory regarding the architects or design sources for Episcopal church buildings in North Dakota. Potential design sources include architects, individual missionary ministers, officials within the Diocese of North Dakota, stone masons or other builders, and outside influences such as pattern books, organizations associated with the Episcopal Church, and existing churches that served as direct models. In many instances, the design source seems to have been a combination of these possibilities. It appears that, especially in the 1880s, church designs were the product of a collective vision rather than from one architect.

Missionary/Architects. In a developing region of limited resources and population, Episcopal priests were called upon to fill a number of roles, including that of architect. Given the Episcopal emphasis upon liturgically correct churches, the combination of architectural expertise with religious training was beneficial. A number of missionary priests in North Dakota are known to have fit this role. At Northwood in the early 1890s, the Rev. George A. Harvey was said to have designed the church, which featured a chancel of floor-to-ceiling cedar. The Rev. Aaron Beede did much of the construction work himself on the modest $1500 church built in Cando in 1902.[53]

Other potential cleric architects were members of the Burleson family. Solomon S. Burleson, an Episcopal missionary priest in the late 1860s in Minnesota, acted in some major architectural capacity in the construction of at least three churches, at Northfield, Cannon Falls and Dundas. The churches reportedly reflected Burleson's familiarity with Ecclesiologically correct church design and Upjohn's Rural Architecture. His four sons, Edward W., Hugh L., John K. and Guy, served in North Dakota, and presumably were acquainted with these earlier Minnesota churches. Their specific

roles in North Dakota church design has not been determined. The design of the 1905 rectory for Grace Church in Jamestown has been credited to the Rev. Edward Burleson, rector there beginning in 1903.[54]

The Rev. Samuel Currie was termed "an experienced builder of churches." He was called in to "undertake the oversight of the construction of the [stone] church" at Langdon in 1903. Currie was also the priest at Park River when its church was built during the summer of 1901 and its rectory in 1903. Currie, who had more than 25 years experience in the region, was well aware of the realities of North Dakota winter weather and "was not favorable to locating the rectory too far from the Church." He studied the matter and "conceived the idea of connecting together under one roof all of the buildings needed for the parish work." The result was separate church and rectory buildings connected by a passage between the choir in the church and a study in the rectory and another passage into the nave. "All of the work of planning the building, selecting the material, [etc.]...has been done under the personal direction of the Priest-in-Charge, and much of the work by his own hands." While Joseph Bell De Remer, Grand Forks architect, was the architect for the project--"the builders [were] indebted to him for much valuable help and many suggestions for which he refused pay"--Currie appears to have been the dominant design force for the rectory.[55]

The Rev. Herbert Root, who was also a banker and land speculator, was pastor for the Episcopal church in Valley City in 1880. To encourage church construction that year, he and his wife donated two lots as well as money. While there was no definitive reference to the design source for All Saints' Church in Valley City, Root had opportunities to know of Ecclesiologically correct Episcopal churches, including the chapel at Nashotah Seminary Richard Upjohn designed in 1859. Also, he had served churches in Sterling, Illinois, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Indianapolis and Muncie, Indiana, before coming to Brainerd, Minnesota in 1877. According to one source, All Saints' "Gothic design was dictated by Root." Interestingly, the church at Sanborn (1885?) bore a strong design resemblance to All Saints,' featuring split fieldstone walls, paired, arched nave windows and the distinctive use of brick for quoins, as soldier coursing for a continuous lintel and in window surrounds.[56]

The Valley City church preceded the Bishop Walker period of intense building activities by three years. It displayed many Ecclesio-

logical characteristics, including a bell cote--the sole North Dakota example--an offset chancel and south porch. The handful of members comprising the Valley City congregation were aware of, interested in, and obtained an Ecclesiologically correct church.

The role of the missionary/architect for the churches at Jamestown and Casselton is complex and unclear. An important participant in design matters was the Rev. Benjamin F. Cooley. Beginning in 1881 he served Gethsemane Church in Fargo as well as engaging in missionary work. He is known to have visited Casselton and Jamestown in 1881, the latter place with Bishop Clarkson.[57]

Cooley came to the Dakotas in 1881 from Massachusetts where examples of Gothic Revival Episcopal churches abounded. Indeed, the first church he served (1865-9), Christ Church in Medway, Massachusetts, was a distinctive stone church built in the manner of an English Gothic country parish church. Construction began five years after Cooley's departure, in 1874, but Cooley knew of its design, if only by his participation in cornerstone-laying ceremonies.[58]

Cooley brought to North Dakota the plans for Christ Church, either on paper or in his memory. The 1885 church in Casselton shares considerable design elements taken from the Medway church, and Cooley in later years reportedly took credit for the design of the Medway church (as well as one in Chelmsford, Massachusetts). Noted Worcester, Massachusetts architect Stephen E. Earle of the firm Earle and Fuller was actually the architect for Christ Church.[59]

Raised a Quaker but converted to Episcopalianism, Stephen Earle has been described as "not a seminal innovator...[but] one of the most skillful, productive, and successful architects of his time in New England." He was known for his fine handling of towers in his designs. His career was wide ranging, his familiarity with and use of late 19th century architectural styles extremely broad. Earle was particularly known for his libraries and churches. He received 55 commissions for churches between the beginning of his career in 1865 and his death in 1913.[60]

Earle's eighth church commission was for Christ Church in Medway.

> It was the first of a number of small Gothic chapels, beautiful in their intimacy, their richly-stained glass, and their religious feeling, that Earle would design. In many respects nothing he would ever do would equal the quiet charm and

> perfection of this little sweeping-roof sanctuary with its deep chancel, low nave, superb interior brickwork, and small, brilliantly-stained arched windows.[61]

It appears that the Christ Church design Cooley imported from Massachusetts was intended to be the basis for the church in Jamestown. Likely as a cost savings measure, the Jamestown church was designed to be built in two stages: "first the audience room [nave], leaving the tower, vestry room, and organ recess until a future date."[62] Like the Medway church, the first phase of the Jamestown church (still visible) has pointed arch windows placed up close to the eaves and a rose window in the west end of the nave. A strong design relationship between what was built in Jamestown and the Medway church is not apparent. The second phase was not undertaken until 1913, and the Medway church was not then used as a model.

The relationship between the Medway and Casselton churches is more apparent. Certainly the distinctive stone tower owes a direct kinship with the Medway church. Also similar are the battered walls and use of rose windows and three pointed arch windows. Hancock is known to have acted as supervisory architect for the Casselton church and must have had a hand in modifying the Medway design. (See Figure 7.)

The Jamestown and Casselton examples, in particular, illustrate the role of the missionary priest in church design and construction in North Dakota as well as the difficulties in attributing these churches to a single architect. Several sources stated that the plans for the Jamestown church were "drawn by Architect G. Hancock of Fargo, with Christ Church of Medway, Mass. as a model."[63] Perhaps Hancock provided the working drawings which were based on the Medway church as well as providing architectural expertise for the modifications.

Architects.

