The tension between modern and traditional church design in the twenty years after World War II left a powerful, lasting legacy on the ecclesiastical landscape of Kansas and the nation.
The Kansas Historic Sites Board of Review held its regular quarterly meeting on Saturday, February 21, 2004. The major agenda items were the approval of passthrough Historic Preservation Fund grants, evaluation of thirteen nominations (twelve for the National Register and one for the state register), and consideration of whether a National Register-listed log cabin could be moved and retain its National Register listing.

The board approved ten passthrough grant projects with a total of $140,501 in federal funds. (See page 3.)

All of the nominations scheduled for evaluation were approved. The John Drimmel Sr. Farmstead at 16339 290th Road, Atchison vicinity, was built in 1878-1881. The Drimmel family migrated from Austria to Wisconsin in 1855 and then to Atchison in 1857. The Drimmel farmhouse and outbuildings demonstrate various late-nineteenth-century architectural influences and stand as well-preserved examples of rural domestic and agricultural architecture.

Virginia School District #33 is a one-story frame building at the northwest corner of 71st Street and Clare Road within the city limits of Shawnee in Johnson County. Built in 1877, the rural school was used until 1962. The building maintains a high level of integrity and is cared for by the Monticello Community Historical Society.

The Jenkins Building, a two-story stone building at 101 E. Mackenzie in White City, Morris County, was built in 1885-1886 by William Schilling and Son for use as a general store. The Jenkins Brothers purchased it in 1888 and operated a thriving general merchandise store there until 1939. In the past two years, major repairs include a new roof, rebuild-
ing the south wall, repairs to the structural framework, and floor repairs.

Located at 501 Houston in Manhattan, the Lyda-Jean Apartments were built in 1930 from plans prepared by well-known local architect Henry B. Winter. The two-story brick building reflects the Craftsman style on the interior and twentieth-century commercial on the exterior.

The Morton Albaugh House at 1331 Harrison Street in Topeka was built in 1910. Albaugh made a name for himself in the Kansas Republican Party and, as a reward for his organizational and campaign skills, was appointed to various state government posts. The house is an example of the American Foursquare.

The Harrison and Margaret Mulvane Morgan House at 1335 Harrison in Topeka was built in 1904 for the daughter and son-in-law of prominent Topeka businessman and investor Joab Mulvane. The house is a two-story shingle-clad Bungalow.

Located at 114 South Jefferson in downtown Wellington, the Edwin Smith House was built in 1930-1935 in the Spanish Colonial Revival style. Designed by architect Ellis Charles of Wichita, the house has survived remarkably unchanged. The basement billiards room features six wall murals by noted artist A. D. Greer.

Five districts from Lawrence were also approved: the Lawrence Downtown Historic District, generally along Massachusetts between 6th Street and South Park Street; the North Rhode Island Street Historic District, east side of Rhode Island Street, 700-1144, west side of Rhode Island Street, 901-1047 and 1201-1215; South Rhode Island Street Historic District, east side of Rhode Island Street, 1220-1340, west side of Rhode Island Street, 1301-1345, east side of New Hampshire Street, 1300-1346, west side of New Hampshire Street, 1301-1347; Pinckney I Historic District, west side of 400 and 500 blocks of Tennessee Street, east side of 400 and 500 blocks of Ohio Street, west side of 500 block of Ohio Street, east and west sides of 500 block of Louisiana Street, and north side of 400 and 500 blocks of West Sixth Street; and Pinckney II Historic District, east and west sides of 300 block of Indiana Street, and 400 and 401 Indiana Street.

The Carl Madsen Scholer House, 701 Pine Street in Wamego, was approved for state register listing. Scholer himself designed and built the house in 1909 when the family moved from their farm. The house is representative of early twentieth century middle class architecture.

After receiving considerable public input on the topic, the board voted to support retention of the Wetzel Cabin on the National Register after it is relocated from its current site in a roadside park on Interstate 70 east of Junction City. The new location will be on property owned by the Geary County Historical Society west of Junction City. It was the board’s consensus that the dog trot log cabin—now in its third known location—was listed primarily for its uniqueness as a surviving example of a dog trot cabin, and that its significance was not linked to its location along I-70.

The board’s next meeting is scheduled for Saturday, May 8, 2004, at the Kansas History Center in Topeka. For agenda information, call (785) 272-8681 Ext. 240.
2004 Historic Preservation Fund Grants Awarded to Ten Kansas Projects

On February 21, 2004, the Kansas Historic Sites Board of Review approved recommendations for this year’s round of Historic Preservation Fund (HPF) grants. The board allocated $140,501 to ten projects across the state. Seven projects totaling $88,953 went to Certified Local Governments (CLGs).

The City of Lawrence was awarded $2,250 to fund a National Register historic district nomination for the Breezezied neighborhood. This subdivision, developed by Charles Sutton in 1909, still retains the large stone and metal sculpture “gateway” monuments.

The City of Lawrence was also awarded a grant of $11,508 for a design review intern. The intern will provide assistance with projects such as CLG reviews, certificates of appropriateness applications, staff reports, legal notifications, assistance to developers and property owners, and coordination of Historic Preservation Week activities.

The City of Topeka-Shawnee County Landmarks Commission received $6,600 to employ a preservation intern. In addition to performing duties similar to those listed above, the Topeka intern will assist the planning staff for a survey of historic resources and the writing of neighborhood history reports.

The City of Topeka-Shawnee County Landmarks Commission received an additional $11,500 to fund a reconnaissance survey of Old Town. Following the completion of the Topeka-Shawnee County Comprehensive Plan 2025 in 2003 (which recommended the neighborhood pursue a survey), the Old Town Neighborhood Improvement Association made a request of the Topeka-Shawnee County Landmarks Commission for a reconnaissance survey. The survey will provide background information and validate the assessments of the neighborhood and the Commission.

