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Article Summary: Churches were initially slow to provide material assistance for the destitute on the agricultural frontier. In the wake of repeated crop failures religious leaders realized that it was necessary to furnish food and clothing for those in need.

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Photographs / Images: Peru Union Sunday School in Custer County, the Reverend Andrew Malm with members of the Dry Valley Swedish Baptist Church in Sherman County, exterior view of the Lime Creek Lutheran Church of Dixon County



The Peru Union Sunday School in Custer County was organized January 26, 1896, by T. A. Moss.

THE DIVINES AND THE DESTITUTE

By PETER H. ARGERSINGER

Traditionally, organized religion operated to facilitate adjustment to the new conditions encountered on strange frontiers in nineteenth century America. Ministers, churches, and denominational schools assisted settlers in the psychologically necessary reestablishment of a familiar society while missionary organizations provided reassurance of a following civilization to the more daring pioneers. Whether representing a disinterested benevolence or selfish and secular desires, religious institutions served the valuable social function of providing the raw frontier with both a link to the more developed areas and a bond of community.¹

Nowhere was such assistance more needed than on the agricultural frontier of the Plains states in the late nineteenth century. The act of migration shattered the pattern of social relationships which had previously ordered the lives of the new settlers, and most sought to reconstruct a social framework which would allow a satisfactory life. The vagaries of Plains weather, allied with the difficulties of adapting to new crops, techniques, machinery, and work patterns inherent in agriculture on the Great Plains, made settlement there a transitional period of acute importance in the total life of the individual. Even under the most favorable conditions, settlers pushed little "beyond the bounds of the Methodist church," as one pioneer phrased it, and, "lonely and heartsick for church affiliations," they quickly sought encouragement from organized religion.²

Under the adverse conditions of drought and depression, this existing demand for religious services and solace became both an urgent social ultimatum and a pathetic plea. Crop failures and hard times greatly complicated the process of adjustment to the Plains frontier. Many recent settlers fled the region; but many more remained, in a precarious situation made more critical by debts incurred during more expansive days. Also

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contributing to their discomfort were the lack of experience to cope with prevailing conditions and the absence of established institutions to satisfy the social and material needs of a discontented people. The initial response of organized religion to such conditions in the 1880's and 1890's was a denial of its traditional palliative role; only with a realization of the ominous consequences of that policy did organized religion begin to fulfill its expected role.

Although lagging behind the advancing frontier in Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas during the boom years of the mid-1880's, the churches energetically and confidently sought to expand their influence. The very pace of "the onward march of the multitudes of people" into this area, admitted one North Dakota minister, spurred the churches to greater activity. With much to be done to accomplish their mission, churches and ministers remained hopeful and enthusiastic, and with each report they proclaimed "marked success" or "remarkable progress." Kansas Baptists made plans in 1886 for "*aggressive enlargement* of our missionary operations" and the same spirit activated the other denominations.³

Beginning in 1887, however, the Plains suffered a series of years marked by harsh winters or dry summers, with consequent crop failures and widespread suffering. With the onset of hard times religious organizations faced the problem of "verifying and realizing their great protestations and professions" of Christian concern, as one religious journal expressed it. Thus, the churches themselves had defined the role expected of them, and now they made it explicit: "In cases of crop failure, destructive fires, or monetary troubles, the minister is in demand. He is expected to visit the victims of these disasters with sympathy in his heart, words of comfort on his lips, and means of relief in his hands," wrote a Kansas Presbyterian missionary. "It is not to be forgotten," added an Episcopalian minister, that "in times of commercial distress, as in all other distress, people turn to the church for spiritual strength and consolation."⁴