George Hancock. Hancock had arrived in Fargo in 1882. Then age 32, the English immigrant was an Anglican and had completed a four year course in the science and arts department of the South Kensington Institute (later the Victoria and Albert Museum) in London, studying building construction and architecture. Eager for commissions, he presumably made his profession known to the Bishop and was accordingly placed on the Diocese Building Committee in 1884. Hancock was breaking into the architectural profession in

the early 1880s. Like most architects of the time, he advertised his services and willingly took on most any facet of building. Initially, in 1882, Hancock practiced with C. Geoffrey Fisher, and the pair advertised as "Fisher & Hancock, architects and civil engineers" in the Fargo Daily Argus. Fisher also acted as a contractor in the early 1880s. By 1884 Hancock was in practice alone, advertising his services as "architect and general superintendent" in the Fargo city directory.[64]

George's brother Walter B. arrived in the early 1880s to work as a draftsman for his brother. After taking a three year course in architecture at Syracuse University, from 1886-89, Walter joined George to form Hancock Brothers. George had capitalized on the Fargo building boom of the 1880s and developed a comfortable practice; the brothers remained in the city to establish a well respected architectural practice. Walter's probable academic exposure to Romanesque Revivalism was later felt in their church designs at Anaconda, Montana and Marshall, Minnesota. The Hancocks received important North Dakota commissions, including Ceres Hall at North Dakota State University, Gethsemane Cathedral, and the Waldorf Hotel, all in Fargo.[65]

With the Anglican heritage of George Hancock, his association with the Episcopal Diocese of North Dakota was both natural and mutually advantageous. Unlike most American born architects, Hancock had the distinct advantage of having actually seen, visited, and studied English Gothic churches. Born in Uley, Gloucestershire, Hancock knew rural parish churches firsthand. It appears he applied that knowledge to American preferences, materials, and financial abilities in his work on Episcopal churches in the region.[66]

George Hancock or Hancock Brothers are known to have designed stone Episcopal churches in Bozeman, Montana (listed in the National Register) and Anaconda, and Wadena, Minnesota. They may have designed stone Episcopal churches in Sheridan, Montana and Marshall, Pipestone, and Perham, Minnesota as well. The church at Bozeman, though of quarried stone and exhibiting a differently styled tower, is quite similar in plan to Episcopal churches from the 1880s in North Dakota.

George Hancock participated in the construction of the stone Episcopal churches at Jamestown, Casselton, Devils Lake, Buffalo and Lisbon. Based on design similarities, Hancock's participation on the Church Building Committee, and the timing (all date from the

1880s when Hancock was in Fargo), it is likely he was involved with the churches at Lakota, Mayville, and Pembina as well. Diocesan records and local historical accounts link Hancock's name specifically with the Jamestown, Casselton, and Lisbon churches. Accounts citing Hancock as "the architect in charge" and as the "contractor" in one instance (Devils Lake), make Hancock's role as sole designer in these projects suspect.

George Hancock or the Hancock Brothers are not known to have had a hand in church design for the Episcopal Diocese after these 1880s churches, with one exception. Plans exist for Breckinridge Memorial Chapel (1922), a modest frame building designed by Walter B. Hancock for the Indian reservation at Fort Totten.[67] Information is incomplete regarding design sources for later Episcopal churches, and it is possible the Hancocks were involved in more projects than are now known.

Other Architects. Others are known to have been associated with the design of Episcopal churches in North Dakota. "Mr. Hussey" provided plans in 1879 for the Church of the Bread of Life in Bismarck (later renamed Saint George's). There are plans extant for a ca. 1899 frame church, probably for St. Thomas, designed by John Sutcliffe of Chicago. G.W. Van Winkle is credited with the design of the brick Episcopal church in Dickinson. Termed the "well-known architect" from Hailey, Idaho in one account, Van Winkle was also referred to as a minister. (The discrepancy underlines some of the difficulty in tracing just who was responsible for a particular design in North Dakota of the 1880s.)[68]

Joseph Bell De Remer. A noted Grand Forks architect, De Remer is known to have designed two Episcopal churches, at Rugby (1903), and Langdon (1904)[69], and also the Park River rectory (1903). Practicing in Grand Forks in 1902-12 and 1919-until his death (apparently), the New Jersey native graduated from a special course in architecture at Columbia University in 1897. In North Dakota De Remer received important commissions, including three buildings for the University of North Dakota, the Y.M.C.A., Masonic Temple and public library in Grand Forks, and many commercial, religious, and residential commissions in the region around Grand Forks. At the time of his work in Rugby, Langdon, and Park River, De Remer, who was a Methodist, was just beginning his career in the state during a period of intense prosperity and development.[70]

Diocese of North Dakota. After the establishment of the Diocese of North Dakota in 1883 and Bishop Walker's arrival early in 1884, the

new bishop embarked upon his ambitious plans for stone church buildings. To that end he established a Church Building Committee, naming himself chairman. The other members were the Revs. B.F. Cooley and Anselan Buchanan, George H. Hancock, and Alfred G. Brown.[71]

No information has come to light regarding Brown, and little is known about the Rev. Buchanan. When he was placed on the committee, Buchanan had just arrived (in April 1884) from West Virginia to serve Grace Church in Jamestown. Church construction was then underway at Jamestown, and his committee participation may have been primarily related to the construction project in his parish.[72] The interest in distinctive liturgically correct church buildings that Bishop Walker, Father Cooley, and George Hancock demonstrated came together with this committee in the 1880s.

Hancock and the Church Building Committee appear to have drawn inspiration from the Medway church for other work for the Diocese. Medway's distinctive low narthex, its squat pointed arch windows, and nave rose window above the narthex are repeated for the church in Lisbon, North Dakota. Medway's unusual shed-roofed south porch finds a similar example at Lakota. And Buffalo's stubby arched windows are reminiscent of the narthex windows at Medway.

It is unlikely that the precise nature of deliberations of the committee can be determined. The committee may have been so taken with the Medway church that they resolved to adapt it to North Dakota, and directed architect Hancock to comply. Father Cooley seems to have been a strong and enthusiastic personality who may have convinced the others to draw on the very fine Medway design. There was considerable precedent for re-using antecedents among Ecclesiological adherents.

Stone Masons. Diocesan records and other reports and sources were more likely to mention the builder or stone mason for a particular Episcopal church than its designer. For example, Angus Beaton was identified as the stone mason for the church at Buffalo. A Scottish immigrant, Nathanial McConachie, apparently provided the expertise for stone churches in North Dakota, western Minnesota and Montana. By his arrival in Fargo at age 36 in 1886, McConachie had built stone houses and railroad bridges in Scotland and South Africa. Between 1886 and 1888, McConachie plied his trade, working on a building for the Agricultural College and also a Congregational Church in Fargo. It appears he made the acquaintance of another British immigrant, architect George Hancock, for he helped

construct buildings associated with the Hancock architectural practice. These include Episcopal churches in Casselton, Mayville and Lakota and also in Bozeman Montana and Perham, Minnesota.[73]

Other Design Influences. With the missionary enthusiasm that prevailed in the late 19th century, national bodies of the Episcopal Church might have provided church plans to North Dakota parishes. The Episcopal Church Building Fund of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America was established in 1880 to assist churches and dioceses through loans or gifts in the construction or repair of churches, rectories and parochial buildings. However, the body did not impose design restrictions on those whom it assisted, and in the early years it functioned as no more than a small revolving loan fund. At least one North Dakota parish, at Lidgerwood (1910), is known to have received assistance from a church building fund.[74]

ENDNOTES

1. Frederick C. Luebke, "Nebraska, Time, Place and Culture," in *Heartland. Comparative Histories of the Midwestern States*, James H. Madison, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 228.