The City of Wichita also received two grants. A grant of $19,575 will fund an update of the Discover Historic Wichita! brochure. The revised brochure will reflect the additional properties attaining register status in Wichita and will be available free to the public. The City of Wichita’s other grant of $37,520 will provide for twelve National Register nominations and a design review assistant for Wichita. In addition to writing the National Register nominations, the design review assistant will assist with design review applications, certificates of appropriateness, file maintenance, Historic Preservation Board meetings, and various responsibilities within the Preservation Planning Department.

Three non-CLG applicants also received grants. The Atchison Preservation Alliance received an award of $4,500 for a brochure documenting the Amelia Earhart Historic District. The brochure will include general history of the district as well as history of specific houses and information on the architectural styles of various structures.

A second grant to the Atchison Preservation Alliance for $7,500 will fund six National Register nominations for historically significant buildings in Atchison. This project builds on Atchison’s past record of documenting the rich architectural and historical resources found in the city.

The City of Hiawatha received an award of $5,902 to fund a downtown historic district nomination. A reconnaissance survey in 2003 provided the basis for the City of Hiawatha to pursue a downtown historic district. Establishing an historic district is one of many heritage projects for Hiawatha in preparing for their 2007 sesquicentennial.

An archaelogical study was also funded. Kansas State University will receive $33,646 to carry out National Register evaluations of the Caenen and Paul Sites, which are located in the Stranger Creek Valley in Leavenworth County. Previous surveys at the sites suggest prehistoric settlement and cultural relations from ca. AD 1 to 1500. The Caenen site has evidence of a house structure affiliated with the Pomona culture of the Late Prehistoric period.

Conference Reminder

The annual Kansas Preservation Conference will be held April 29-May 1, 2004, in Wichita.

The conference is headquartered at the Hotel at Old Town Conference Center, 830 East First Street.

Questions can be directed to Kathy Morgan at (316) 268-4421 or kmorgan@wichita.gov.

Grand Opening

The Great Overland Station (formerly Union Pacific Railroad Passenger Depot) at 701 N. Kansas Avenue, Topeka, will have its grand opening on Saturday, June 12, 2004. Beginning at 10 a.m., the day’s events include tours of the depot, music, entertainment, and special activities for children.

Kansas Anthropological Association Annual Meeting in Hanover

The annual meeting of the Kansas Anthropological Association is Saturday, April 17, 2004 at the Legion Hall in Hanover, Kansas.

Registration is 8-8:30 a.m., followed by the business meeting and election of officers. In keeping with the theme of Kansas Archaeology Month, the program will feature a number of trail-related talks. Morning speakers are Duane Durst, Marsha King, and Abigail Varner. Afternoon speakers are Dr. Donna Roper, Randy Thies, and Debra Stufflebean. Virginia Wulfkuhle, KSHS public archeologist, will preview this summer’s Kansas Archeology Training Program field school near Lindsborg.

The registration fee is $4. Lunch is catered for an additional $5.75 per person.

This article was prepared by Teresa Kiss, grants manager for the Cultural Resources Division.
National Register Update

Since the last update printed in the January-February 2004 issue of Kansas Preservation, 23 Kansas properties have been added to the National Register of Historic Places, raising the Kansas total to 861.

Two properties were added to the New Deal-era Resources of Kansas Multiple Property Submission:
- Newton Stadium, Athletic Park, Newton, Harvey County
- East Topeka Junior High School, 1210 East 8th Street, Topeka, Shawnee County

One property was added to the Aboriginal Lithic Sources in Kansas Multiple Property Submission:
- Dennis Quarry, Onaga vicinity, Pottawatomie County

One property was added to the Railroad Resources of Kansas Multiple Property Submission:
- Union Pacific Railroad Depot, 300 Washington Street, Concordia, Cloud County

One property was added to Masonry Arch Bridges of Kansas Thematic Registration:
- Amelia Park Bridge, Antelope vicinity, Marion County

One property was added to the Lawrence, Kansas, Multiple Property Submission:
- Michael D. Greenlee House, 947 Louisiana Street, Lawrence, Douglas County

The other recently listed properties are given in county order:
- Frederick W. Stein House, 324 Santa Fe Street, Atchison, Atchison County
- A. J. Eicholtz House, 406 North 7th Street, Hiawatha, Brown County
- Towanda Masonic Lodge No. 30 A.F. & A.M., 401 Main Street, Towanda, Butler County
- Wheatland Farm Historic District, 2291 2100 Avenue, Chapman vicinity, Dickinson County
- Vinland Fair Association Fairgrounds Exhibit Building, 1736 North 700 Road, Baldwin City vicinity, Douglas County
- Julius Bissing, Jr., Historic District, 502-504 West 12th Street, Hays, Ellis County
- Wilson Downtown Historic District #1, Main Street, roughly along Main Street, 24th Street, 25th Street, and 26th Street, Wilson, Ellsworth County
- Wilson Downtown Historic District #3, south side, 400 block of 27th Street, Wilson, Ellsworth County
- Hennessy Hall, Saint Mary of the Plains Campus, 240 San Jose Drive, Dodge City, Ford County
- Pleasant Valley School District No. 2, 2905 Thomas Road, Wellsville vicinity, Franklin County
- Lincoln School, 406 West 6th Street, Newton, Harvey County
- Ensor Farm, 18995 West 183rd Street, Olathe vicinity, Johnson County
- Bichet School, District 34, Florence vicinity, Marion County
- Karnes Stone Barn, 4204 East 129th Street, Carbondale vicinity, Osage County
- Pottawatomie County Fair Pavilion, East Ninth Street, Onaga, Pottawatomie County
- Fred and Cora Luttjohann House, 2053 South Kansas Avenue, Topeka, Shawnee County
- Trego County Fairgrounds Exhibit Building, Trego County Fairgrounds, Wakeeney, Trego County

The Ensor Farm in Johnson County is one of two National Register-listed properties featured by the National Park Service (NPS) in March in commemoration of Women’s History Month. The farm was home to Loretta Ensor and her brother Marshall Hamilton Ensor, pioneers in the medium of radio. In the formative years of radio, Loretta Ensor was, according to the Kansas City Journal Post, “the only woman Amateur radio operator in the Middle West.”

