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Article Summary: Economic, demographic, and geographical problems hampered the growth of all Nebraska missionary endeavors. In the Episcopal Church low salaries resulted in excessive clerical mobility and low standards for candidates for the priesthood.

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Photographs / Images: Brownell Hall, which opened in 1863 as a girls' boarding school; Bishops Joseph C Talbot, George Worthington, Robert H Clarkson, Arthur L Williams; Bishop George Allen Beecher about 1905 with his wife and children; Trinity Cathedral, 18th and Capitol Avenue, Omaha

A Study in Adaptability: The Episcopal Church in Omaha, 1856-1919

BY D. G. PAZ

The Episcopal Church has maintained a small but significant presence in Nebraska since the state's beginnings. Among the earliest settlers of Omaha, Andrew J. Poppleton, Lorin Miller, Herman Kountze, James M. Woolworth, Henry Yates, and James W. Van Nostrand—to name but a few—were Episcopalians, and their church was permanently organized after that of the Methodists, at the same time as the Congregationalists and Roman Catholics, but before the Lutherans, Baptists, and Presbyterians.¹ Besides contributing to the state's educational and medical life, the church from time to time has supplied public figures such as J. Sterling Morton, Willa Cather, and J. James Exon. In recent years, however, church historians have turned away from the study of great institutions and great men (in Anglican parlance, "buildings and bishops") to examine the history of religious denominations as organic entities that reflect and change their societies. Using this approach, a study of the first 63 years of the Episcopal Church in Nebraska is made to show how this well-rooted eastern American organization fared as it extended its ministry to the Great Plains.

This study starts in the 1850s with the beginning of white settlement in the territory. Its midpoint is the decade of the 1890s, in which it became apparent the frontier was at an end; the massacre at Wounded Knee off Nebraska's northern border, sealed white supremacy in the Great Plains; and waves of southern and eastern European Roman Catholic and Jewish European immigrants began to settle in Nebraska. In 1890 the Episcopal Diocese of Nebraska was divided into two. This study terminates in 1919, when the national Episcopal Church created an elected presiding bishop with enhanced prestige, a permanent central bureaucracy with control over a budget, and an

annual envelope pledge system that transformed the church's financial support. For the Diocese of Nebraska, 1919 saw the annual pledge system introduced on the parochial level, a systematic survey of missionary work, and the transition of leadership from one bishop to another.² One can argue, then, that 1919 marks the end of the 19th century for the Episcopal Church.

The church's domestic missionary effort in the 19th century fell into two parts. In the early 19th century, work focused on the area between the Appalachian range and the Missouri—the Old Northwest and the New South. The mission strategy for this area, however, was a failure. Voluntary missionary societies, the postponement of episcopal oversight until districts were self-supporting, and the concentration of work in the growing communities behind the frontier, in which the Episcopal Church rarely was first, did not produce an expanding sect. Profiting from experience, the General Convention, the church's supreme legislative body, revised its missionary strategy in 1835. It declared that all churchmen automatically were members of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, and it appointed Jackson Kemper as missionary bishop of the old Northwest Territory. Three years later Kemper's jurisdiction was extended to include Wisconsin and Iowa Territories and the rest of the United States north of latitude 36°30"—the Missouri Compromise line.³ The area that is now Nebraska thus had an episcopal superior.

The existence of Nebraska as an area of settlement, however, had to wait until the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. And, there was the problem of transportation; railroads had come to the East, and now there was talk of a transcontinental line. Railroad promoters, particularly from Chicago, favored a central route to the west coast and pressed for the organization of Nebraska Territory in order to get land grants and to forestall promoters who favored a southern route. Proponents of slavery, who wished to repeal the Missouri Compromise, which forbade slavery north of latitude 36°30" (except for the state of Missouri), also favored territorial organization, provided that "popular sovereignty," which allowed settlers to decide for themselves whether to be slave or free, was written into law. Westerners themselves wanted a territory. Nebraska boomers from Iowa and Missouri pressed for organization, as did the Wyandotte Indians

and the handful of squatters west of the Missouri River. Ultimately the pressures converged in 1854 in the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which created two territories.⁴

Meanwhile, promoters, jobbers, and boomers between about 1852 and 1854 pre-empted townsites across the river and laid out cities, any of which might become the gateway to the west. Men and interests from Sidney, Iowa, laid out Nebraska City; Glenwood, Iowa, produced Plattsmouth. North of the Platte, Bellevue grew up around Peter Sarpy's trading post and the Reverend William Hamilton's Presbyterian mission. Farther north, competing promoters from Council Bluffs laid out Florence, Saratoga, and Omaha City. Nebraska had a population of only 2,732 in 1854; two years later her population had more than tripled to 10,716, of whom about 1,800 lived in Omaha.⁵

Episcopalians were among the boomers, and permanent parochial life began in 1856, when the Bishop of Iowa sent the Reverend Edward W. Peet, rector of St. Paul's, Des Moines, to form parishes in both Council Bluffs and Omaha. Peet met with interested parties to found St. Paul's at Council Bluffs, on April 12, and Trinity at Omaha, on April 19. Hearing of the work, Bishop Kemper made his first and last episcopal tour of Nebraska in July, 1856, visiting Omaha, Nebraska City, Bellevue, Florence, and Brownville. He secured lots in the last two places and reaffirmed the organization of Trinity parish. The General Convention made Kansas and Nebraska a separate jurisdiction in October of 1856, thereby ending Kemper's authority over them, but failed to elect a missionary bishop, believing that the church in the two territories was too weak to support a bishop.⁶

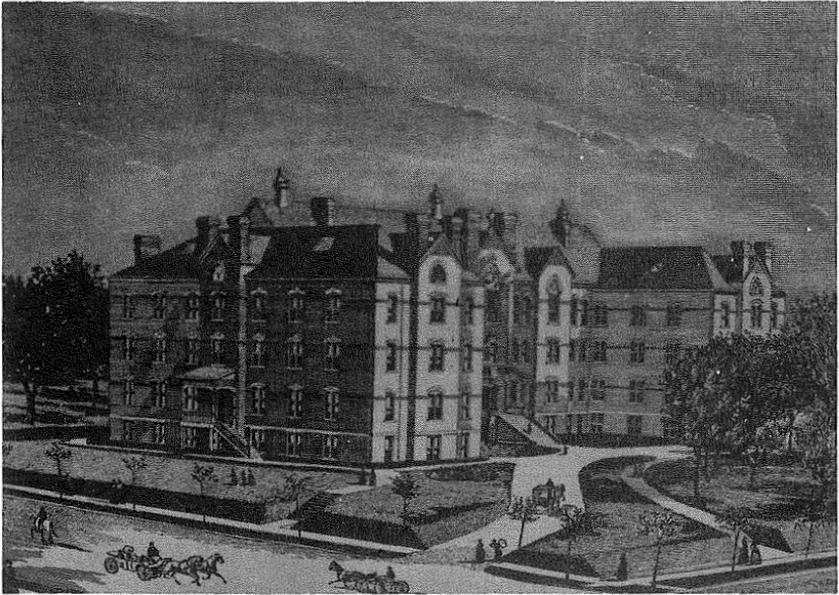
Although Bishop Henry W. Lee of Iowa maintained episcopal oversight of Nebraska between 1856 and 1859, little was done. The bishop did visit Florence, Omaha, and Plattsmouth, but no new missions were created and Trinity parish languished. It purchased land at 14th and Davenport, but the town failed to grow in that direction, and the land was sold in 1865 for a loss of \$500. Meanwhile the parish held services in rented halls. The problem, of course, was the Panic of 1857, which turned Nebraska boomers' dreams to ashes. Land speculation, booming, and paper money from wildcat banks without assets gave the appearance of prosperity between 1854 and 1857, but the failure of the Anglo-American money market in the latter year resulted