2. Ferenc Morton Szasz, *The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and Mountain West, 1865-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), pp. 11-15; Edwin Scott Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America*, revised ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 70; Joan R. Gundersen, "Rural Gothic: Episcopal Churches on the Minnesota Frontier," *Minnesota History* 50 (Fall 1987): 261.

3. Szasz, pp. 11-15; Elwyn B. Robinson, *History of North Dakota* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 293, quoting Wherle; Robert and Wynona Wilkins, *God Giveth the Increase. The History of the Episcopal Church in North Dakota* (Fargo: ND Institute for Regional Studies, 1959), p. 15, quoting B.S. Russell.

4. Szasz, pp. 14-15.

5. Szasz, p. 6.

6. Appendix D, Gaustad, p. 177; John C. Hudson, *Plains Country Towns* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), p. 126.

7. Szasz, pp. 7, 29.

8. Szasz, pp. 45, 49, 51; Wilkins, p. 14.

9. Parochial Reports, 1885 *Convocation Journal*, pp. 15 (report for Gethsemane Church in Fargo) and 18; Report on the Larimore Mission Field, *The North Dakota Sheaf*, April 1903, p. 5; Szasz, pp. 26-27.

10. Wilkins, p. 14.

11. Robinson, p. 218.; Wilkins, p. 14; Szasz, p. 71; Gundersen, p. 261.

12. Robinson, p. 293; Wilkins, pp. 5, 112; George C. Tanner, *Fifty Years of Church Work in the Diocese of Minnesota, 1857-1907* (St. Paul: privately printed, 1909), p. 460.

13. Szasz, pp. 75-76; Wilkins, pp. 49-50.

14. Appendix, the Bishop's address before the Primary Convocation of North Dakota, *Journal of Convocation*, 1884, p. 11; Szasz, pp. 37-41; Gaustad, pp. 70-1; Gundersen, pp. 259, 262-3, 268.

15. Szasz, pp. 43-44. The other prominent Episcopal missionary bishops were Daniel Tuttle (1867-86) in Montana, Utah, Idaho; Ethelbert Talbot (1887-89) Wyoming, Idaho; John G. Spalding (1874-1902) Colorado; Franklin S. Spalding, son of John, (1903-14) Utah; Ozi W. Whitaker (1861-86) Nevada; J.M. Kendrick (1889-1911) New Mexico, Arizona; Leigh R. Brewer (1881-1926) Montana.

16. Robinson, pp. 292-4, 296.

17. Wilkins, p. 13, quoting Bishop of Nebraska (Clarkson).

18. See SHSND photo archives, A1609; Collection 84-5; and 198A. For the Dunseith church, see *Prairie Past and Mountain Memories. A History of Dunseith, N.Dak., 1882-1982*. (No publisher, [1982]), p. 195.

The archives also have a tantalizing image labeled only "Emegabowh's Church," (#198 A). The Rev. John Johnson Enmegahbowh was an Ottawa Indian trained for missionary work by both Anglicans and Methodists. He worked among Indians in the 1870s at St. Columba's and White Earth (Minnesota) and was also associated with the Pembina or Turtle Mountains Ojibway or Chippewa group. In c. 1885 a group of Turtle Mountains Chippewa convinced Enmegahbowh (then in White Earth) to take them to Bishop Walker in Fargo. The Bishop later visited them in the Turtle Mountains and promised to build a church. In 1887 the Church of the Resurrection was built at Belcourt; its appearance and any association with Enmegahbowh have not been determined. See Wilkins, pp. 44-46, for a rather confusing account.

19. Wilkins, pp. 5, 10, 112.

20. Tanner, pp. 466-7; Wilkins, p. 13; Hudson, p. 40.

21. Robinson, p. 134.

22. Wilkins, pp. 21, 19; Robinson, p. 183; William C. Sherman, et al. *Plains Folk. North Dakota's Ethnic History* (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1986), pp. 37-59.

23. Hudson, p. 40; Robinson, p. 137; Lewis F. Crawford, *History of North Dakota* (Chicago: American Historical Society, Inc., 1931), p. 470.

24. Hudson, chapter 6; Wilkins, pp. 13, 17; "Grace Church, Jamestown," *The North Dakota Churchman*, October 1, 1887.

25. Wilkins, pp. 24-6; W.B. Hennessy, comp. *History of North Dakota* (Bismarck: Bismarck Tribune, 1910), p. 177. Hennessy placed the number of communicants in Dakota Territory at 412 in 1880.

26. Wilkins, pp. 23-4, using convocation records; Robinson, p. 295, quoting Catholic Bishop John Shanley. Wilkins states (pp. 23-4) that in 1882 there were 386 Episcopal communicants in present North Dakota and in 1883 (p. 60) there were 314.

27. Wilkins, p. 27, quoting Convocation journals published in 1883.

28. Appendix, 1884 Convocation Journal, p. 14, quoting Walker; Wilkins, p. 29; Walker was born in New York City on June 29, 1839. He graduated from Columbia College in 1859 and from General Theological Seminary two years later. He was ordained an Episcopal priest in 1863 and spent the next 20 years at Calvary Chapel, also in New York City.

29. Szasz, p. 44; David B. Danbom, "North Dakota: The Most Midwestern State," in *Heartland. Comparative Histories of the Midwestern States*, James H. Madison, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 110.

30. *History of Red River Valley*, p. 431.

31. "Protestant Episcopal Church of North Dakota," undated article in *The Record*, [August 1895], copy in 46-200816, State Historical Society of North Dakota Archives; Wilkins, p. 54, refers to this article as well. Walker evidently came from a well-to-do family; his father left $5,000 (less New York inheritance taxes) for the endowment of an Episcopal school in North Dakota.

32. Appendix, p. 14, 1884 Convocation Journal. Another important part of Walker's missionary efforts involved Native Americans in North Dakota.

33. For an excellent discussion of Ecclesiology and the Gothic Revival in England and America, see William H. Pierson, Jr. *American Buildings and their Architects. Technology and the Picturesque* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1978). Unless noted otherwise, comments in this report regarding these topics are drawn from this source.

34. Pierson, pp. 192-4; Ron Ramsey, "Early Episcopal Churches," *Red River Valley Historical Journal* (1980): 7. Upjohn was not the only nationally known architect with work in Minnesota. Although his influence would have begun later, Cass Gilbert (1859-1934) provided at least seven churches across the state between 1888 and 1896. These early examples often displayed Richardsonian Romanesque elements. Gilbert does not appear to have had a direct impact on the design of the stone Episcopal churches in North Dakota, but his influence in North Dakota as well as the small communities of Minnesota has not been determined.

35. Wilkins, p. 34, quoting Walker from 1885, 1887, and 1888 sources.

36. "Laying of corner stone at Langdon," *The North Dakota Sheaf*, August 1903, p. 5.