To learn more about historic properties nationwide associated with significant women, see the NPS website at http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/feature/wom/.

Zollner Joins Staff

The Cultural Resources Division is pleased to welcome Patrick Zollner to the Historic Preservation Office.

Zollner, who joined the staff on February 16, will work with both the National Register and survey programs. In addition to assisting the public with owner-sponsored National Register nominations, he will review HPF grant-funded surveys and nominations.

Before coming to Kansas, Zollner was the National Register coordinator for the Arkansas State Historic Preservation Office and later worked as a private consultant in Arkansas.

KATP Registration
Packets Available; Discounts by May 7

Registration packets for the Kansas Archeology Training Program field school are now available upon request from Anita Frank at (785) 272-8681 Ext. 268 or afrank@kshs.org.

The field school is June 5-20, 2004, near Lindsborg, Kansas. Applications submitted by May 7 qualify for a reduced registration fee.

If you have questions about the field school, contact Virginia Wulfkuhle at (785) 272-8681 Ext. 255 or vwulfkuhle@kshs.org.
When Traditional Could Be Modern

Religious Buildings in Kansas After World War II

The small white country church may be the stereotypical icon of religion in Kansas, yet religion in Kansas has taken place in the sometimes awkward combination of modern and traditional church styles implemented after World War II. These diverse architectural styles reflect the tensions and contrasts of the society that produced them.

While the years from 1945 to 1965 have the reputation of embracing all things modern, the era actually had both confidence in the latest in technology and devotion to established traditions. Worshipers said ancient prayers or sang familiar Gospel hymns from pews that had angled backs and padded seats. Revival Styles remained popular even as designers adapted the pared-down International Style to the ancient basilican model of church design. Severe geometric designs in abstract stained glass windows merged with the round church design from late antiquity. Even the commentaries from the time were mixed: some critics praised the contemporary lines of the latest designs while others scoffed at what they called the “barn and silo” approach to building.

The decades following World War II marked one of the great ecclesiastical building booms in American history. In 1947, Americans spent $126 million on church construction. By 1953, that figure was $474 million. Two years later, that amount nearly doubled to $734 million. By 1960, Americans spent more than $1 billion on church construction nationwide, roughly 2.5 percent of all money spent on privately financed construction. Kansas was part of this movement as well. For example, the Methodists, the largest single religious group in Kansas during this time, spent nearly $1 million on church construction in 1955, an 800 percent increase from what they spent in 1940. Other groups and denominations were just as active.

Baby Boomers and Suburbs

Economics and demographics drove a lot of this construction. The generation that fought in World War II had settled down and started raising families. These growing “baby boom” families required a wide range of services, including those for spiritual needs. The combination of growing congregations and postwar prosperity meant churches could support major building programs.

First Presbyterian in Topeka was a good example. In 1950 The Christian Century did a feature story noting how the church worked to include young families into the life of the congregation by, among other activities, remodeling the old Sunday school auditorium into a collection of classrooms. The congregation then launched a $230,000 building program to add a new wing for offices, a chapel, a library, and a recreation room.

In the nation’s larger cities, the development of suburbs...
offered a new mission field for the mainline denominations. The common paradigm involved churches catering almost exclusively to residents of a given neighborhood. These congregations consisted of relatively small groups who chose their house of worship because they happened to live nearby or because it was of a particular sect or denomination that potential members sought out.

The ability to drive to the church of one’s choice rather than walk to the closest also freed congregations to locate where land was cheaper. Because parking was a factor, lots had to be bigger, encouraging construction in new areas or on the outskirts of town where there were fewer existing structures to contend with. Whether intentional or not, the result was congregations made up of the self-segregated social and cultural groups that were the byproduct of the suburban experience. For Kansas, the expansion of churches into new neighborhoods was especially pronounced in cities such as Wichita, Topeka, Salina, and the Kansas City area.

For the rest of Kansas, however, different patterns were at work. Smaller towns did not develop suburbs. Yet after World War II, rural Kansas also experienced a period of prosperity, allowing existing congregations to remodel or replace their older sanctuaries. This remodeling took place in three main forms. The first was to retain the existing sanctuary but add on a new “education wing.” The second was to add on a new sanctuary and remodel the old one into some combination of parish hall and classrooms. The third was to completely replace the old sanctuary by either demolition or relocation. As in larger cities, the new construction sometimes took place in stages, with the congregation first constructing an all-purpose building that served as sanctuary, classroom space, and parish hall. Once (or if) finances permitted, a second phase to complete the main worship space began. In all these cases, modern buildings implied status and conveyed the image that these were dynamic prosperous congregations fully part of the postwar boom.

Another reason for church construction in Kansas was the growth of religious traditions that were relatively new to large parts of the state. Into the 1930s, mainline denominations prevailed in Kansas. Starting in the 1940s, Kansas experienced a substantial growth of Evangelical and Pentecostal congregations such as the Southern Baptists, Churches of Christ, Church of the Nazarene, Church of God in Christ, and Assemblies of God. These traditions expanded in Kansas with the “Southern Diaspora,” the migration of both white and African American populations from the South. For example, in 1936 U.S. census statistics listed six Southern Baptist churches for the entire state. By the 1950s, there were Southern Baptist congregations in two-thirds of the counties in Kansas, with over a dozen in the Wichita area alone.