in the collapse of the territory's financial structure. To add to the problem, the decade of 1857-1866 was one of poor crop yields. Hence, although the territory had turned from speculation to agriculture after 1857, times were still hard and money was tight.⁷

Nevertheless, some growth occurred during the episcopate of Joseph C. Talbot, 1859-1865. Although Talbot's jurisdiction as missionary bishop of the "Northwest" included Nebraska, the Dakotas, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and Idaho, he wisely concentrated on Nebraska, making his home in Nebraska City. During his episcopate he gave what help he could to the few clergy to his west, and made one epic visit to all his western territories. Perhaps his most fruitful work, however, was to promote missions among his friends in the East. Easterners became acquainted with conditions beyond the Missouri River, and individual parishes were encouraged to take an interest in and contribute to "sister missions" in the West. Talbot also began to build Brownell Hall (now Brownell-Talbot School), the jurisdiction's first educational activity.⁸

The church concentrated its work in the more populous river towns. There were six parishes and missions in Nebraska in 1860, and 10 by 1862; thereafter there was no growth. It is impossible to estimate the relative strength of denominations in Nebraska because the 1860 census underestimates by half the number of Episcopal "organizations." It does seem clear, however, that the Methodists and Presbyterians were the strongest bodies, if numbers of "organizations" are an indication.⁹

In 1865 Talbot became assistant bishop of the Diocese of Indiana, an easier and better-paying assignment. Thereafter his western jurisdiction was trisected: (1) Nebraska and Dakota; (2) Colorado, Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming; and (3) Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico. Robert Harper Clarkson of Chicago was elected missionary bishop of Nebraska and Dakota. Clarkson's jurisdiction, the most heavily settled, included the Nebraska river towns; thus he had the easiest task and the most resources when he arrived in 1866. He moved his headquarters from Nebraska City to Omaha, the territorial capital, in 1867 and in 1868 gained diocesan status for Nebraska, which became a state the year before. But Clarkson was unable to devote full attention to his diocese. Although he was relieved of the Niobrara Indian missions in 1871, he remained in charge of



Brownell Hall (now Brownell-Talbot School) by Bishop Joseph C. Talbot was opened in Omaha in 1863 as a girls' boarding school. From History of the City of Omaha, Nebraska (1894), by James W. Savage and John T. Bell.



Bishop Joseph C. Talbot. From The Episcopal Church in Nebraska—A Centennial History (1969), by Joseph Barnds.

Dakota until 1883, a year before his death. Clarkson emphasized educational institutions, moving Brownell Hall first to Saratoga and then to Omaha, and founding Nebraska College in Nebraska City for collegiate and theological training.¹⁰

Clarkson was concerned with evangelism and constantly exhorted the diocese to become active. Alert to population shifts, he believed that the state's growth afforded opportunities that should be seized. "It is true that a very small per cent of these incoming people are Churchmen, but they are good material out of which Churchmen and Churchwomen can be made, and they are precious souls to whom the Gospel must be preached. Let us do all in our power to reach them, and to win them to Christ and His Church."¹¹ Bishop George Worthington, his successor in 1884, took a no-nonsense approach to the diocese. He closed Nebraska College, believing it could never compete with the state university in Lincoln and the normal school in Peru. He was prepared, if necessary, to reduce languishing parishes to mission status. He emphasized hospital work, and was in large measure responsible for creating Clarkson Hospital in Omaha. Worthington tried to involve the laity in diocesan affairs through organizations such as the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, the Women's Auxiliary, and the Girls' Friendly Society.¹²

The church in Nebraska did grow, increasing by 166 percent between 1870 and 1890, but it failed to keep pace with the state's growth. During the same period the state increased its population by a startling 761 percent. Thus the proportion of Anglican communicants (those entitled to take the communion) to total state population declined during the period, from 0.72 percent in 1870 to 0.22 percent in 1890. In 1870, 19 percent of the communicants were in Omaha parishes, 26 percent in 1880, and 49 percent in 1890. If one includes Holy Trinity parish in Lincoln (founded in 1867), over half of the Nebraska Episcopalians were concentrated in the Lincoln-Omaha area.

After 1890, however, the church's share of the population began to grow.¹³ By 1900 about 0.5 percent of Nebraska's population were communicants of the Episcopal Church. Except for a downward trend between 1910 and 1920, the percentage has since then increased; 1970 figures indicate that about one percent of all Nebraskans are Episcopalians.

Why was the church relatively unsuccessful in growing with the population before 1890? William Manross, who has studied the

Trans-Appalachian West, supplies an explanation that may apply to the Trans-Mississippi West. First, the requirement of an educated clergy prevented the rapid recruitment of priests, and lay readers could neither celebrate the eucharist nor preach; thus there was a clergy shortage. Second, the tradition that a clergyman was wedded to his parish prevented the development of an effective system of itinerant missionaries that might have compensated for the manpower shortage. Third, Anglican distaste for "enthusiasm" in religious services prevented the development of a piety fitted for the West, described with some hyperbole as a place "where men faced the hardships and rigors of a struggle with untamed nature, [where] emotions were strong but coarse, and [where] a religion in which they could not find violent expression was little better than no religion at all."¹⁴

These explanations apply to the Episcopalians in Nebraska. The clergy shortage meant that it was difficult for Bishops Clarkson and Worthington to recruit and retain priests. Salaries were low, working conditions were difficult, vestries sometimes treated priests as hired servants, and a benefice east of the Missouri was attractive indeed. To combat the clergy shortage, the bishops used semi-itinerant missionaries who served several stations. The Reverend Samuel Goodale and a lay reader, for instance, served a mission covering an area of 100 by 75 miles containing 25,000 people with its center at St. James Church, Fremont. This was never as successful as the Methodist itinerant system, in part because the laity in each mission begrudged sharing "their" priest with others. As far as piety was concerned, Philip Potter, an active layman, argued that the church had not attracted more support in Nebraska because her services were too long, dry, and formal, because the laity were too lax in their discipline, and because of popular prejudices that Episcopalians were too Romish and socially snobbish.¹⁵