37. Wilkins, p. 34, quoting Walker from 1885, 1887, and 1888 sources.

38. The following sources were consulted to obtain an overview of church design in the state: SHSND photo archives, Wilkins, Convocation journals. North Dakota churches were compared with Ecclesiologically correct examples in America and England and original examples of English country parish churches.

The following churches were also used as Episcopal churches during the first Dakota Boom: adaptive re-use of an existing building: Mandan (1889), Valhalla (1899); facilities specifically for mission work among Native American Indian groups: Belcourt (1887), Fort Yates (1890), Fort Totten (1891), Cannonball (1892). Neither of these property subtypes were considered as part of this report. Existing buildings were not designed with Episcopal church functions in mind. While of considerable interest, the Indian missions are a separate topic beyond the scope of this project. See the Property Types discussion.

39. Wilkins, passim.

40. Robinson, p. 236; Wilkins, p. 84.

41. Wilkins, pp. 68-69, quoting Edsall.

42. Wilkins, passim.

43. Wilkins, passim.

44. Wilkins, p. 107, quoting Bishop Mann.

45. Robinson, p. 295, quoting Dr. C.A. Armstrong.

46. Robinson, p. 236; Wilkins, p. 84.

47. Robinson, p. 295-7; Wilkins, p. 133.

48. Wilkins, pp. 60, 119; Robinson, p. 295.

49. Derry Brabbs, *English Country Churches* (New York: Viking Press, 1986), pp. 41-2.

50. John P. Bluemle, *The Face of North Dakota. The Geologic Story*, Educational Series 11 (North Dakota Geological Survey, n.d.), pp. 1, 17.

51. Asymmetrical plans with a side porch and/or tower: Valley City, Jamestown, Casselton, Lakota, Devils Lake, Buffalo, Bathgate, Dickinson, Pembina, Lisbon, Grand Forks, Langdon, Walhalla, St. Thomas, Minnewaukan, Lidgerwood, Oakes, Breckenridge Chapel, Park River, Minot, Linton, Rugby, and Towner.

52. Grace Episcopal Church, Jamestown, c. 1884, SHSND Archives; "History of Saint George's Memorial Episcopal Church," no date, 46-200816, Parish Files, SHSND Archives.

53. Wilkins, pp. 44, 87.

54. Gundersen, p. 263; Wilkins, p.68; Kent H. Horton, "Grace Church, Jamestown, North Dakota." May 17, 1987, p. 3.

55. "Laying of corner stone at Langdon," *The North Dakota Sheaf*, August 1903, p. 5; "New rectory of St. Peter's Church, Park River," *The North Dakota Sheaf*, July 1903, p. 7; Wilkins, p. 87.

56. *Clay County Advocate*, June 10, 1880; *Barnes County History* (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Co., 1976), p. 296; Wilkins, p. 18, quoting; Pierce, p. 193.

57. Wilkins, pp. 15, 37; "Grace Church, Jamestown," *The North Dakota Churchman*, October 1, 1887.

58. Mark J. Duffy, ed. *The Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, 1784-1984* (N.p.: The Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, 1984), p. 438.

59. Ramsey, p. 10. Ramsey refers to an 1910 letter written by Cooley as the source for Cooley's claims regarding church designs.

60. Curtis Dahl, *Stephen C. Earle, Architect. Shaping Worcester's Image* p. 7.

61. Dahl, p. 12. The author singled out Christ Church and nine other Earle buildings as "his great successes" (p. 24).

62. "History of Grace Church told by an early member," *Jamestown Sun*, April 17, 1928; B.S.R. [Benjamin S. Russell], "Grace Church, Jamestown," *North Dakota Churchman*, October 1887.

It is interesting to note that Earle's designs also served as models in Canada. In 1878 he designed a wooden Gothic church for an Episcopal Church in Digby, Nova Scotia. The design was later re-used, probably without his permission, in nearby Windsor, Nova Scotia (1882) and also in Trinity, Newfoundland (1889). See Dahl, p. 14.

63. Using parish records and referring to an October 1, 1883 meeting, Mrs. Jennie Chenery referred to Hancock providing the drawings which were based on Christ Church in "History of Grace Episcopal Church, Jamestown, North Dakota, SHSND archives, 1008600106; Mrs. Chenery, "History of Grace Church told by an early member," *Jamestown Sun*, April 17, 1928, quoting.

64. Professional advertisements, *Fargo Daily Argus*, June 23, 24, July 10, (Fisher); July 31, August 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10 (Fisher & Hancock), 1882; 1884 Fargo City Directory.

65. Norene A. Roberts, "Fargo's Heritage," pp. 97-98; Walter B. Hancock, biographical sheet, Northwest Architectural Archives, St. Paul; Henry F. Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)* (Los Angeles, Hennessey & Ingalls, 1970), p. 262, entry for Walter B. Hancock.

66. Walter B. Hancock, biographical sheet, Northwest Architectural Archives, St. Paul.

67. SHSND Archives 44023.

68. "History of Saint George's Memorial Episcopal Church," no date, Parish Files, 462011 SHSND Archives; John Sutcliffe, Plan 44013 SHSND Archives (includes contract); "Church to hold final Easter service," *Dickinson Press*, April 14, 1974; "Three score and eight years ago," 46201201 SHSND Archives. The Idaho SHPO office has no information on Van Winkle.

69. Again, sources are contradictory. According to official records, Mrs. Edward J. Brown of New York sent "$3500 for the purpose of building a church at Langdon together with plans for the same...." Yet there are signed De Remer blueprints. (See *Journal of the 16th Annual Convocation of the Missionary District of North Dakota...May 29, 30, and 31, A.D. 1903* (Fargo: [the Convocation], 1903), p. 14.