Sometimes, new congregations emerged in the wake of a revival or were the result of intentional mission work. Sometimes, existing congregations split over personal or theological issues, resulting in a community supporting a collection of relatively small congregations instead of a single, large one. When resources permitted, these congregations either constructed their own buildings or moved into older vacated churches.

New Religious Traditions

Although congregants still dressed up to go to church, buildings from this period reflected the era’s embrace of family-oriented informality. The World War II generation respected tradition but was put off by the stuffiness of earlier eras. To reach these young families, churches had to make things informal, contemporary, and relevant. In terms of church decoration, this meant that pews, pulpits, and altars remained but featured odd angles, simplified forms, stylized
symbolism, and near-ubiquitous blond woodwork. The tone was sharp, angular, crisp, and even severe. At the time, it seemed refreshingly light and airy in contrast to the ornate designs of the nineteenth century or the institutional respectability of the early twentieth. Side windows became narrow rectangles filled with clear glass or stained glass arranged in regular squares or abstract patterns. Asymmetry showed up in a variety of ways, from off-centered chancel crosses to naves featuring one side wall made up of windows and the other of masonry.

Outside, there had to be ample space for parking as more and more people drove to services. As with homes, religious buildings constructed after World War II tended to sit back from the street, surrounded by lawns and shrubbery. Even small churches could exist in almost park-like settings if space and resources permitted. In a number of instances, congregations acquired a large parcel of land so that they had room to expand once their membership grew.

As with the rest of the nation, there were a great variety of styles and designs for postwar religious architecture in Kansas. Some congregations continued the tradition of revival styles, especially those that evoked a particular cultural or historical tradition. Others opted for adaptations of the International Style, often applying the design to familiar interior arrangements. Still others experimented with unique combinations of roof lines and floor plans mixed with elements of earlier styles. Moreover, countless vernacular forms took elements from these and other designs to make even humble buildings look up to date.

Terminology was just as complex as the diversity of styles, in part because the popular culture resonated with the word “modern” but was vague about what that term meant. Popular writers tended to use “modern,” “modernistic,” or “ultra-modern” to describe any design or building that was not a revival. Some called these designs “functional” or “contemporary.” Others were specific in using Modern to refer to the International Style. Because it is hard to talk about this era without using the phrase modern, for this essay, “Modern” refers to the International Style while “modern” is a more general term to describe the period and its attitudes.

**Revival Continues**

One approach to religious building was to continue the revival styles of the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s. As before, Gothic Revival, Colonial Revival, and Romanesque Revival were popular. The use of revival styles was especially pronounced in the late 1940s and early 1950s, so much so that a 1947 article in *The Christian Century* wondered why America was so intent on being a church museum. In a society that was undergoing so many changes, a connection to tradition was reaffirming. Worship surroundings that evoked Medieval Christendom, the Mediterranean of the early church, or the Colonial society of the Founding Fathers offered a sense of stability. To many, that was the way a religious building should look. At first, these were different from earlier structures in only minor areas such as stylized decoration, abstract patterns in stained-glass windows, or windows with metal frames instead of wooden ones.

Revivalism also reaffirmed ties to ethnicity or culture. Books of the time, such as Will Herberg’s *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* or Hartzell Spence’s *The Story of America’s Religions*, described denominational differences as more...
matters of tone and heritage than theology. While exceptions certainly existed, certain Revival styles tended to be more common with certain denominations. For example, ever since the Oxford Movement brought a renewed interest in Medieval liturgies and worship to the Anglican community, Episcopalians nationwide, Kansas included, tended to favor Gothic Revival for their churches. Presbyterians and Lutherans also tended toward the Gothic Revival. The Disciples of Christ and Evangelical groups tended toward Colonial Revival or vernacular adaptations that included brick with white trim. Methodists, with their wide spectrum of theology and practice, were among the most diverse in their embrace of Revival Styles, featuring everything from Medieval to Classical.

Kansas was very much in keeping with the national trend. Wichita’s College Hill neighborhood boasted Revival style structures including the Romanesque Revival East Heights United Methodist Church and Colonial Revival Second Church of Christ, Scientist. The Revival look extended throughout Kansas, showing up in St. Thomas Catholic Church in Stockton and Salina’s first Missouri-Synod Lutheran Church, Trinity Lutheran.

The International Becomes Commonplace

Although revival styles never fully went away, by the late 1950s they faced growing competition from other interpretations of religious architecture. In the wake of the Depression and World War II’s devastation, European church architects tended to break with revival designs in favor of new approaches. In the United States, architects such as Eliel and Eero Saarinen and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe were part of a larger movement to incorporate expanses of glass, metal, and laminated wood into contemporary ecclesiastical buildings.

By the 1950s, the International Style—with its asymmetry, lack of ornament, and extensive use of curtain walls made up of windows—gave architects and church builders a rich architectural language to work with. Devotees of the International Style felt that the mere imitation of earlier architecture was inappropriate for citizens of the twentieth century.

Architecture needed to show the simplicity and beauty of a structure and not hide it behind fake classical columns or Gothic arches. Buildings had curtain walls of glass to open up the interior to the outside. The materials that made up trusses, walls, ceilings, and floors were part of the overall appearance. Wood looked like wood, not faux marble. Walls reflected the earth tones of bricks rather than the white of plaster. Windows could be clear expanses of glass open to the outside, although for religious buildings, abstract designs of stained glass were also common. In an age when Abstract Expressionism captivated the art world, stained glass windows moved away from depicting images in favor of simple shapes of various colors.