The distressed settlers did seek spiritual relief in the midst of their material difficulties, and for a time the late 1880's were marked by widespread and frequent revivals and demands for more churches and missionaries. A missionary pastor at Colby, Kansas, explained that "the people have in their extremity turned to the great Giver of all for help and consolation, and great revivals have been frequent." A Baptist preacher described the destitute in Dakota Territory as longing for "the consolation of the Gospel," while another reported that "the Gospel is listened to with

great interest and great hunger." A Presbyterian minister put it simply, "The people are crying out for preaching."⁵

This early pattern, however, rapidly changed as agricultural depression on the Plains deepened. The collapse of prosperity dried up the local sources of funds for the treasuries of the established churches and seriously restricted the missionary work of all denominations. Lack of national understanding of the Western situation plus the institutional and personal drives of the religious organizations within the region aggravated the critical situation. These factors made it impossible for either ministers or churches to fulfill their expected role. Nowhere is this failure and the reasons for it expressed more clearly than by a Kansas Presbyterian in the early 1890's. "I have made many and laborious trips into 'waste places.' My heart has sunk within me as I have visited the famishing and destitute regions and heard the calls of the people and witnessed their tears, desiring the gospel for themselves and their children," wrote the Rev. S. B. Fleming, "and yet, because of their poverty and the embarrassed state of the [Presbyterian] Board [of Home Missions], I have been compelled to say 'nay.'"⁶

Crop failures from Kansas to North Dakota left the farmers heavily in debt, often on the verge of starvation, and totally unable to support existing churches or to complete plans for inaugurating religious services. The more isolated settlers, dependent upon missionary services, generally suffered even greater privation. An early frost in North Dakota in 1888 left Baptist church members in such "abject poverty," according to their pastor, that he was left without support. South Dakota missionaries reported after the drought of 1889 that all church activities were curtailed because of local financial stringency. The Superintendent of Congregational Missions in Nebraska lamented that crop failures in 1890, "and the consequent poverty of the people, interrupted plans of extension." The Kansas General Missionary, the Rev. D. D. Proper, admitted that "successive failure of crops for three years" had adversely affected "the stability of our work," but he made the necessary point: "Yet in such trying circumstances the people all the more need the Gospel, and ought to have the sympathy and help of their abler brethren in the older States."⁷

The abler brethren, however, curtailed their assistance just as it became most urgently needed. Missionaries initially sought increased appropriations from their national organizations to replace the missing local funds

and to expand their services to meet the increased demand. But by early 1887 it was clear that Christians outside the Plains were having second thoughts as to their religious duty. A Chicago minister admonished Kansas Baptists not to regard the American Baptist Home Missionary Society as an organization "to get something out of," and argued that it was time for western Baptists to use the society as an agency through which they should evangelize people outside of their own states. And thus as it became more difficult to support even their own activities they were urged to take up burdens elsewhere.⁸

Other churches also proved insensible to their increased responsibility for the welfare of the frontier. In the late 1880's the national missionary organizations of both the Baptist and the Congregational churches reduced appropriations for their Western missions in order to liquidate debts incurred earlier in the decade. By 1890, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and the more evangelical groups followed suit as economic conditions became more desperate in the Plains region. In 1891 the American Home Mission Society made a "horizontal cut" of one-sixth in the salaries of its Western superintendents and general missionaries and in the church missionary grants. Shortly afterwards it made a similar reduction in its state apportionments, causing its South Dakota superintendent to lament that "night had suddenly fallen upon us. . . ." The American Home Mission Society also ordered an end to the practice of running into the succeeding year's appropriations to finance the present year's work, forcing its missionaries to pay past debts and present expenses with funds smaller than originally anticipated for half the purpose.⁹

This national contractive influence was intensified by institutional politics. Anxious to impress the national society, church leaders from Kansas to North Dakota attempted to make favorable reports of their activities. By their nature the missionary organizations would most like to become unnecessary, and Western missionaries tried to assure them of the increasing likelihood of such a situation, precisely as it became further from the truth. Missionary superintendents for each state seemed less concerned with the spiritual condition of their flocks than with the ability of the individual mission or church to achieve financial self-support. They acknowledged the disastrous effects of drought and depression, but only on church organizations and not the destitute settlers. Apparently recognizing no social role for the church, they expressed concern only for being unable to make a good showing on the "self-support" ledger and regretted the "great hardship and suffering" of the settlers only because