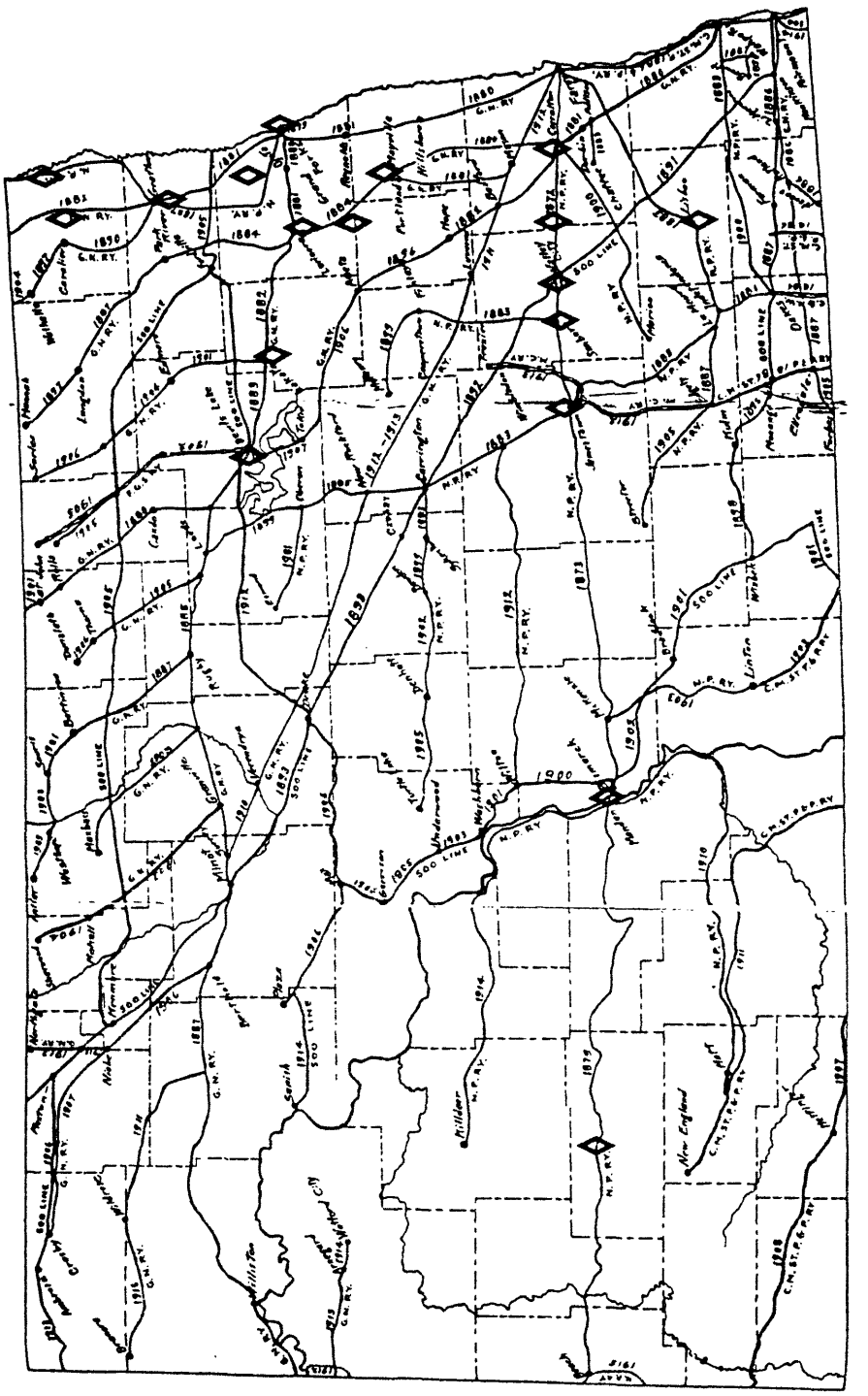
70. United Lutheran Church, Grand Forks, North Dakota, National Register nomination, p. 7; "Joseph Bell De Remer," *Grand Forks Herald*, June 26, 1904; Crawford, 2:102 (entry for De Remer).

71. *Journal of the Primary Convocation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Missionary Jurisdiction of North Dakota held in Gethsemane Church, Fargo, North Dakota...September 24 and 25, A.D. 1884*. (Detroit, MN: [The Convocation], 1885), p. 9.

72. Wilkins, p. 38.

73. Stephen A. Wegscheid, "History of the Episcopal Church of the Redeemer, (Perham Public Library)," term paper, NDSU (Fargo), 1990. For the biographical information on McConachie, Wegscheid cites (and quotes from) the *Compendium of History and Biography*. Otter Tail County Genealogical Society, pp. 889-890 (no other citation information supplied) and also the *Perham Enterprise*, August 3, 1888. The newspaper article made mention of McConachie going to Casselton to work on the steeple of the Episcopal church.

74. Episcopal Church Building Fund (ECBF), Annual Report 1981; telephone interview with The Rev. Patrick Holtkamp, (ECBF), January 27, 1992; Corresponding secretary, American Church Building Fund Commission to John B. Wagner, Lidgerwood, October 24, 1916, 46-201426 SHSND Archives. The ECBF now offers considerable help in matters of church design.



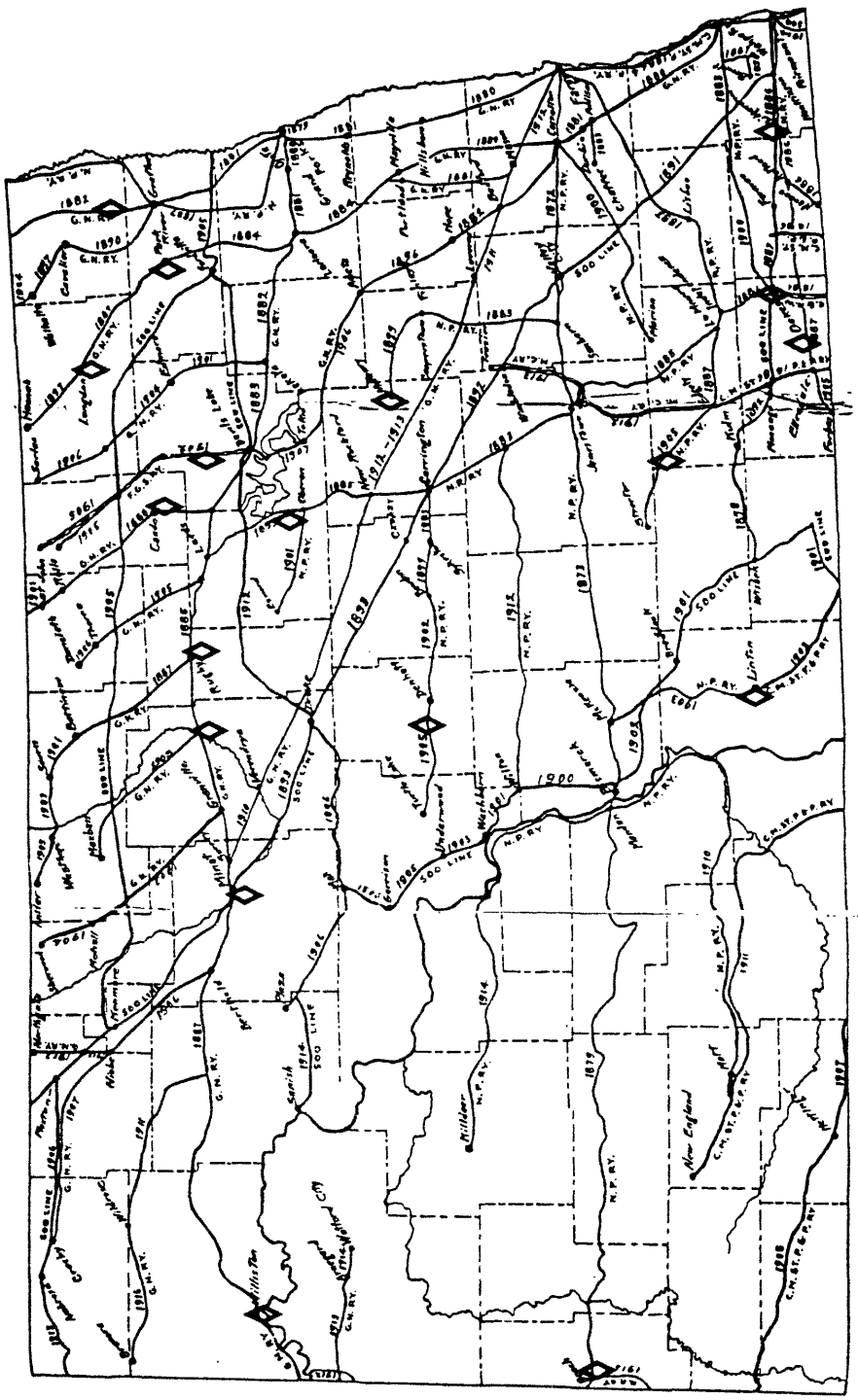
1. Map of North Dakota, showing Episcopal churches constructed during first Dakota Boom, 1878-97