The structure of the building itself became a major part of the design. Architects expressed some of their greatest creativity in designing roofs. Roof pitches ranged from flat to shallow to steep. Some churches sported adaptations of the gambrel roof while others swooped upward with graceful curves. Some used the A-frame arrangement, reducing or even eliminating the side walls. Some structures featured domes, barrel vaults, or hyperbolic paraboloids. Laminated wood trusses framed interior space.

Roof arrangement was due in part to style. There seems to have been a trend for mainline denominations such as
Episcopalians, Lutherans, Presbyterians and Disciples of Christ to prefer steep roofs or at least high interior spaces when possible. Cost may have played an even greater role. A number of small congregations started out in modest buildings with shallow roofs, but later added a larger sanctuary with a more imposing roof and interior space.

Although executed in contemporary materials and designs, the model for many of these churches was the Gothic cathedral with its soaring interiors and walls of stained glass. Inside, there was an emphasis on height and the worshiper’s eye was directed upward onto the chancel wall, which in the 1950s tended to feature a single large cross or crucifix. This symbol, not an ornate altar, was the focal point of attention for these new churches.

Regardless of denomination, the churches of the 1950s tended to use the basilican layout: a rectangle entered though a narthex or vestibule at one end with rows of pews separated by a central aisle in the nave facing down to the chancel and altar. For Catholic churches this had been a standard design for centuries; however, for Protestants in the 1950s the popularity of the basilican arrangement represented a return to earlier forms. Since the days of John Calvin, many Protestant denominations favored the meeting house arrangement of pews set around a central pulpit, often with side galleries above. The Puritans brought the meeting house idea with them to New England and Evangelical groups popularized aspects of the layout as they moved west to places such as Kansas.

By the early twentieth century, the “Akron Plan,” with side classrooms opening out onto a central auditorium, adapted the meeting house idea to Progressive-era Christianity. By the 1950s, however, the meeting house was out of fashion for many Protestants and the basilican model became the standard image for what a church should look like. The basilican style better suited worship practices in the middle of the twentieth century. Leaders in several Protestant denominations, including Methodists, the Reformed churches, and Lutherans, fostered a renewed interest in liturgy and sacramental worship. The basilican model had originally developed to focus on the sacrament of the altar, making this ancient form of worship space a fitting choice for new construction.

However, while earlier models of ecclesiastical design favored the main entrance facing the street, the entrance to religious buildings in the 1950s was just as likely to be at the intersection of the sanctuary and the education wing. This was a logical change since worshipers were more likely to enter from the nearest parking space than from the sidewalk in front. In some cases, religious buildings had to have two entryways: one that faced the street and one that faced the parking lot. In this case, the narthex became more of a breezeway connecting the sanctuary and education wing. In other cases, the main entrance was opposite the side facing the street, on what prior generations considered the back of the building.

In some churches the chancel wall faced the street and became the structure’s most visible face. Chancel walls ranged from triangular to trapezoidal in shape and could be plain; sport an abstract design in the brick, glass, or stone; or feature a large, simple cross.
The edge of the roof was often at an angle, with the eaves at the peak extending farther out from the eaves lower down. Outside, steeples were still standard features of church design but were themselves stylized into narrow sharp points topped by a cross. Sometimes the cross was separate from the main building with its own supporting structure.

By the early 1950s, congregations in Kansas started embracing these features. An early example was the modest asymmetrical chapel of Christ Lutheran Church in Wichita. It was a featured design in the December 1953 edition of Architectural Forum, the article focusing on how inexpensive the design was at $23,700. The design later proved to be portable as well when the congregation moved the building to a new site in the early 1960s.

By the middle of the 1950s, churches that seemed “ultra-modern” to the general public sprouted up across the state, including St. Matthews Episcopal Church in Newton. Some congregations, like Overland Park Presbyterian, or First Methodist in Atwood, kept their original building but added a large new sanctuary. Even Jewish congregations, such as Wichita’s Congregation Emanu-El built new structures with similar décor and construction. Although circular in layout, Temple Emanu-El’s interior has seating facing a bimah (raised platform where the service is conducted) at one end.

In Kansas, several Catholic structures stood out as particularly striking interpretations of 1950s design. From St. John the Evangelist in El Dorado to St. Joseph’s Catholic Church in Yates Center, adaptations of Modern church architecture appeared in Catholic churches across Kansas.

The two basic floorplans described in this article are the Basilican (left) and variations of the “Akron Plan” or meeting house design (right).

(Top Left) The United Methodist Church in Atwood shows the contrast between a worship structure from the early twentieth century on the right and a 1950s-era addition.

(Top Right) Dating from 1961, the sanctuary of Temple Emanu-El in Wichita is round. The space is quite tall and the wooden sides emphasize that height. This emphasis on height, along with the simple wooden furnishings, was common for religious buildings since the 1950s and 1960s.

(Bottom Right) St. Joseph’s Catholic Church in Yates Center is an example of how structures in small Kansas communities reflected some of the trends found nationwide. The gable with its prominent peak and asymmetrical arrangement of windows and crosses mark the structure as postwar, in this case, dating from 1955.
Overall, the distinctions in architecture that once marked different denominations had diminished. Inside and out, these buildings were nearly indistinguishable among denominations. They could be Catholic, Lutheran, or Presbyterian but could just as easily be Baptist, Methodist, or even Assembly of God. Gone were the ornate decorations of Catholicism or the side galleries of the New England meeting house tradition. In an age when the ecumenical movement worked to reduce denominational friction—and where religious tradition was, on the surface at least, more about heritage than theological differences—such interchangeable architecture made sense.