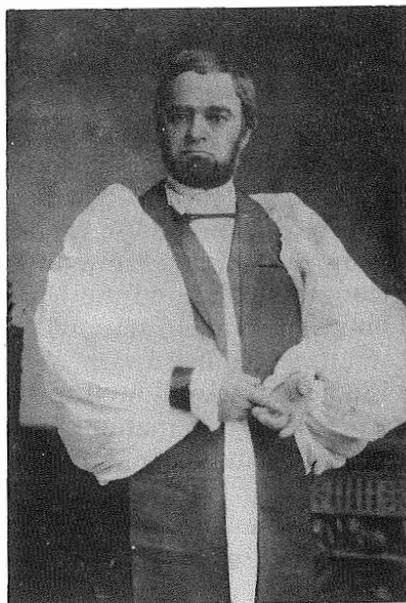
Other factors were also important. Although missionaries occasionally found Scottish or English churchmen in rural Nebraska, most of the people they encountered, even in areas with no places of worship, had no Episcopalian ties. Although railroad companies did advertise for settlers in the British religious press, they used nonconformist as well as Anglican periodicals, and the settlers attracted were chiefly farmers and farm laborers. Since Anglicanism in Britain was as much an expression of community identity as a personal faith, these

classes of people were likely to slip away from the denomination in America unless traditional social bonds were retained as occurred in some parishes in the Nebraska Sandhills, such as All Saints' at Eclipse in Hooker County. Thus the claim that 80 percent of those confirmed between 1881 and 1916 came from Protestant backgrounds makes sense. The Anglicans had no natural constituency in Nebraska, and given the low birth rate among its communicants, its parishes could grow only through proselytism.¹⁶

More serious was the money problem. Clarkson's salary, as well as missionary stipends, came mainly from the Board of Domestic Missions. The bulk of the funds came from other sources. Clarkson and Worthington made frequent fund-raising public speaking tours in the East, especially during general church conventions. Both men maintained financial connections in Chicago and Detroit that were tapped for funds. Worthington, for instance, had close friendships with both Governor H. P. Baldwin of Michigan and meat packer George Armour of Chicago. Within the diocese, funds came from two sources: (1) canonical voluntary offerings collected once a month for stated purposes, while important, depended for success upon the co-operation of the parish clergy; (2) the parish and mission assessment of \$1.00 per communicant--commonly called the "communicant's tax"--was the most controversial method of raising funds because it encouraged dishonesty. (In some dioceses the sale of church newspapers and periodicals generated revenue, but the Diocese of Nebraska publications were consistent money losers.)¹⁷

Events beyond the control of Nebraska churchmen sometimes affected finances. The great Chicago Fire of 1871 dried up for a time Clarkson's contacts in that city. At home a bad crop year in 1875 brought general hardship to Nebraska. Bishop Clarkson issued a special prayer asking for "such deliverance from destructive insects, that the earth may in due time yield her increase for our use and benefit. Avert the dangers that threaten the harvest; from the terrible scourge of locusts, good Lord, deliver us." The locust scourge in 1875 caused a decline of church finances, cuts in clerical salaries, and a drop in morale.¹⁸ It is clear, however, that the coming of the railroad was both the greatest disaster and boon to the church's future in Nebraska.

Clarkson had used the rich eastern portion of his juris-



Bishops George Worthington (left) and Robert H. Clarkson.



Bishop Arthur L. Williams.

diction—prosperous Missouri River steamboat towns—to create the diocese. Before about 1866, the towns of Florence, Omaha, Bellevue, Plattsmouth, and Nebraska City were roughly the same size and certainly had the same ambitions. The railroad project, for which Nebraska had been summoned into existence, languished in the 1850s, largely due to sectional disputes. After 1861, with the patrons of the southern route out of power, Congress chartered the Union Pacific Railroad Company and President Lincoln selected Omaha/Council Bluffs as its eastern terminus. Construction of the UP line began from Omaha in 1865; the track followed and opened up the Platte River Valley to settlement. In a matter of a few years the state's transportation network had changed; river towns such as Rulo and Peru gave way to railroad towns such as Kearney and North Platte. The frontier, in short, had changed; church settlements and investments in the Missouri River Valley declined, and only a few prosperous parishes in that area were left to support church work on the frontier. Thus the church's mission was now to rural Nebraska, and a new start had to be made.¹⁹

The Omaha missions at first also developed on a haphazard basis; there was no planning, and most of the impetus for church extension in the see city came from the cathedral. The background of St. Mark's Parish originates in a Sunday school for children taught by C.P. Birkett and James W. Van Nostrand in the spring of 1867; the Reverend Thomas O. Tongue was ordained deacon and given the mission in September. St. Mark's was organized as a parish in April of 1868 and secured a lot at 8th and Pierce Streets. At first the parish prospered, but in time the railroad grew around the area and communicants moved away from what became "Little Italy." The parish was dissolved in August of 1885 and the property turned over to the diocese. St. Barnabas' Church was organized as a parish a year after St. Mark's, again with support from Trinity Church. The Reverend George C. Betts, rector of Trinity, and Van Nostrand were responsible for organizing the parish. Unlike the first St. Mark's, this venture prospered, in part because of its location at 19th and California Streets in the growing western edge of Omaha, but mainly because its services, characterized by a high ceremonial, appealed to a steady and loyal group of laity.²⁰

Systematic work in Omaha, however, did not really begin until the arrival of the Very Reverend Frank Millspaugh as dean of

Trinity Cathedral in 1876. To introduce the immigrants to American ways, Millspaugh used cathedral resources to found three missions: (1) Grace Chapel, North Omaha, at Hamilton and King (later Lake) Streets, served middle class families in a prosperous neighborhood. (2) An industrial school established on Cass between 14th and 15th Streets in July, 1877, attracted working-class girls from the nearby Union Pacific Railroad shops, but dropped out of the record in 1881. (3) Trinity Chapel for the growing Omaha black community, started by Millspaugh in September, 1878, at 9th and Farnam Streets (later at 19th and Cuming), experienced considerable success. The chapel, organized as St. Philip's Mission in April, 1887, to provide important cultural and political leadership for the Omaha black community, exists today.²¹

Leadership in the Omaha missions shifted in the mid-1880s. Dean Millspaugh left in 1886; his successor, Charles H. Gardner, had other interests and concerns. Moreover, the cathedral's indebtedness increased in the late 1880s, and it could not afford to engage in vigorous outreach work.²² The new bishop, George Worthington, recognized the Episcopalians' shortcomings and moved for stronger leadership for the Omaha missions:

In comparison with the rapid growth of this city, the Church is making little or no progress. There is nothing in the way of aggressive work. Nothing which would indicate that there was determination to give permanency to our missionary undertakings here. With a population of nearly 60,000 we have church accommodation for 1,000. There should be at once a large parish organized in the north, another in the south and a third in the western part of our growing city. Our opportunity will soon be gone. Christian bodies are coming in to take the field which we might occupy, and are providing for the children which it is the duty of the Church to nourish. It is a wise policy that plans to strengthen the important centers; and it is to be one of the steps which I shall soon take in the way of Church extension to organize parishes which may be at once self-supporting in this rapidly developing city.²³

Clergy and laity began to discuss church extension in Omaha, and by 1890 three new parishes existed. Worthington gave charge of Grace Chapel to the Reverend William Osgood Pearson in May, 1885; within a month the parish of St. John's was organized and land purchased at 26th and Franklin Streets. The parish fell into financial disarray, was reduced to mission status in 1892, and closed in 1912. St. Matthias' Church, the second parish, was made possible when Brownell Hall moved from 16th

and Jones Streets to a new location on 10th and Worthington Streets. Bishop Worthington convinced George B. Sheldon, a rich Chicagoan, to build St. Matthias' Church, which opened in October, 1889, to serve both as the chapel for Brownell Hall and the parish church for the surrounding area. Certainly the most successful of Worthington's three parishes was All Saints' Church. Worthington himself convened a meeting of communicants of the cathedral, including Chancellor James M. Woolworth, on September 1, 1885, to organize the parish; subsequently land was purchased at 26th and Howard Streets, and a church opened in January, 1887.²⁴ Thus, within four years of his arrival in the diocese, Worthington had established parishes in the north (St. John's), south (St. Matthias'), and west (All Saints').

Worthington, however, wanted systematic evangelism in his diocese, and to that end adopted the idea of the "associate mission," one of the favorite missionary devices of 19th century Anglicanism. This essentially was a group of clergy who lived in a quasi-monastic community, operated a school, and scattered on weekends to tend missions in the general area. Typically a senior clergyman headed the mission and served as rector of the local parish; the younger clergy were single, fresh from seminary, and willing to work for little. Such clergy were hard to find and did not stay long, but several such missions did exist in the Trans-Mississippi West. Nashotah House in Wisconsin was the prototype associate mission; Bishop Clarkson had such a mission at Yankton in Dakota.²⁵

The scheme was discussed in the diocese in 1886, and the following year Worthington presided over a meeting of the Omaha clergy, at which it was agreed to form an association. Money was raised, areas of work were identified in Walnut Hill, South Omaha, the northeast, and around 20th and Vinton Streets, and clergymen H. L. Gamble and C. S. Witherspoon were hired to do the work. Although the first associate mission lasted only 18 months—it broke up when the priests married—four new missions were established: St. Augustine's (33rd and Francis Streets), Good Shepherd (19th and Lake Streets, later 20th and Ohio), St. Martin of Tours (23rd and F Streets, later 24th and J), St. Saviour's (25th Street in South Omaha), and St. Andrew's (42nd and Nicholas Streets, later 42nd and Hamilton). The second associate mission began in June, 1891, and lasted



Bishop George Allen Beecher about 1905 while dean of Trinity Cathedral, Omaha, with his wife Florence and their children Ruth (front), Elizabeth, and Sanford. . . (Below) Trinity Cathedral, 18th and Capitol Avenue, Omaha.



until 1902. This was an extraordinary success, both statistically and because it produced four bishops—Paul Matthews of New Jersey, Irving Johnson of Colorado, James Wise of Kansas, and Edward Knight of Western Colorado; the founders of two religious orders—Mother Eva Mary of the Anglican Community of the Transfiguration and Lewis T. Wattson of the Roman Catholic Society of the Atonement; and a number of prominent pastors. The second associate mission took up and expanded the work of the first. Its high point perhaps came in 1897 when it maintained 11 missions and presented fully one-quarter of the year's total confirmands.²⁶

Other missions which ultimately became parishes began during this period. St. Mark's at Florence began in 1891 as the result of gifts from Bishop Worthington and a friend. St. Paul's started as a Sunday school at 32nd and Cass Streets in 1886, and later moved to 32nd and California Streets. St. Mark's was never served by the associate mission, but the other missions that ultimately became parishes were: St. Andrew's, St. Paul's, St. Martin's, and the Good Shepherd. In addition, mission priests worked in Tekamah, Bancroft, Bellevue, and Papillion. In 1902 the associate mission reported that its missions either required resident priests or should be closed down, and that therefore its affairs in Omaha should be wound up and moved to another point in the diocese.²⁷

The associate mission had hardly begun operations when the Panic of 1893 ended Omaha's spectacular growth, reduced church income, and forced missionaries to concentrate on building up what they had already started. New mission work had to wait until times improved and Omaha's population had shifted into new neighborhoods.²⁸

The Reverend Merton Ross, rector of St. Andrew's, held services at the Benson Town Hall on the afternoon of November 25, 1906, and about 30 people attended. The diocese bought two lots in the area, and Ross organized the Advent Mission in January of 1907; the St. Mary's Guild gave a dinner and musicale in the Odd Fellows Hall for persons in the community. A year later the Reverend Frederic D. Tyner, Ross' successor at St. Andrew's, was continuing the work. But the mission was inactive by 1912,²⁹ and in 1917 a woman who had moved to Benson from Hastings wrote home that she felt isolated:

We are away out in Benson, which has been taken into Omaha now; there is no Episcopal Church out here now I find, so don't know where the nearest one is as yet, but will find out real soon. What would you suggest?³⁰

In 1908 diocesan leadership had shifted again when Bishop Worthington, after 15 years of service, was felled by heart disease. He moved to New York City in 1899, and the diocese elected a coadjutor, Arthur Llewellyn Williams. Worthington retained ultimate responsibility, however, and although the two prelates worked well together, Bishop Williams was unable to implement his own programs until he became ordinary in 1908. Thereafter he proposed church extension in Omaha:

With the exception of two desirable lots in Benson . . . nothing has been done to acquire building sites in the newer districts and suburbs of the city. Lots should be secured at once in Dundee, in East Omaha, on the two car lines near Twenty-fourth and Vinton Streets, and in the districts near the Field Club, and north of Ames Avenue. In every one of these sections of Omaha there is a nucleus of Church families with which to start service and establish Missions. We need a city Missionary to take up this work, but where are the funds to purchase lots, or to pay the salary of a priest?³¹

A Vinton street Sunday school operated for a time, and St. Clement's served the packing-house third ward of South Omaha until it closed in 1913. The Reverend H. Leach Hoover was appointed city missionary in February, 1910. Assisted by a deacon, he was also chaplain of Clarkson Hospital and priest-in-charge of both St. Paul's, Omaha, and St. Mark's, Florence. Not surprisingly, Hoover left in September. Other city missionaries lasted little longer. The only permanent work was the second and present St. John's, organized in 1910 to serve the area north of Ames Avenue and south of Florence—the old Saratoga Springs. The mission was located at 25th Avenue and Brown Street until 1925, when it moved to its present location, 30th and Belvedere Streets.³²