For Plates 2-5 see separate photographs

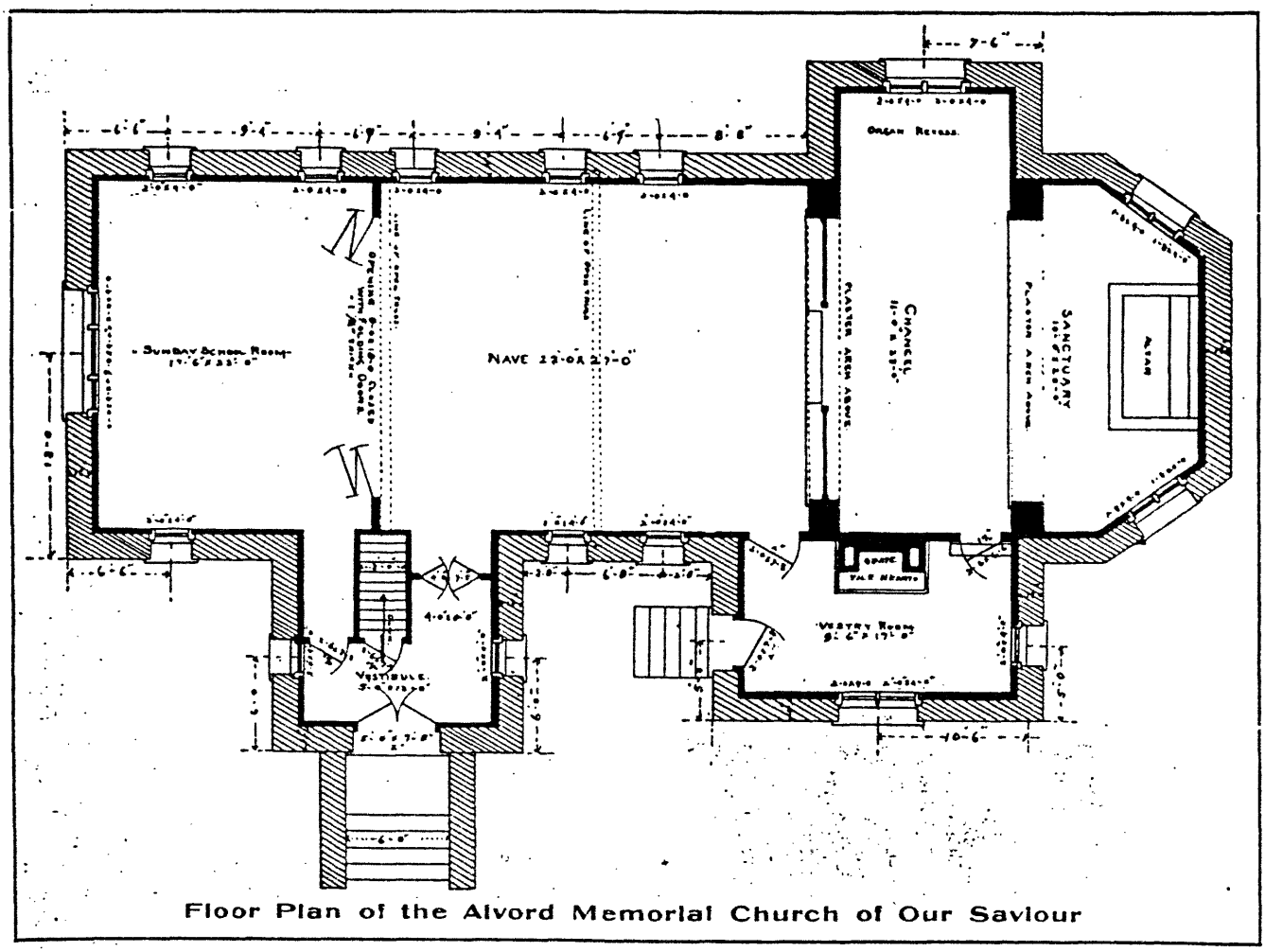
Plate 2. Calvary Church, Mayville (1885). Example of Ecclesiologically correct Gothic Revival church from period of first Dakota Boom. Source: Undated historic photo, SHSND #C437.

Plate 3. St. Stephen's Church, Casselton (1885). Example of Ecclesiologically correct Gothic Revival church from period of first Dakota Boom. Modeled on Christ Church, Medway, Massachusetts. Source: Undated historic photo, SHSND #A831.

Plate 4. Grace Church, Minnewaukan (c. 1905). Example of Ecclesiologically correct Late Gothic Revival church from period of second Dakota Boom. Source: Undated historic postcard, SHSND #180-1.