A Return to Community

As the 1950s transitioned into the 1960s, designers started to move away from the basilican design in favor of different floor plans. Although architects had been experimenting with alternate conceptions for religious architecture since the 1940s, it was not until the 1960s that the many of their ideas appeared in moderate or small structures nationwide. These worship spaces de-emphasized the hierarchical nature of basilican structures in favor of layouts that emphasized community. For example, the altar and pulpit could be in the center of the worship space, with seating arranged around the edges facing inward.

Just as many Protestant groups were embracing the basilican layout of the early Catholic tradition, Catholic congregations were taking up the auditorium arrangement of Protestant worship. To make Catholicism more approachable, a number of liturgical changes took place. In the wake of Vatican II’s reforms, designers placed altars away from the back wall out far enough for the priest to face the congregation. For older churches, the move was sometimes difficult to implement; throughout the Catholic Church, tables appeared in chancels and even naves to accommodate the new liturgy. Elegant altar rails came out and Victorian era decoration disappeared under coats of paint. While awkward for older structures, the change in liturgy was well suited to the post-Vatican II churches with variations on the auditorium arrangement of seating arcing around the central worship space. Even small Kansas parishes embraced dramatic designs. Mary, Queen of Peace Catholic Church in Ulysses featured a worship space arranged diagonally. The roof consisted of a series of hyperbolic paraboloids with abstract stained glass windows arranged in angled rows underneath.

The 1960s were a time of experimentation in the design of religious buildings, a trend that became even more pronounced as the decade unfolded. Both Catholic and Protestant churches broke with the simple basilican box to construct churches from a wide range of floor plans. 1960s churches, such as First Methodist Church in Wichita or First Baptist in Coffeyville, tended to emphasize walls rather than roofs. In an era when congregations experimented with new worship formats and theological approaches, similar experimentation in religious building design made sense.

Variations and Vernacular

Religious architecture after World War II featured a wide range of styles. For example, congregations in Kansas in the 1940s and 1950s sometimes constructed buildings along Art Moderne lines. Buildings in this style featured limited ornament, flat roofs, and a horizontal appearance overall, often emphasized through horizontal stripes or
mullions. The style continued after World War II as well, showing up in Kansas in a number of buildings. One example was Wichita’s Blessed Sacrament Catholic Church whose horizontal lines in brick and stonework was in the Art Moderne tradition.

Other 1950s religious structures in Kansas were the products of architects who had developed their own unique styles. The chapel of St. Benedict’s Abbey in Atchison represents this trend. Although the main Abbey building dated from the 1920s, the chapel was part of a 1950s expansion project. Barry Byrne, a student of Frank Lloyd Wright, designed the chapel to be a vast space of brick and stone with narrow vertical windows separating the bays. The ceiling was flat and bore tiles of bold primary colors.

Salina’s Sacred Heart Cathedral featured concrete cylinders that mirrored grain elevators. The interior and exterior had simple concrete walls with few decorations. The one exception was the relief of ordinary people walking toward the main doors. The effect was closer to New Deal-era work than the abstract designs popular in the 1950s.

Most congregations in Kansas could not afford to hire nationally renowned architects to design their buildings. Vernacular adaptations varied with the designer and resources. Sometimes a simple, utilitarian building sported a facade that looked modern to the people who commissioned the work, as in the case of the diamond motif on the front of Wichita’s Calvary Assembly of God. In many cases, a new congregation constructed a modest brick or wooden building with a shallow-pitched roof until finances permitted a sanctuary of a more striking design. Many congregations constructed gable-roofed, rectangular buildings topped with a cross (the way the popular culture still suggested a church should look); yet they incorporated patterns of contrasting light and dark brick, colored glass panes in otherwise utilitarian windows, or stainless steel details to look more contemporary.

There were several reasons why such designs became commonplace. One was that both leading architectural and church magazines promoted the embrace of these new designs as an inevitable trend. Popular style books such as Contemporary Church Art and Modern Church Architecture reinforced this message, while liturgists discussed at length the need to adapt worship practices and worship space to present-day needs and ideas.

Many among the new generation of clergy got a heavy dose of Modern architecture from their seminaries. For example, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, a denomination usually known for its conservatism, gained national attention in architectural circles when Eero Saarinen’s firm designed the chapel for its Concordia Seminary in Indiana.

The financial bottom line also contributed to the popularity of Modern design. Architects favored a simplicity that used relatively inexpensive, mass-produced building materials, to the delight of cost-conscious church leadership. Journals such as the Architectural Forum devoted whole sections on how prefabricated materials and innovative construction methods made possible buildings that were both aesthetically pleasing and relatively inexpensive to produce. Finally, many items of worship, from pews to pulpits, were available from supply stores that increasingly embraced the contemporary look. By the late 1950s, the trend away from revivalism was hard to avoid even if congregations wanted to.

**Toward the Future?**

During the 1950s, much attention was given to blending modern science with traditional faith. However, as the 1960s unfolded, innovation and change started to take society down uncertain and uncomfortable paths. The ideal of consensus among at least the mainline churches gave way to near civil wars over liturgy, ordination, and official church positions on everything from the war in Vietnam to desegregation. Demographic
changes in suburbia and shrinking rural populations left congregations with declining numbers. Updated versions of traditional worship space may have appealed to the World War II generation; yet these attitudes did not have the same power for Baby Boomer youth who tended to favor either alternative religious traditions or evangelicalism. As the elder generations wrangled over theology and worship styles, the youth abandoned the pews that they were once expected to fill. Starting in the mid-1960s, the national enthusiasm for church construction began to wane. “Let’s Stop Building Cathedrals” exhorted an article in The Christian Century. Christianity Today warned that congregations were in danger of losing sight of the Gospel in favor of the idolatry of wanting more and more buildings. Moreover, vernacular adaptations of styles such as the International had become so commonplace they lost their edge. A design that seemed innovative and new in 1954 could look almost ordinary in 1964 with church after church using many of the same features. In particular, the overpowering roofs and soaring gables that were so daring and confident in the 1950s could seem overly optimistic a decade later.