"it has hindered the expected building or completion of new houses of worship." 10

This desire for recognition in the financial sphere of their activities caused religion's representatives to practice an economy as harmful in effects as questionable in purpose. In their zeal to become, after Iowa, only "the second state west of the Mississippi to assume state self-support," Kansas Congregational leaders voluntarily reduced their requests for appropriations from their national missionary society, first by \$1000 a year and then by \$2000 annually, though admitting that more, not less, money was necessary even to sustain existing churches. South Dakota Baptist leaders pledged their church members to contribute at least \$1000 in 1892 to the American Baptist Home Missionary Society. A Presbyterian minister in Lisbon, North Dakota, proud that his church "has never yet been in debt," postponed admittedly necessary work "until we can 'pay as we go.'" Nebraska Baptists so "feared we should close the year in debt," that they made such niggardly appropriations from their small treasury that they were "gratified" to report a treasury surplus at the end of 1891.¹¹

The combination of these influences made retrenchment the order of the day for all church activities on the agricultural frontier, including church construction and Sunday School work, but especially missionary services. Kansas Episcopalians instructed their general missionary to "hold the strategic points, and not waste . . . effort on impossible things"; the Congregationalists largely devoted their efforts "to saving the churches" then existing; the Presbyterians emphasized "maintaining" their position rather than actively working among the unchurched. The superintendent of Presbyterian missions in Nebraska decided to disregard petitions "to plant new organizations, believing that it is better to hold the points now occupied than to reach out after others," while his Congregationalist counterpart not only disclaimed "new fields," but thought it best to "let the work wait" in already occupied but isolated missionary fields. South Dakota religious leaders reported that "we have tried to observe the rule 'No new work,' and have shut our ears to many calls for help. . . ." ¹²

The retrenchment program proved disastrous to religious organizations all along the agricultural frontier. The smaller missions were abandoned at once; others were "grouped" over a wide area under a single missionary. Kansas Congregationalists reduced their missionary force to eight—to cover an area of 26,000 square miles. Vacant Presbyterian missions in southwest Nebraska became so numerous in 1891 that the synodical missionary

could not visit them all. Isolated and weak churches also expired while others went into abeyance. The debilitating effect of the clerical reduction made by the churches was compounded when ministers and missionaries began to flee the stricken regions in such numbers that one Nebraskan marveled that the clergy felt no "moral obligation" to remain with their destitute flocks. By 1892 forty-eight per cent of North Dakota's Presbyterian churches reported ministerial vacancies, a general predicament witnessed by all denominations in each of the four states. Clerical replacements were nearly non-existent, a Kansas church official lamented, for they demanded prior assurance of a salary "quite beyond the means of the people." Retrenchment, the clerk of one of the frontier presbyteries concluded, was a tragedy for it not only crippled churches, but also further discouraged "the people in their depression from the combined effect of last year's failure of crops and the general financial stringency."¹³

Ministerial critics of retrenchment, however, generally failed to consider its effect on the region's inhabitants. Once more, concern was institutionally directed. Churches suffered, not people; ministers starved, not members of their congregations. Implicitly denied in nearly every report was the belief that organized religion had any social or psychological function to perform among the depressed and downcast. Those who sought material assistance through contributions of food and clothing directed their efforts nearly entirely to aiding frontier ministers, perhaps committing their destitute congregations to God. Those who did insist upon the necessity for the churches "to stay with and help the needy and heroic settlers who remain," as a South Dakota minister phrased it, usually were motivated by denominational rivalry rather than Christian concern. The same minister exulted in 1892 that "the stress of past years has driven many workers of other denominations from the fields" and that "entire counties are left to us to care for alone." Altogether, it was a "promising and opportune moment for our work in this State." The Nebraska superintendent of Congregational missions argued in 1890 for increased work in the stricken western regions of his state lest they "retire to the rear among the working forces," and Kansas Presbyterians denounced retrenchment for causing "the death of scores of our struggling churches" which resulted in "the giving over of hopeful fields to be manned by other denominations. . . ." ¹⁴