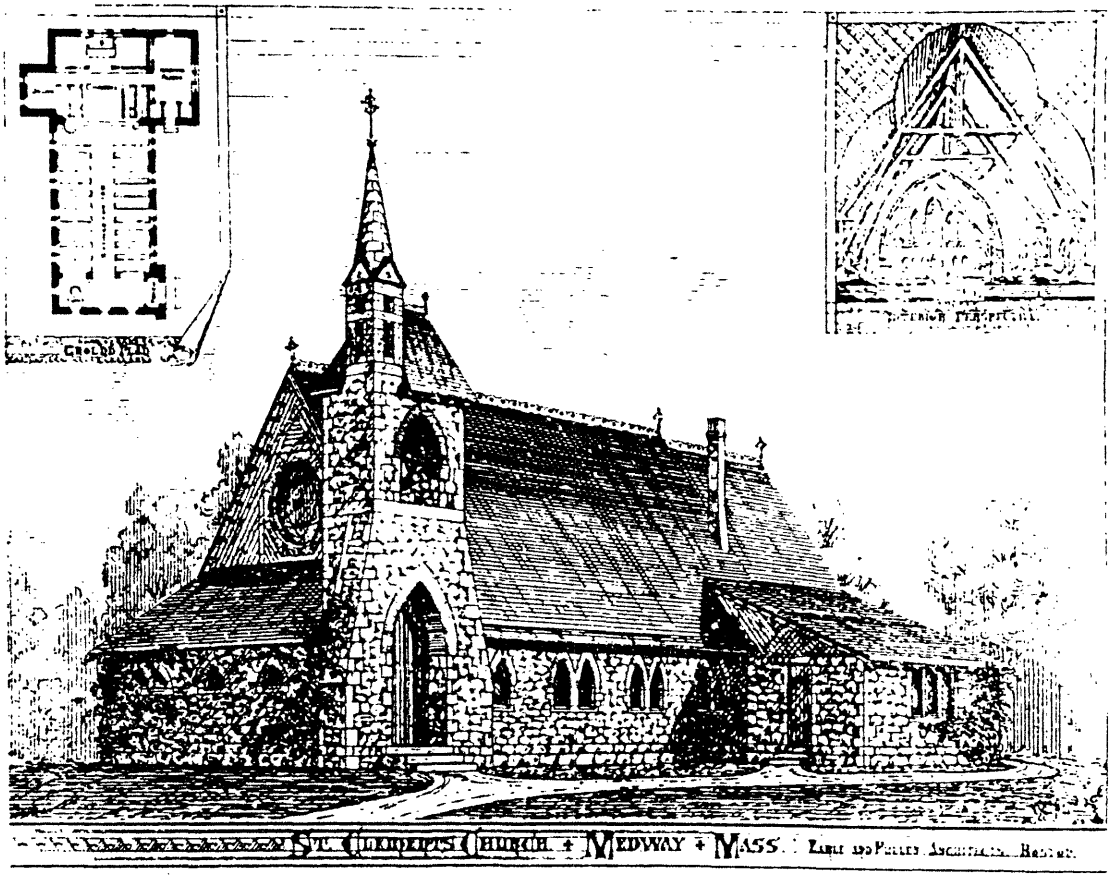


5. Map of North Dakota, showing Episcopal churches constructed during second Dakota Boom, 1898-1920s



Floor Plan of the Alvord Memorial Church of Our Saviour

6. Plan, Alvord Memorial Church of Our Savior, Langdon (1904). *Source: The North Dakota Sheaf, January 1904, p. 8*



7. St. Stephens Church, Casselton (1885) and Christ Church, Medway, Massachusetts (1874). Comparison of these churches. *Sources: Postcard, 1986; Dahl, reprinting original Earle and Fuller perspective drawing*

Physical Characteristics. Significant examples of the Property Type qualify for National Register listing under Criterion C (architecture). The term "Episcopal church" refers to buildings specifically designed to be Episcopal churches which display liturgically functional features and were intended to serve Episcopal congregations (rather than more minor missions).

Distinctive examples typically recall the qualities of an English country parish church but are interpreted with American techniques, setting, and materials. Recalling English rural stone churches, many of these churches are of fieldstone with wood shingling in the gable, American materials, and are located in railroad towns. Although not all distinctive examples are of stone (see Pembina church), its use, along with the nave plan with side porches, exemplifies the application of Gothic Revival Ecclesiological principles to North Dakota Episcopal church design.

The Gothic and Late Gothic Revival Styles as applied to North Dakota Episcopal churches beginning in the 1880s derive from early and mid-19th century American and English Gothic Revival Styles associated with the Ecclesiological movement. The North Dakota examples should be viewed as late applications of the Gothic Revival of the mid-19th century. The continuing preference for Gothic motifs into the 20th century emphasizes the underlying symbolic importance of the Gothic as it was applied to these churches.

The use of the Gothic or Late Gothic Revival Style with their Ecclesiological associations is the principal defining characteristic of the Episcopal churches of North Dakota. Important features which may be present include:

- pointed arch openings
- bell cote
- tower (sometimes crenelated)
- steeply pitched roofline
- side porch
- vestry
- asymmetric massing
- offset chancel
- simple nave plan with side porch(es) or tower
- honest use of materials (especially stone)
- buttresses
- corner buttresses
- crosses at the apex of gables

- lancet windows grouped in 3's
- rose windows
- stained glass windows
- elaborate wood ceiling trusses
- altar or chancel rail
- presence of steps up to the chancel
- small scale suited to rural or small town parish church

Known examples date from three time periods:

- Early, 1872-77 (beginning of Episcopal presence in Dakota Territory through period of financial depression)

- First Dakota Boom, 1878-97 (onset of first Dakota Boom period of development, including establishment of Episcopal Diocese of North Dakota and related period of intense church building activities)

- Second Dakota Boom, 1898-1920s (onset of second Dakota Boom period of development, including related period of intense church building activities)

To be comprehensive and account for any lag between church building planning and actual construction, the time periods are extended to lead up to the subsequent time period. Gothic Revival examples of churches were a prominent feature of the Dakota Boom periods in numerous small railroad towns across the countryside. Since only one church is known to have dated from the Early period, descriptive and associative characteristics are necessarily limited.

Design sources for the churches are typically multiple. Documentation is confusing and contradictory. For example, perhaps five entities had a hand in the design of the church at Casselton. These included the architect for an 1874 church in Medway, Massachusetts which served as a model, a missionary priest, the Diocese Church Building Committee, North Dakota Bishop William Walker, and Fargo architect George Hancock. An English immigrant, Hancock provided an undetermined amount of expertise to the building committee in the 1880s. He served as supervisory architect on some projects and likely had a larger role in others. Responsibility for design of the Casselton church and others appears to have been collective rather than the product of one architect.

Associative Characteristics. Significant examples call attention to the broad interest among Episcopalians in liturgically correct Gothic Revival churches. The churches provide tangible evidence of

the process of settlers transplanting existing cultural practices to a new and unfamiliar setting. They convey the underlying design philosophy as well as the hopes and aspirations of their builders. In particular, the marked preference for stone churches (at least 17 examples are known) reflects Episcopalian tenets as well as the presence of considerable quantities of glacial fieldstone in North Dakota.

Locational Patterns. Virtually all Episcopal churches in the state were constructed in railroad towns. As rail construction moved from east to west and new lines were added (especially during the second Dakota Boom), Episcopal church buildings were constructed in the new communities. Most Episcopal churches are found in the east half of the state. Those churches in the west half are located on railroad lines.

Boundaries. Church buildings typically occupy one or more lots (often at a corner site) in towns. Cemeteries are not usually part of the church site. A rectory may be near the church, even adjacent, but is seldom a significant feature meriting inclusion in the boundaries of a National Register property. Rectories seldom exhibited similar time of construction, materials, or design features related to the church and its important physical and associative qualities.

Condition. The number of Episcopal congregations, never large, has dwindled during the 20th century in North Dakota. As a consequence, a number of Episcopal churches stand vacant or have been sold. Known re-uses include Masonic lodges, museums, and churches for other denominations.

Episcopalians appear conservative in their approach to their churches and tend to maintain rather than modernize or replace them. In addition, many significant examples were constructed of stone and are therefore not prey to easy alteration. Mortar may have deteriorated on some churches and in some cases has been inappropriately repaired. The more elaborate wood frame steeples on some of the 1880s examples are difficult to maintain and may have been shortened or otherwise altered. Some churches have received parish house additions, in the early 20th century during the second Dakota Boom, or more recently. These additions typically respect the scale, materials, and motifs of the church.

Significance. The Episcopal churches of North Dakota are significant under Criterion C (architecture). The churches embody the Gothic or Late Gothic Revival Style, especially as it relates to principles of the Episcopal Ecclesiological movement. Significant

examples call attention to the broad interest among Episcopalians in liturgically correct Gothic or Late Gothic Revival churches. The churches provide tangible evidence of the process of settlers transplanting existing cultural practices to a new and unfamiliar setting. They convey the Ecclesiological design philosophy underlying the Gothic Revival Style as well as the hopes and aspirations of their builders. The marked preference for stone churches reflects Episcopalian tenets as well as the presence of considerable quantities of glacial fieldstone in North Dakota.