Some structures had departed so far from traditional religious architecture that congregations sometimes complained that they did not feel like they were in church. What was supposed to be sacred space felt cold and impersonal, more like a supermarket or office building. The innovative designs that architects loved became the churches that many worshipers loved to hate. “They reminded me of chicken coops,” remarked one colleague reflecting on the religious buildings of the era. Even so, many new structures in the 1960s and 1970s still used popularized versions of designs that went back to the 1940s. Congregations that kept their older buildings “updated” the worship space by adding new furniture and interior decoration taken from national supply houses. By the late twentieth century, mainline congregations started to merge or move into newer buildings. Evangelical and Pentecostal denominations acquired the now vacant 1950s and 1960s-era structures to accommodate the needs of their growing numbers. Therefore, whether an International Style showpiece, an adaptation of Gothic Revival, a striking church in the round, or a vernacular hybrid of many styles, the tension between modern and traditional design in the twenty years after World War II left a powerful, lasting legacy on the ecclesiastical landscape of Kansas and the nation.

Suggested Readings


The years following A.D. 1250 witnessed the intensification of trade among Native American villagers on the southern High Plains. Though their economic interaction is certain, archeologists’ ability to map the pathways that linked these Plains horticulturalists is incomplete—isolated to a series of east-west routes that connected the southwestern Pueblos with the Plains and Mississippian trade networks (Kelly 1955; Vehik 1986). The occurrence in Plains villages of artifacts made out of certain kinds of stone from source locations to the north and south confirms that the north-south movement of peoples and technology was an important aspect of the economy; however, the corridors favored for such traffic are yet to be discovered.

Beyond the southern High Plains, archeologists are assured that a vast network of roads linked trade centers of pre-Columbian America. This web of highways was first mentioned in the written accounts of early European explorers. Later, archeologists confirmed trail locations by identifying a series of Native American town sites containing significant quantities of non-local materials (Ewers 1954; O’Brien 1986; Riley 1976; Wood 1980, 1983).

Our approach is the same. This article reports on the use of published historic documents to locate a possible prehistoric north-south route on the southern High Plains. Subsequent field research, including archeological survey and geomorphological studies, attempted to substantiate claims that nineteenth-century cattle trails previously were used by prehistoric groups who occupied the southern High Plains. The Late Prehistoric use of these trails as trade routes, followed by their historic use to transport cattle, suggests that these trails may have been active during the Protohistoric period when Coronado’s entrada entered the southern and central Plains. Though our results are inconclusive, recommendations for further research in other locations are offered.

Trade on the Southern High Plains, A.D. 1250–1540

Interregional trade developed on the southern High Plains during the Late Prehistoric period. Cooler and wetter conditions prevailed, allowing horticulturalists to move onto the High Plains for the first time. Local economies varied depending on their locations but consisted primarily of hunting supplemented with horticulture. The High Plains villagers include, among others, the Antelope Creek phase, Odessa phase, and Buried City complex, with the Zimms complex and Washita River phase in the adjacent Redbed Plains (Figure 1). These developments are substantiated archeologically by the presence in semi-sedentary village sites of exotic materials—stone types and ceramic styles, in
Historical Research: Establishing Corridors, A.D. 1540-1900

The historical documentation that followed Europe’s introduction to the Americas helps in identifying prehistoric trail locations. The first Spanish conquistadors to enter the southern Plains were Coronado and his men, searching for the golden city of Quivira. In 1541, Coronado’s expedition headed east from Pecos pueblo on the front range of the Rocky Mountains. Their guide, the Turk, was a Wichita Indian man who volunteered to lead the expedition to Quivira. The first part of Coronado’s route east was well documented, and historians have traced his movements across New Mexico with great certainty (Riley 1997a).

Following a period of warmer and drier conditions, villagers found the High Plains environment less suited for horticulture. They either adopted a more nomadic life dependent upon bison or moved north and east to join other villagers where the climate could still support maize horticulture. Evidence for trade centers on the High Plains is nonexistent during the Protohistoric period, yet connections between the Pueblos and the Plains villagers continued—a reality that perhaps favored the continuation and importance of east-west trade routes (Baugh 1982; Drass and Baugh 1997; Spielmann 1991; Vehik 1990). Northwestern interactions on the High Plains would have served a more vital purpose to the nomadic peoples known archeologically as the Garza complex (likely Apachean) whose movements were seasonal, based on bison migrations. The protohistoric Garza complex, identified by Coronado as the Teya and Querecho Indians, continued to play a role in the Pueblo-Plains trade network, as did traders from the eastern Plains villages (Habicht-Mauche 1992; Kelly 1955; Wedel 1982).

At this point of the trip, Coronado’s chroniclers lost the meticulous attention to detail that they demonstrated during the journey across the New Mexico and Texas plains. In fact, the many days that the expedition followed the Teyas are represented in the narrative by only two paragraphs that make no mention of significant landmarks. Beyond the characterization that the party was moving “north by the needle,” very little can be drawn from the primary accounts to reconstruct this northern portion of the route (Hammond and Rey 1940).