The churches further neglected the rural regions because of their policy of overlapping as well as overlooking. Withdrawing their support from the

country churches, the religious organizations concentrated their decreased resources in the towns and cities. Presbyterians in Kansas reported that their clergy and Sunday school teachers had retired to the cities after widespread crop failure in the outlying districts. The missionary who denied pleas for churches in western Nebraska argued at the same time that "we need at least one more church in Lincoln." Church membership reflected this decision to focus energy on the towns, with the tendency for "the stronger churches in the old-established communities," as one minister described them, to attract increased numbers of communicants while the number of rural adherents declined. Served by several competing denominations, the towns witnessed sectarian rivalry resulting in wasted churches, money, and men, while much of the countryside, left without organized religion, begged unsuccessfully for attention.¹⁵

While each church asserted its own claim to original entry and blamed other churches for any duplication of Christian effort, there was little doubt that such competition hindered their already restricted work. One resident of Downs, a central Kansas town of 1200 people with six churches and five resident pastors, complained that "each Church is wide awake to its own interests, and . . . there has been some little feeling existing between the Churches." Similarly, missionaries often reported that "denominational strife" in the towns impeded their work and prevented them from giving any attention to adjoining rural districts.¹⁶

Thus not only did the major denominations dissolve their rural churches, but the traveling missionary increasingly restricted himself to the towns as well. The religious revivals so common in the early days of drought and depression became much less frequent and confined more to the major towns and cities. The increased number of urban communicants revealed that to fall back on the consolation of religion was a major response of town dwellers to their plight, but this was a possible response largely denied to the farming population. Though farmers had initially sought the support and solace of religion, the churches had rebuffed them. The gospel had been refused them when they were unable to pay for it. No longer relevant to their needs, the churches and ministers remained in the cities, not heeding the call of the rural faithful.

In short, the response of organized religion to drought and depression on the agricultural frontier from Kansas to North Dakota in the late 1880's and early 1890's was to concern itself with money, not suffering, and with church organizations, not people. The corruption of the true spirit of Christianity implicit in the actions of organized religion



The Rev. Andrew Malm (second from left, seated) served as pastor of the Dry Valley Swedish Baptist Church in Sherman County during sod house days.

disappointed and angered settlers throughout the region. As the natural results of clerical performance became clear, some church leaders realized the connection they had made between money and religion, the requirement of material ability to receive spiritual assistance. They were joined by others, not as discerning or sensitive, who objected to the existing policy for their own reasons, and together they helped initiate a new interest in an active Christianity responsive to the needs of the people.

Ironically, it was a temporary reappearance of favorable conditions that permitted some ministers to understand their changed situation. Rainfall and good crops returned to much of the four-state region in 1891 and 1892 and churches confidently expected to prosper. The Baptist general missionary for South Dakota rejoiced over the good harvest of 1891 and declared that "hopes long deferred are soon to be realized. . . . The coming year ought to be one of unusual progress in . . . our mission work. . . ." Such a belief was general among the workers of all denominations, but by mid-1892 some disquieting notes were evident. Hopeful predictions of anticipated success became coupled with continued reports of whole townships and even counties with neither resident pastor nor religious service of any kind. In September, 1892, a missionary in western Kansas reported that the people avoided or ignored him, thinking only that "I wanted to take a collection." Several months later a leading minister ruminated over the fact that despite the second successive year of abundant crops it was increasingly difficult "to take care of the parish and missionary work . . ." and recognized the relationship of organized religion to the rural population: "The explanation of a straightened church in the midst of agricultural riches, seems to be," he decided, "that the prosperity of the farmer has not yet reached the towns where our missions and parishes are always located." Another pointed out the consequences of this to the future of the churches: "Young people who, with such religious privileges as our towns have, might save our churches . . . are growing up without high purpose and the developing influences of the Gospel."¹⁷