The position of the Episcopal Church in Omaha was fixed, save for minor changes, by 1919. The cathedral had the downtown to itself because St. Barnabas' moved to its present midtown location of 40th and Davenport Streets in 1915. Of the work in South Omaha, only St. Martin's survived. St. John's was in its old location. St. Mark's was still in Florence at 31st and Young Streets (it did not move to 60th and Girard until 1962); St. Andrew's remained on 42nd and Hamilton Streets until 1950; and All Saints' was at 26th and Howard Streets until 1964. Two

parishes were closed: the Church of the Good Shepherd (20th and Ohio Streets) in 1930 and St. Paul's (32nd and California Streets) in 1936. These closings were due to a number of factors, including the financial crisis of the Great Depression, the changing character of the neighborhoods, and unstable tenure of priests. The increase in availability of the automobile, moreover, meant that urban geography was changing, that parishes did not have to cluster about the center of town. In the process of adjustment, some parishes managed to survive while others died.³³

Out-state missions also had their ups and downs after 1890. Beginning in 1887, the Plains states suffered a series of harsh winters, dry summers, and crop failures. Plains farmers turned to the churches for solace, but the drying up of local financial support and the inability to gain sufficient aid in the East, hampered mission work. National missionary boards, in financial straits because of the Panic of 1893, cut appropriations for the Plains states and missions of many denominations were abandoned. In addition the population in the Nebraska counties west of the 100th meridian declined by 14.8 percent from 1890 to 1900.³⁴ These economic and demographic conditions affected the Episcopal Church, for in 1890 the western two-thirds of the state was separated from the Diocese of Nebraska to become the Missionary District of the Platte under Bishops Anson Graves (1890-1910) and George Allen Beecher (1910-1943).³⁵

The Diocese of Nebraska tried to systematize outstate missions. The Reverend W. H. Moor, fresh from the associate mission, was appointed general missionary for the diocese in 1903, his sphere limited to the area south of the Platte. The Reverend R. R. Diggs was named district missionary for the north in 1905. This arrangement lasted until World War I. Both men found that much of their time was taken up in supplying vacant parishes which had declined, such as those at Randolph, Cedar Rapids, Central City, Auburn, and Tecumseh. A new parish was started in Fairbury. Thus lack of money and lack of manpower continued to hamper the missionaries, who were hard pressed to maintain the membership of the churches they served.³⁶

It was hard for Episcopalians, almost always a minority group, to make an impression in small-town Nebraska. The Reverend Cyrus Townsend Brady, charismatic rector of Trinity Memorial

Church at Crete from November, 1889, to February, 1892, attracted townspeople and students from Doane College to his church and even drew enough support in Wilber, where Czech freethinkers were strong, to build a chapel there; but the work decayed after he left. Although Horace M. Wells, publisher of the *Saline County Union*, was an Episcopalian, most major public figures in Crete, including Thomas Doane, James W. Dawes, Harmon Bross, and Darius J. Jones, were Congregationalists, and the Congregational Church and Doane College served the community as a social and intellectual center. Thus, the community's usual leadership reasserted itself after Brady left and Trinity Memorial languished. Christ Church at Central City was strong while Canon Arthur Marsh was there, but declined thereafter. The diocese secured lots at Norfolk in 1884, but serious missionary work only began in 1889 when the Reverend W. T. Whitmarsh arrived. Thus the personalities and length of tenure of clergymen affected missionary endeavors in small town Nebraska.³⁷

In these towns, and in others such as O'Neill, Ewing, and Bassett, the Episcopalian communities were tiny and often interrelated; family squabbles spilled over into parochial factionalism. If visiting missionaries did not call on *every* family, those omitted might refuse to cooperate. Rural Nebraskans were also moving to the larger cities, and a significant number moved to the Puget Sound of Washington State in the 1890s; missions often collapsed when families moved away or young people married into another sect. Laity tended to be rather passive, and congregational life depended upon a few vigorous "lay popes." If the parish mainstay left or died, as happened at Wilber when layman Charles Harvey, who had zealously supported Father Cyrus Townsend Brady's mission, died in 1893, then the rest of the congregation became discouraged.³⁸

What were the problems that prevented effective evangelism? Certainly "congregationalism" on the part of the laity was a problem. "The work of the Church in its outward life," Worthington reminded his council, "centers around the Episcopate and the unit is the Diocese, and, consequently, it is an imperfect and unworthy conception of duty to limit our vision to the Parish or the support of our Rector."³⁹ Both clergy and laity, however, were reluctant to expend time, energy, and money beyond their parochial boundaries.⁴⁰

Regionalism was also a problem. In the sectionalism that was a major theme in territorial Nebraska history, churchmen south of the Platte vied with those north of the Platte. Out-state parishes mistrusted the motives of metropolitan Omaha and Lincoln churchmen. (Holy Trinity of Lincoln rivaled the Omaha parishes for diocesan leadership.) When the diocese was divided in 1890, the eastern third refused to share its endowment with the Missionary District of the Platte; whatever its merits, the decision caused enmity.⁴¹ Transportation was yet another problem. After 1900 clergy without automobiles arranged transportation with difficulty. Even district missionaries or bishops might be without cars.⁴²

In addition to these problems, there were two great obstacles to parochial stability in the late 19th century: lay and clerical mobility. It was difficult to maintain a settled parochial life when parishioners moved so frequently. The Reverend J. P. D. Lloyd, rector of the Good Shepherd in Omaha in 1890, pointed to this factor in explaining why Anglican parishes were not stable: "The most serious difficulty in part of our Church is people's incessant change of residence. The inhabitants of North Omaha are largely nomads, finding no rest for the soles of their feet."⁴³ The fluidity of population is a fact of Omaha history.⁴⁴ The fate of a number of Omaha parishes--Episcopal and otherwise--are evidence of it. As we have seen, outstate populations also moved, especially during hard times.

Excessive clerical mobility was the natural result of low salaries. As late as 1939 clergy in western Nebraska were paid as little as \$100 per month with a house—and in the days before the Church pension fund, clergy faced poverty when they retired. It was difficult to save for old age on such meager stipends, and diocesan pensions were low. In 1912 two retired priests of the Diocese of Nebraska received pensions of \$800 each per annum, and three clergy widows received \$400, \$300, and \$200. Naturally, clergy tried to better themselves by taking benefices in large western cities or east of the Mississippi, and the priest who remained in the diocese for as long as 10 years was senior indeed.⁴⁵ Median length of canonical residence for all clergy in the Diocese of Nebraska ranged from a low of three years in 1892 to a high of 13 years in 1940, but it was not until the 1960s that length of residence averaged more than six years.