Registration Requirements

Significant properties embody the distinctive characteristics of the Gothic or Late Gothic Revival Style and are significant under Criterion C (architecture). Regarding Criteria Consideration A., significant properties under these Registration Requirements, although religious properties, derive their primary significance from architectural distinction and therefore are eligible for consideration.

Built to be churches during one of the three time periods outlined above, significant examples must display sufficient design elements to convey their intended role as liturgically correct Gothic or Late Gothic Revival Episcopal churches. Key defining design elements related to plan, materials, and Gothic or Late Gothic Revival detail are:

- presence of a side chamber (tower, vestry or entry porch)
- steeply pitched roof
- pointed arch openings
- asymmetry
- honest use of materials, especially stone
- importance of chancel reflected in the design (offset from nave, interior steps or ceiling treatment)

Integrity Considerations. Alterations are acceptable if the changes are compatible in scale, design and materials with the original structure and if they are reversible and reasonably unintrusive. Original materials, design, setting, location, and association must be present to a sufficient degree to recognize the building as an Episcopal Gothic or Late Gothic Revival church. Changes that are compatible in appearance and are at least 50 years old are considered part of the historic fabric. Alterations (especially additions such as a parish house) which relate directly to religious functions are expected and, if unintrusive, acceptable.

Table 1.
Episcopal Churches and Missions in North Dakota, 1874-1922

Principal sources are Wilkins and diocesan records and photo archives at the SHSND. Sources were often contradictory or vague, especially regarding dates of construction, subsequent disposition of church buildings, and materials and design sources.

Location	Date	Material	Remarks	NR Potential	Condition
Fargo	1874	frame		n/a	razed
Bismarck	1879	frame	later moved	undeter.	museum
Grand Forks	1881	brick		undeter.	undeter.
Wahpeton	1880s	undeter.		n/a	razed
Valley City	1881	stone	Ep.church	high	extant
Jamestown	1883	stone	Ep.church	high	extant
Lakota	1886?	stone	Ep.church	high	extant
Casselton	1885	stone	church	high	extant
Mayville	1885	stone		undeter.	extant
Sanborn	1885?	stone		n/a	razed
Lisbon	1886	stone	vacant	undeter.	extant
Devils Lake	1886	stone	Ep.church	high	extant
Buffalo	1886	stone	vacant	high	extant
Pembina	1886	brick		undeter.	undeter.
Belcourt	1887	undeter.	Indian mission	undeter.	undeter.
Bathgate	1888	frame		undeter.	razed?
Mandan	1889	frame	moved school	n/a	razed
Valhalla	1899	frame?	used old school	undeter.	undeter.
Ft. Yates	1890	log	Indian mission	undeter.	undeter.
Grafton	1891?	frame		undeter.	undeter.

Dickinson	1891	brick		undeter.	extant
Crary	1891?	undeter.		undeter.	razed?
Fort Totten	1891	frame?	former trading post	n/a	razed
Larimore	1892	frame		undeter.	undeter.
Cannonball	1892	frame	Indian mission	undeter.	undeter.
Northwood	1893?	frame		undeter.	undeter.
Walshville	1893	frame		undeter.	undeter.
Fargo	1899	frame	2nd church	n/a	razed
St. Thomas	1900	frame? log?	Indian mission	undeter.	undeter.
Minot	1900	frame		undeter.	undeter.
Alfred	1900s	undeter.		undeter.	undeter.
Fullerton	1910s?	undeter.			
Ellendale	1910s?	undeter.			
Park River	1901	frame		high	extant
Cando	1902	frame	sold/1911	undeter.	undeter.
Linton	1902	stone		undeter.	extant
McHenry	1903	stone	sold/1913	undeter.	undeter.
Rugby	1903	stone	vacant	high	extant
Webster	1903	stone		undeter.	undeter.
Fort Berthold	1904	logs	Indian mission	undeter.	undeter.
Langdon	1904	stone		high	extant
Minnewaukan	c.1905	stone	museum	high	extant
McClusky	1907	frame		low	extant?
Williston	1908	frame		undeter.	undeter.
Cannonball	1945	undeter.	2nd church	undeter.	undeter.
Lidgerwood	1910	stone	Masonic lodge	high	extant
Beach	c.1910	frame		undeter.	undeter.

Dunseith	1911	logs set upright	Indian mission	undeter.	undeter.
Oakes	1914	frame	Ep.church	high	extant
Guelph	1919	undeter.		undeter.	undeter.
Minot	1920	brick	2nd church	undeter.	undeter.
Breckenridge	1922	frame	Indian mission	undeter.	undeter.
Towner	early 20th c.	undeter		undeter.	undeter.
TOTAL	53				

The State of North Dakota

Some investigations of Episcopal churches, including architectural surveys, have suggested that most all stone Episcopal churches in North Dakota were designed by George Hancock. Based on this data, a study of the Episcopal Churches of George Hancock was envisioned. However, the consultant and SHPO staff discerned a number of limitations with the original focus of the project and with basic available sources. As a result, the project was re-designed and the scope of study broaded considerably. The discovery of additional design sources, including the Church Building Committee, and the role of missionary priests, enriched the context and showed these churches to be of deeper importance within the Episcopal community rather than the work of a single architect.

While no comprehensive survey of churches was undertaken, the consultant surveyed 20 locations thought to have an Episcopal church building. Of these, 11 contained churches, and data on them was incorporated into this study. The State Historical Society of North Dakota (SHSND) has an excellent photo archives. Historic photographs from that collection provided the means to compare and contrast the Episcopal churches as well as documenting the dearth of non-Episcopal stone churches in the state. State Division of Archeology and Historic Preservation inventory files were also useful.

The Episcopal Diocese of North Dakota has wisely donated its historical documents to the SHSND. While less than comprehensive, these records were invaluable to the project, especially church publications and convocation journals. Parish records in the collection were disappointingly meager. Records were also sparse for a key period (Bishop Walker's time) because an 1893 fire in Fargo destroyed them. Also of considerable use was a published history of the Diocese of North Dakota (Wilkins). The Wilkins work was quite useful, if poorly organized and internally inconsistent regarding matters of building construction. To provide a larger context for understanding these distinctive churches, a number of sources were consulted, as noted in the bibliography.

As research progressed and the project evolved, the historic context changed, from the Episcopal churches of George Hancock to the broader topic of Episcopal churches in the state regardless of architect. (Still another change was the decision to nominate the church in Jamestown rather than the one in Lisbon.) The development of the state relates strongly to two periods, the first and second Dakota Booms. Upon comparing construction dates for the churches, it became clear that their construction mirrored these booms.

The importance of the churches within the Ecclesiological movement and as they related to the Dakota Booms established, a look at the buildings as a property type was the next step. The North Dakota examples were compared with qualities of the Gothic Revival Ecclesiologically correct churches elsewhere. This comparison, based on style and plan, formed the basis for the property type.

Registration and integrity requirements were based on a knowledge of Episcopal churches in the state, both extant and razed, and what features conveyed their intended role as liturgically correct Gothic Revival churches. Due to budgetary constraints, five properties are nominated as part of this package. A list of churches with preliminary assessments is included in the Property Types section, and it is hoped that additional nominations will be drawn from it.

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