Others, too, attributed the decline of rural religious interest to the actions of the religious organizations themselves, but were less concerned with the requirements of the churches than with the needs of the farmers. Observing that people had come to believe "the idea that a missionary society means giving money," the secretary of the Kansas Woman's Board of Missions declared that "we are missing a large part of our opportunity" and responsibility, and she declared the necessity for religious concern and expansion regardless of financial circumstances. Another religious leader also saw that "we have made the raising of money too prominently the

work of the missionary society," and argued for a more understanding policy. A Nebraska cleric outlined his dissatisfaction with the present situation and demanded, "How long will the churches allow this to continue?"¹⁸

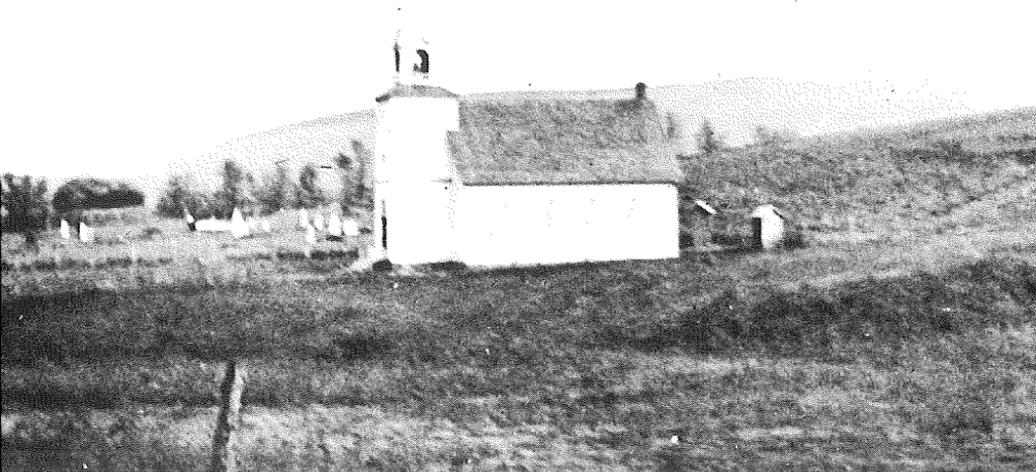
Another group became alarmed over rural "religious indifference and ignorance" for reasons apart from unselfish Christian concern or anxiety over institutional needs. Traditionally aligned with the Republican party and the more conservative social elements, church leaders, especially those of the Episcopalian and Congregational churches, were frightened by the political and social turmoil in the Plains states in the early 1890's. The realization that the neglected rural regions provided the core support of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party was a major factor in prompting a new interest for the religious welfare of the destitute farmers. That the Alliances had in some respects supplanted the churches, and that major Populists denounced the existing religious order as "churchianity" rather than Christianity, added urgency to the plans of the conservative clerics.¹⁹

The Rev. L. P. Broad, superintendent of Congregational missions in Kansas, led these churchmen who saw the churches as an instrument of social control. Assailing Populism in 1893, he argued that its excesses "are God's object lesson to Christians intended to arouse us to undertake to reach both farmers and [i. e., as well as] town people with the Gospel if we would save all that is dear to us." Regretting that farmers burned with Populist zeal rather than with religious fervor, Broad demanded, "as the only hope of our State and land," increased missionary work designed to make "people the more ready to consider the one remedy we urge for all social and civil ills—religion in the heart of the people." Other ministers joined Broad in arguing that only God "can settle social and political as well as spiritual questions aright." One conservative clergyman was so astounded at the "extraordinary character" of the "social and economic ideas" spawned by Populist activity that he urged reform in the preparation of the ministry to make churchmen more effective in countering radical appeals. The Episcopal bishop of Nebraska was forced to admit that "the Church has a responsibility . . . which . . . she must recognize" for the social welfare of the people. But he saw religion's duty to be "earnest opposition" to Populism, socialism, industrial armies, and other symptoms of the troubled 1890's. Thus believing, these church leaders joined others to evangelize the religiously neglected.²⁰