Bishops tried to solve the problem by using lay readers,

associate missions, and deaconesses—Bishop Beecher dreamed of a Deaconess' associate mission at Kearney—but the presence of a priest, who alone could celebrate the eucharist, was necessary for missions to flourish. The result was that bishops had to tolerate unsatisfactory and even mildly unstable priests and candidates for holy orders. One priest, whose good executive ability overshadowed his habit of hugging young boys, was shifted from the Sandhills to Alliance. Another missionary, not in orders, got into trouble in the Sandhills and finally was put under the care of a physician for "insanity." He must "submit to an examination every month which will disclose the fact that he has or has not broken his vow; if he has we drop him then and there." (An operation for the malady was not deemed necessary as yet.) A few other workers, both clerical and lay, had similar problems.⁴⁶

One researcher believes that the rapid turnover of Protestant missionaries in Nebraska ended by the mid-1890s.⁴⁷ The Episcopal Church had not solved this problem by 1919. The Great Depression of the 1930s, when jobs were few, forced clergy to stay put, but only since the 1960s has there been a trend toward longer canonical residence in the diocese.

In conclusion, growth of the Episcopal Church was hampered by economic, demographic, and geographical problems common to all missionary endeavors in the state, as well as by internal problems unique to that denomination. Nevertheless, that essentially eastern institution did survive the transition to the Great Plains and continues today to contribute to the life of the state of Nebraska.

EPISCOPAL PARISHES AND MISSIONS IN NEBRASKA, 1919

KEY: Information in this listing includes, in order, county, town, name of parish or mission, and name of rector or missionary responsible for the church. Towns without church names are unorganized mission stations. "P" in parentheses after the church name indicates parochial status in 1919; "E" indicates that the church existed in 1980.

DIOCESE OF NEBRASKA

ANTELOPE—*Neligh*, St. Peter (E), Marcus J. Brown.

BOONE—*Albion*, St. John (E), W. M. Purce. *Cedar Rapids*, Trinity (P), vacant.

BURT—*Decatur*, Incarnation (M), Arthur E. Marsh. *Tekamah*, Holy Cross, Arthur E. Marsh.

CASS—*Plattsmouth*, St. Luke (P. E.), Wilbur S. Leete.

CEDAR—*Hartington*, Grace, W. M. Purce. *Randolph*, St. Philip, W. M. Purce.

CLAY—*Harvard*, St. John (E), Vacant.

COLFAX—*Schuyler*, Holy Trinity (P.E.), W. M. Purce.

CUMING—*Bancroft*, Atonement, Arthur E. Marsh.

DODGE—*Fremont*, St. James (P. E.), George St. G. Tyner.

DOUGLAS—*Omaha*, Trinity Cathedral (P. E.), James A. Tancock. All Saints (P. E.), Thomas J. Mackay. Good Shepherd (P), Thomas J. Collar. St. Andrew (P. E.), John E. Flockhart. St. Barnabas (P. E.), Lloyd B. Holsapple. St. John (E), Oliver H. Cleveland. St. Mark (E), Oliver H. Cleveland. St. Martin of Tours (E), A. H. Marsden. St. Matthias, Carl H. Worden. St. Paul, A. Corbett. St. Philip (E), John Albert Williams.

FILLMORE—*Geneva*, Trinity, Vacant.

GAGE—*Beatrice*, Christ (P. E.), William A. Mulligan. *Wymore*, St. Luke (E), Roy H. Fairchild.

JEFFERSON—*Fairbury*, Emmanuel, Roy H. Fairchild.

JOHNSON—*Tecumseh*, Grace (E), E. Edwin Brown.

KNOX—*Creighton*, St. Mark (E), Reginald A. Crickmer. *Niobrara*, St. John, Reginald A. Crickmer.

LANCASTER—*Lincoln*, Holy Trinity (P, E), S. Mills Hayes.

MADISON—*Madison*, St. Matthew, W. M. Purce. *Norfolk*, Trinity (P, E), John E. Flockhart.

MERRICK—*Central City*, Christ (P, E), George L. Freebern. *Clarks*, St. Paul, George L. Freebern. *Palmer*, St. Mark, George L. Freebern.

NANCE—*Fullerton*, St. Alban, W. M. Purce. *Genoa*, St. Andrew, W. M. Purce.

NEMAHA—*Auburn*, Ascension, E. Edwin Brown.

NUCKOLLS—*Superior*, St. Barnabas, W. M. Purce.

OTOE—*Nebraska City*, St. Mary (P, E), Roy H. Fairchild.

PLATTE—*Columbus*, Grace (P, E), William L. Blaker. *Monroe*, Trinity, vacant.

POLK—*Silver Creek*, St. Stephen, W. M. Purce.

RICHARDSON—*Falls City*, St. Thomas (P, E), James Noble.

SALINE—*Crete*, Trinity Memorial (E), vacant. *DeWitt*, St. Augustine (E), vacant. *Tobias*, St. Andrew, vacant.

SARPY—*Papillion*, Holy Cross, vacant.

SAUNDERS—*Ashland*, St. Stephen (P, E), vacant.

THURSTON—*Winnebago*, All Saints (E), Elias Wilson.

WASHINGTON—*Blair*, St. Mary (P, E), Arthur E. Marsh.

YORK—*York*, Holy Trinity (E), vacant.

MISSIONARY DISTRICT OF WESTERN NEBRASKA

ADAMS—*Hastings*, St. Mark's Pro-Cathedral (P, E), Charles R. Tyner.

BOX BUTTE—*Alliance*, St. Matthew (E), Joseph J. Dixon.

BROWN—*Ainsworth*, vacant. *Johnstown*, vacant. *Long Pine*, St. John, vacant.

BUFFALO—*Gibbon*, St. Agnes, J. M. Bates.

KEARNEY—*St. Luke* (P, E), George G. Ware.

CHERRY—*Cody* (E), vacant. *Crookston*, vacant. *Merriman*, St. Paul (E), vacant. *Valentine*, St. John (E), vacant.

- CHEYENNE—*Sidney*, Christ (E), Henry Ives.
 CUSTER—*Broken Bow*, St. John the Divine (E), W. T. Morgan. *Callaway*, Holy Trinity (E), Eugene Wettling.
 DAWES—*Chadron*, Grace (E), Ulysses E. Brown. *Crawford*, St. Monica, Joseph J. Dixon. *Ft. Robinson*, Joseph J. Dixon.
 DAWSON—*Farnam* (E), vacant. *Lexington*, St. Peter, George G. Ware.
 DUNDY—*Benkelman*, vacant. *Haigler*, vacant.
 FRANKLIN—*Bloomington*, St. Mary, J. M. Bates. *Franklin*, J. M. Bates. *Naponee*, J. M. Bates.
 FURNAS—*Arapahoe*, St. Paul (E), Charles R. Tyner.
 GREELEY—*Greeley Center*, J. M. Bates.
 HALL—*Grand Island*, St. Stephen (P, E), Louis A. Arthur. *Wood River*, St. James, vacant.
 HAYES—*Hamlet*, vacant.
 HITCHCOCK—*Culbertson*, vacant. *Stratton*, vacant. *Trenton*, vacant.
 HOLT—*Atkinson*, vacant. *Ewing*, vacant. *Inman*, vacant. *O'Neill*, vacant.
 HOOKER—*Eclipse*, All Saints (E), Joseph J. Dixon. *Mullen*, St. Joseph (E), Joseph J. Dixon.
 HOWARD—*St. Paul*, Holy Trinity, J. M. Bates.
 KEARNEY—*Minden*, vacant.
 KEITH—*Ogallala*, St. Paul (E), Henry Ives.
 KIMBALL—*Kimball*, St. Hilda (E), Henry Ives.
 LINCOLN—*North Platte*, Our Saviour (P, E), Roland C. Mackintosh. *St. Paul's Chapel*, Roland C. MacKintosh.
 MORRILL—*Bayard*, St. Margaret (E), F. W. Henry. *Bridgeport*, Good Shepherd (E), F. W. Henry. *Broadwater*, F. W. Henry.
 PHELPS—*Holdrege*, St. Elizabeth (P, E), W. Howard Mills.
 RED WILLOW—*Indianola*, vacant. *McCook*, St. Alban (P, E), A. D. Jones.
 ROCK—*Bassett* (E), vacant.
 SCOTTS BLUFF—*Gering*, St. Timothy (E), F. W. Henry. *Mitchell* (E), F. W. Henry. *Scottsbluff*, St. Andrew (P, E), F. W. Henry.
 SHERIDAN—*Gordon* (E), vacant. *Rushville* (E), U. E. Brown.
 SHERMAN—*Loup City*, J. M. Bates.
 SIOUX—*Harrison*, vacant.
 VALLEY—*Arcadia*, J. M. Bates. *Ord*, St. John, J. M. Bates.
 WEBSTER—*Red Cloud*, Grace, J. M. Bates.

NOTES

A version of this paper was presented at a study group on Nebraska church history, at St. Barnabas' parish, Omaha, in June, 1979. The religious publications mentioned in this paper are on file at the diocesan offices in Omaha and are on microfilm at the Nebraska State Historical Society.

1. Colin Brummitt Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier, With Particular Reference to the American Home Missionary Society* (New York, 1971; reprint of 1939 ed.), 298-299; James W. Savage and John T. Bell, *History of the City of Omaha, Nebraska* (New York and Chicago, 1894), 105-106, 327-345; Alfred Sorenson, *The Story of Omaha from the Pioneer Days to the Present Time*, 3rd ed. (Omaha, 1923), 203.

2. George E. DeMille, *The Episcopal Church Since 1900: A Brief History* (New York, 1955), 26-27, 34-35; *Journal of Proceedings of the Fifty-Second Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Nebraska, . . . 1919*, 80. These journals will be cited hereafter by number of council, year, and page.

3. Lawrence L. Brown, "The Episcopal Church in the Arid West, 1865-1875: A Study in Adaptability," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXX (1961), 142-143; William Joseph Barnds, *The Episcopal Church in Nebraska: A Centennial History* (Omaha, 1970), 1; William Wilson Manross, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1800-1840: A Study in Church Life* (New York, 1938), 108.

4. James C. Olson, *History of Nebraska*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln, 1974), 67-77.

5. *Ibid.*, 78-81; Wallace Brown, "George L. Miller and the Boosting of Omaha," *Nebraska History*, 50 (1969), 277-291; James M. Robbins Jr., "A History of the Episcopal Church in Omaha from 1856 to 1964" (MA thesis, University of Nebraska at Omaha, 1965), 4.

6. *Ibid.*, 5-10; Barnds, *Church in Nebraska*, 2-7, 49-51.

7. *Ibid.*, 51, 55-58; Robbins, "Church in Omaha," 11-12; Olson, *Nebraska*, 92-97.

8. Barnds, *Church in Nebraska*, 7-8, 59-65; Brown, "Arid West," 143.

9. Parochial data before 1868 come from parish histories published in the diocesan press; for the census figures, see Olson, *Nebraska*, 100.

10. Brown, "Arid West," 144-145; Barnds, *Church in Nebraska*, 10-12, 15, 68-69, 181-188.

11. *11th Council* (1878), 28.

12. Barnds, *Church in Nebraska*, 17-23, 73, 186-187; William Joseph Barnds, "Nebraska College, the Episcopal School at Nebraska City, 1868-1886," *Nebraska History*, 52 (1971), 186-187; *Church Guardian*, IX:10 (July, 1886), 147.

13. Data are from the *Episcopal Church Annual*, parochial reports in the annual council journals of the Dioceses of Nebraska and Western Nebraska, and from Olson, *Nebraska*, 154. Religious statistics are suspect and must be used with care. I use communicants as the measure of church strength because the reports of other indicators (total baptized persons, total souls in parishes) are incomplete, but that measure has its problems. First, record-keeping and counting procedures were haphazard and many priests provided estimates that never changed. Second, since the annual parochial assessment was based on communicants, priests felt pressure to underestimate their communicants. Third, using communicants as the measure underestimates total church strength because it counts no child younger than about 12, and many adults in missionary areas. For evidence of these problems, see *12th Council*, 1879, 47; *Church Guardian*, II:12 (June, 1879), 190; *Ibid.*, VIII:9 (June, 1885), 135; *Ibid.*, XI:5 (March, 1888), 73; *Parish Messenger*, II:9, SS. Philip & James, 1889; *28th Council* (1895), 43; *35th Council* (1902), 19-21, 26, 28.

14. Manross, *Episcopal Church*, 109-112.

15. Brown, "Arid West," 164; Olson, *Nebraska*, 100; *Guardian*, I:5 (May, 1873), 28; *Ibid.*, 8 (August, 1873), 52; *Ibid.*, II:10 (October, 1874), 78; *Church Guardian*, IX:10 (July, 1886), 148; Philip Potter, "The Church—Its Growth as Particularly Connected With the Masses," *Ibid.*, I:10 (January, 1878), 146-147; John Williams, "Clerical Changes," *Diocese of Nebraska*, II:1 (January, 1890), 2-3.

16. Oscar O. Winther, "The English in Nebraska, 1857-1880," *Nebraska*

History, 48 (1967), 216; Ian MacPherson, "Better Britons for the Burlington: A Study of the Selective Approach of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy in Great Britain, 1871-1875," *Ibid.*, 50 (1969), 383; Ruth Donohoe, "Ranch Family's Generosity Harnesses Them to Sandhills' Church History," *Nebraska Churchman*, 24 (May, 1979); *49th Council* (1916), 69; *Church Guardian*, IV:3 December, 1880), 38.

17. *Ibid.*, I:11 (February, 1878), 168; Brown, "Arid West," 155-156, 167-169.