These three general groups within organized religion began in 1893 to work for a change in the practical policies of the churches and missionary organizations. They placed a greater emphasis upon missionary activities, especially to the destitute farmers, and they downgraded the requests for supporting evangelical work outside the region in favor of increased work at home. They sought additional clergy and organized to stop the ministerial exodus from the drought-stricken areas. They worked to end sectarian competition in the towns in order to advance religious work in the countryside. Most importantly, they recognized the need for the church to minister to the social and material needs of its members as well as to their spiritual desires. Continued hard times postponed most concrete results of this new outlook until the late 1890's, but the increased interest taken by organized religion in the problems of the rural people was evident and appreciated at once.

The Kansas Department of the American Home Missionary Society led the drive toward increased religious activity in the rural districts. The superintendent outlined the problem of the farming population: "It constitutes two-thirds of our population; one-half of these our brethren and friends have no adequate religious privileges. . . . A multitude are isolated, debarred by distance from religious privileges, depressed in spirit through temporal misfortune, and as a consequence are in numerous instances drifting towards infidelity." In February, 1893, the board of the Society voted to employ additional missionaries "with a view particularly to wisely enlarging our work among the rural population." Favorable reports of the actions of the rural missionaries moved the board to further organization to meet the need for rural churches and to exhort "our churches to rise in their might and go forth to their plain mission—to Christianize the farming population of Kansas." In May, 1893, when the state representatives of the American Home Mission Society met at Great Bend in convention, they centered their attention on the responsibility of the church and the need for action in rural fields and earnestly discussed various plans for reaching the farmers. By the May, 1894, convention, the superintendent could proudly report "new strength" in the frontier churches and progress in the work among the "religiously destitute masses."²¹

Organized religion in the other states also began to shift the focus of their work. Nebraska Congregationalists recognized that "the tendency has been for all churches and ministers to gather in the villages and leave the country neighborhoods without gospel privileges," and they determined to



The Lime Creek Lutheran Church of Dixon County is typical of the first frame structures built by religious organizations.

emphasize “the work of rural evangelization.” South Dakota churches resolved to expand their activities in 1893, and, despite the persistent financial crush, they increased missionary work and organized new churches. North Dakota ministers realized their obligation “to give the gospel to those about us,” and they began to work in the neglected rural fields even when it meant curtailing their regular services.²²

The increased concern for the religious needs of their own rural population also led religious organizations in the Plains states to de-emphasize the earlier objective of having the region’s inhabitants contribute to outside evangelical efforts. Missionaries reported that destitution on the agricultural frontier exceeded privation in foreign countries and argued for emphasis upon home missions. Methodists surveyed the critical situation in western Kansas and unanimously voted “to aid the needy of our State first.” The South Dakota Baptist Convention requested its mission groups to designate their contributions for work within South Dakota and arranged a new plan of cooperation with the American Baptist Home Mission Society that would encourage greater interest in South Dakota work.²³

The rapid turnover of ministers ended as the idea spread that despite financial hardships “our churches must be kept open.” In early 1894 under distressing circumstances which seemed to threaten sweeping resignations in South Dakota, fourteen young ministers covenanted to stand by the home missionary superintendent until honestly called

elsewhere. This stand so encouraged others that even during the great drought of 1894 the pastors remained with the people, and by 1895 South Dakota missionaries could report that "the churches have never been so fully and well-manned as today." The Superintendent declared that "the increased steadfastness of pastorates is perhaps the brightest sign of promise for South Dakota." North Dakota, too, could claim in 1894 more churches "supplied with pastors than for some years," despite low farm income. Nebraska missionaries reported that continued hard times were actually bringing the people and their clergy closer together, for the ministers "have preferred to remain with their people on reduced salaries and added labors rather than to leave their flocks unsheltered."²⁴