18. Barnds, *Church in Nebraska*, 14.

19. *Ibid.*, 70; Brown, "Arid West," 146, 163; Olson, *Nebraska*, 102, 104-105, 107, 113-115; Norman A. Graebner, "Nebraska's Missouri River Frontier, 1854-1860," *Nebraska History*, 42 (1961), 213-135; Carol Gendler, "Territorial Omaha as a Staging and Freight Center," *Ibid.*, 49 (1968), 103-120.

20. Robbins, "Church in Omaha," 27-28, 30-32; *Church Guardian*, I:10 (January, 1878), 147.

21. *Ibid.*, I:5 (August, 1877), 85; *Ibid.*, 9 (December, 1877), 133-134; Robbins, "Church in Omaha," 124-130.

22. *Ibid.*, 87-93.

23. *18th Council* (1885), 55-56.

24. *Ibid.*, 91; *Church Guardian*, IX:1 (October, 1885), 9; *Ibid.*, XI:2 (December, 1887), 24; Robbins, "Church in Omaha," 108-116, 119-120, 251-253.

25. Brown, "Arid West," 156-162.

26. Robbins, "Church in Omaha," 132-167; *Church Guardian*, IX:1 (Oct., 1885), 12; *Ibid.*, 6 (March, 1886), 91-92; *Ibid.*, XI:2 (December, 1887), 24; *Diocese of Nebraska*, I:2 (February, 1889), 2; *Ibid.*, II:8 (August, 1890), 2; Barnds, *Church in Nebraska*, 206-209; Charles V. LaFontaine, "Apostles to the Meatpackers: The Associate Mission of Omaha, Nebraska, 1891-1902," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XLVII (1978), 333-353.

27. Robbins, "Church in Omaha," 151-167; *Crozier*, II:3 (March, 1901), 19; *35th Council* (1902), 60.

28. Howard P. Chudacoff, "Where Rolls the Dark Missouri Down," *Nebraska History*, 52 (1971), 10.

29. *Crozier*, VII:12 (December, 1906), 160; *Ibid.*, VIII:1 (January, 1907), 5; *Ibid.*, 2 (February, 1907), 26; *Ibid.*, IX:2/3 (February/March, 1908), 43; *41st Council* (1908), 84; *45th Council* (1912), 77.

30. Lillian Mae Caprne to Beecher, October 8, 1917, George Allen Beecher Papers, Nebraska State Historical Society (hereinafter NSHS), MS. 2509, box 3, folder 12.

31. *Crozier*, X:6 (June, 1909), 85-86.

32. *Ibid.*, VII:12 (December, 1906), 161; *Ibid.*, XI:2 (February, 1910), 25; *Ibid.*, 9 (September, 1910), 160; *Ibid.*, XV:6 (June, 1914), 98; *41st Council* (1908), 83-84; *43rd Council* (1910), 88; *45th Council* (1912), 76-77; *46th Council* (1913), 62; *47th Council* (1914), 64; Robbins, "Church in Omaha," 221-228.

33. *Ibid.*, 187-233.

34. Peter H. Argersinger, "The Divines and the Destitute," *Nebraska History*, (1970), 304-308; Gilbert C. Fite, "Flight from the Farm," *Ibid.*, 40 (1959), 170-171.

35. Documentation for the Missionary District of the Platte (which went through successive changes of name: Laramie, Kearney, Western Nebraska) is sketchy because the ecclesiastical records were retained by Bishop Beecher's

children after he retired and the district was reunited with the diocese. Both bishops left autobiographies: Anson R. Graves, *The Farmer Boy Who Became a Bishop* (Akron, Ohio, 1911); George A. Beecher, *A Bishop of the Great Plains* (Philadelphia, 1950).

36. *37th Council* (1904), 68-69; *38th Council* (1905), 26; *39th Council* (1906), 101; *41st Council* (1908), 92-95, 97-99.

37. *Ibid.*, 99; Canonical Parish Register, 1890-1904, Trinity Memorial Parish Archives, Crete, NSHS, MS. 475, ser. 1. vol. 2, 16-17, 19-21; *Reaper*, I:1 (December, 1889), 3, and 6 (May, 1890), 2-3, *Ibid.*, ser. 2, vol. 1; *Diocese of Nebraska*, I:2 (February, 1889), 2; Annadora F. Gregory, "The Reverend Harmon Bross and Nebraska Congregationalism, 1873-1928," *Nebraska History*, 54 (1973), 449-456.

38. Correspondence between Deaconess Mercedes Gore and Allen Beecher, January-August, 1912, Beecher Papers, NSHS, MS. 2509, box 2, folder 6; Claude R. Parkerson to Beecher, March 17, 1916, *ibid.*, folder 9; J. J. Bowker to Beecher, October 12, 1917, *ibid.*, box 3, folder 12; *39th Council* (1906), 76-77; *Diocese of Nebraska*, V:10 (October, 1893), 2; *Ibid.*, VIII:9 (September, 1896), 4.

39. *37th Council* (1904), 27.

40. *Ibid.*, 26-27, 70; *Crozier*, I:9 (October, 1900), 52; *31st Council* (1898), 26-27; *32nd Council* (1899), 32-33; *38th Council* (1905), 32-33.

41. Olson, *Nebraska*, 82-89, 117, 145; Barnds, *Church in Nebraska*, 25-29, 73; *1st Council* (1868), 11-12; *23rd Council* (1890), 79; *24th Council* (1891), 73; *25th Council* (1892), 88; *Church Guardian*, III:11 (August, 1880), 181; *Diocese of Nebraska*, VI:5 (May, 1895), 2.

42. Anson R. Graves to Beecher, June 21, 1912, Beecher Papers, NSHS, MS. 2509, box 2, folder 7; *48th Council* (1915), 91.

43. *Diocese of Nebraska*, II:11 (November, 1890), 3.

44. Howard P. Chudacoff, *Mobile Americans: Residential and Social Mobility in Omaha, 1880-1920* (New York, 1972).

45. Beecher to Gore, January 16, 1912, Beecher Papers, NSHS, MS. 2509, box 2, folder 6; Beecher to Lewis B. Franklin, January 4, 1939, *Ibid.*, box 4, folder 22; *42nd Council* (1909), 74; *45th Council* (1912), 65-66, 68-70, 99.

46. *Crozier*, XVII:7/8 (July/August, 1916), 115; Florence Beecher to Beecher, August 7, 1892, Beecher Papers, NSHS, MS. 2509, box 1, folder 2; George G. Ware to Beecher, July 16, 1912, Beecher to Ware, July 18, 1912, Ware to Beecher, July 26, and August 19, 1912, all in *Ibid.*, box 2, folder 7; Ware to Beecher, August 2, 1913, *Ibid.*, folder 8; correspondence between Ware and Beecher, April-May, 1914, *Ibid.*, folder 9.

47. Argersinger, "Divines and Destitute," 314-315. I do not know of any studies of the Roman Catholic Church in Nebraska that deal with the problem of clerical mobility.