At a time when both ministers and money remained scarce, the rapid advance of the religious organizations into new and neglected areas required more efficient use of their existing resources. This in turn led to a decrease in denominational competition and the encouragement of town ministers to serve the surrounding countryside. Presbyterian, Congregational, and Reformed churches sought in 1892 to devise a plan to avoid duplication of work on missionary ground. Though this was but partially successful, the different churches worked out agreements on the local level. In Kansas denominations cooperated in towns, even forming "union churches" in 1894, allowing the town churches to share their ministers with the adjoining rural districts. In Nebraska churches reorganized "on the neighborhood principle," reported one active minister, "occupying fields where no other denominations are at work." Congregationalists established rural "out-stations" in connection with urban "central churches" to advance rural evangelization. Presbyterians, Methodists, and others began once again in 1894 to use successive country school houses for services on Sunday afternoons.²⁵

The greatest stimulus to the success of the new effort by organized religion was its renewed willingness to concern itself with the physical well-being of its adherents. Working through their frontier ministers, religious organizations began to provide food, clothing, fuel, and seed for the destitute settlers. Churchmen who had never before expressed a concern for the suffering of the people demanded in 1894 that the "multitudes . . . too poor" be supplied with food and clothing. Kansas church leaders in 1894 petitioned the governor for state relief for "our poor people," whereas in a similar situation in 1890 ministerial correspondence with the governor was restricted to appeals for personal contributions to assist in the maintenance of churches suffering from

financial distress. Drought and hot winds left western Nebraska devastated in 1894, and the Rev. Harmon Bross—who just two years previously had refused to enter the region—led the church effort to provide assistance for the destitute. Bross declared that “the ministry of relief” was a central duty of the church, and he reported that the efficient relief work of the missionaries made their spiritual work much more successful.²⁶

The acceptance of the idea that the churches, as one Episcopalian phrased it, “must sympathize with and strengthen and help those who suffer in estate, as well as those who suffer in mind and body,” completed the process of changing the concept of religion’s role on the agricultural frontier. The success of religious organizations continued to fluctuate with the economic conditions through the remainder of the 1890’s. However, the churches had at last begun seeking to avoid what one religious spokesman described as the “fearful reproach” that “their great words about ‘evangelizing the nations,’ and Christianizing their own country” were dependent upon their prosperity and the wealth of those they proposed to help. The new spirit of religious dedication, evident by 1893, was best illustrated in 1896 by the missionary in western Kansas who actively sought out those with “the greatest need, both temporal and spiritual, among our poor, lonely people. . . . It may not be so pleasant as in better parts to stay among this western poor who have nothing of this world’s goods and live lonely in their sod-house,” he admitted, “but Christ has commanded us to preach to the poor, and it is blessed work.”²⁷

NOTES

1. L. B. Wright, *Culture on the Moving Frontier* (New York, 1955), 168-197; C. B. Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939), 15-39.

2. Allan G. Bogue, “Social Theory and the Pioneer,” *Agricultural History*, XXXIV (1960), 30-33; J. K. Snell, *Lore of the Great Plains* (Colby, Kansas, 1937), 72.

3. *The Baptist Home Mission Monthly* (January 1888), II, (January 1885), 33-35, (June 1887), 150, (January 1887), 5.

4. *Chicago Advance*, October 5, 1893, p. 734; General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, *25th Annual Report of the Board of Home Missions* (New York, 1895), 31; *The Spirit of Missions* (May 1894), 179.

5. *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* (April 1891), 106, (March 1888), 65, (November 1892), 361; General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, *The Church at Home and Abroad* (January 1891), 61.

6. *Church at Home and Abroad* (September 1892), 244.

7. *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* (December 1888), 354, (July 1890), 203, (April 1889), 94; *The Home Missionary* (July 1891), 147; *Journal of Proceedings of the 33rd Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Kansas* (1892), 89.

8. *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* (January 1887), 2. At the same time a Dakota minister grieved over the money wasted "by eastern churches and pastors" in meaningless social affairs while their unfortunate brethren on the agricultural frontier went "down to death without the Gospel being preached to them. . . ." *Ibid.*, 17.

9. *The Home Missionary* (July 1895), 160, (July 1892), 152; *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* (January 1887), 17; *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Report of the Board of Home Missions* (1891), 271; *Journal of Proceedings, Episcopal Church, Kansas* (1890), 21; *Evangelical Association of North America, Fifty Years in the Kansas Conference, 1864-1914* (Cleveland, 1937), 190.

10. *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* (July 1890), 203; *The Home Missionary* (July 1890), 134, (July 1891), 148.

11. *The Kansas Semi-Weekly Capital* (Topeka), June 4, 1897; *Congregational Churches in Kansas, Memorial Volume* (Kansas City, 1904), 45-48; *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* (November 1892), 355, (December 1891), 346; *Church at Home and Abroad* (October 1891), 350.

12. *Journal of Proceedings, Episcopal Church, Kansas* (1895), 71; *Congregational Churches, Memorial Volume*, 45; *General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, Report of the Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work* (1894), 12; *Church at Home and Abroad* (June 1891), 541; *The Home Missionary* (July 1890), 135, (July 1891), 147.

13. *Presbyterian Church, Report of the Board of Home Missions* (1892), 306, (1894), 26; *Journal of Proceedings of the 28th Annual Council of the Diocese of Nebraska* (Omaha, 1895), 32-33; *The Home Missionary* (July 1890), 133; *Church at Home and Abroad* (September 1891), 252; *Journal of Proceedings, Episcopal Church, Kansas* (1892), 33-34, 74, 89; *Congregational Churches, Memorial Volume*, 46.

14. *The Home Missionary* (July 1892), 152, (July 1891), 147, (July 1890), 133; *Presbyterian Church, Report of the Board of Home Missions* (1894), 26-27; *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* (October 1893), 339-340. (March 1888), 65.

An exception was North Dakota Baptist General Missionary G. W. Huntley who repeatedly solicited and distributed assistance for the destitute people. Huntley stood nearly alone in his concern at this time however. *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* (February 1889), 36-37, (July 1890), 200.

15. Goodykoontz, *Home Missions*, 419; *Church at Home and Abroad* (June 1891), 541; *Presbyterian Church, Report of the Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work* (1894), 12-13, *Report of the Board of Home Missions* (1891), 271; *Journal of Proceedings, Episcopal Church, Kansas* (1890), 22; *Congregational Churches, Memorial Volume*, 19.

16. *The Home Missionary* (July 1893), 160; W. E. Brehm to the American Home Missionary Society, March 24, 1893, F. B. Wilson to AHMS, April 24, 1893, and W. R. Bair to AHMS, June 10, 1893, all in the AHMS papers, Hammond Library, Chicago Theological Seminary; *Church at Home and Abroad* (October 1894), 325-326; *Journal of Proceedings, Episcopal Church, Kansas* (1895), 72-73.

17. *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* (December 1891), 346-347, (September 1892), 313; Presbyterian Church, *Report of the Board of Home Missions* (1892), 306; *The Home Missionary* (July 1892), 146-147; R. J. McGinnis to AHMS, April 10, 1893, AHMS papers; *Journal of Proceedings, Episcopal Church, Kansas* (1892), 25, 33; *Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches of Kansas* (Wichita, 1893), 33.

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