Previous archeological research helped fill in the gaps in the Coronado account and gave a starting point for isolating possible routes. Investigations in the Texas panhandle uncovered what is most likely one of Coronado’s camps on the eastern edge of the Llano Estacado. The Jimmy Owens site is near Floydada, Texas, and may be the spot where the expedition met the Teyas and started moving north (Cornett 1997). Though little has been found to confirm the expedition’s presence between the lower Texas panhandle and Quivira, popular belief holds that Coronado probably crossed the Arkansas River at the natural ford near present-day Ford, Kansas. From there, the Teya guided Coronado to the Wichita Indian villages on the Great Bend of the Arkansas River, known archeologically as the Little River focus (Vehik 2002). Coronado identified these villages as the cities of Quivira. Though he was discouraged by the lack of gold, he did not travel farther east but ultimately decided to return to

Authors Brice Obermeyer and Scott A. Sundermeyer were University of Oklahoma graduate students when they undertook this research, which was funded by the University of Oklahoma Graduate Student Senate. Volunteers from the Oklahoma Anthropological Society, University of Oklahoma Anthropology Department, Kansas State Historical Society, and Meade County Historical Society and area landowners provided much needed assistance. Obermeyer has since received his Ph.D. in cultural anthropology and is working as the Cultural Preservation Director for the Delaware Tribe of Indians in Bartlesville, Oklahoma. Sundermeyer earned a M.A. and is now Project Archaeologist with LOPEZGARCIA GROUP in Dallas.
the Pueblos. He did so under the
direction of an indigenous guide who followed
different routes, later called the Santa Fe Trail (Hammond and Rey 1940) (Figure 2).

The archaeological information, along
with the scant historical documentation of
the route, provided at least beginning and
ending points for the intermediate
northern leg of Coronado’s journey. Based on existing data, three general
corridors have been proposed and are
reproduced in Figure 2 (National Park Service 1992). The westernmost corridor
leaves the bend of the Canadian River,
goes north to Palo Duro Creek, and heads
northeast to the Arkansas River. The middle corridor
begins on the eastern edge of the Llano Estacado near
Palo Duro Canyon and travels north by northeast
along the eastern edge of the High Plains. The
easternmost corridor is the longest, beginning near the
Concho River in Texas and running almost directly
northeast through western Oklahoma and Kansas until
it reaches the Arkansas River.

Judging the corridors in relation to the Late
Prehistoric village complexes, all three probably
were trade routes as each
links sites that yield
evidence of large-scale trade. The westernmost
 corridor connects one of
the most significant
resources on the southern
High Plains, the Alibates
Flint Quarries near present-
day Fritch, Texas, and the
associated Antelope Creek
complex with the Pueblos to
the west and the Smoky Hill
phase to the northeast.

Ceramic artifacts and obsidian from the
Pueblos are present on Antelope Creek
phase sites, and Alibates agatized
dolomite is found in Smoky Hill phase
villages (Lintz 1986; Vehik 2002). The
central corridor connects the Odessa
phase and Buried City complex with the
Pueblos to the west and the Smoky Hill
phase to the northeast. Southwestern
artifacts are a distinguishing feature of
Buried City complex and Odessa phase
villages, but the higher occurrence of
Smoky Hill jasper on these sites suggests
a stronger connection with the central
Plains groups (Hughes 1991; S.
Brosowske, personal communication
with the difficulty of confirming each
route’s prehistoric origin and determining
the most probable corridor. Our solution
was to identify the route most frequently
used after the prehistoric period. We
initially focused on the first written
account of north-south movement on the
southern High Plains—that of
Coronado’s expedition. Based on the
existence of the possible Coronado
campsite on the eastern edge of the Llano
Estacado, the western corridor seemed
the least likely to have been used by
Coronado. The nearly linear relationship
between the Floydada, Texas, campsite
and the crossing near Ford, Kansas,
suggested that the central corridor was
the most likely route. We had yet to rule
out the eastern corridor.

The immense land area to be covered
by a proposed on-the-ground survey
dictated that we limit our study area. To
do so, we turned to the next major well-
documented north-south movements on
the southern High Plains; that is, the trails
marked in the late-nineteenth century to
carry out the extermination of the bison
and the introduction of cattle ranching. Following the Civil War and the confine-
ment of Plains Indians to reservations in
Indian Territory, the federal government
embarked on the annihilation of the remaining bison herds
that roamed the southern
High Plains. Professional
hunters, headquartered in
Dodge City, Kansas, were
paid to travel south into the
Texas panhandle to locate the
bison and return with their
hides and carcasses, which
were then shipped by railroad
to markets in the eastern
United States. Trails from
Texas into Kansas (Figure 3)
were marked and posts
established to facilitate this
effort (Baker and Harrison
1986). The Tascosa Trail
followed the western corridor,
and the Jones and Plummer
Trail followed the central
corridor. The eastern corridor
was not utilized in the bison
slaughter, but it did encompass
an important route for the
U.S. military and its
expeditions against the
Cheyenne and Arapaho in the
1860s (Briscoe 1992).

The fact that each road
followed an existing corridor
proposed for Coronado’s
route indicated that the late-
nineteenth-century roads
represented geographically favorable
routes for north-south movement on the
southern High Plains. Because the Jones
and Plummer Trail effectively followed the
central corridor, our research was
concentrated there. Two simple forms of
evidence were sought to test the prob-
ability of prior use of the Jones and
Plummer Trail. First, diagnostic artifacts,
such as chain mail or crossbow nails, or
an occupation area could indicate
Coronado’s presence. Second, remains of
a previously undocumented prehistoric
village with indications of trade between
the villages of the Odessa phase or
Buried City complex and those of the
Smoky Hill phase would provide a more linear progression between the two culture areas, thereby substantiating the existence of a north-south route on the southern High Plains.

**Results of the Jones and Plummer Trail Archeological Survey**

To test our research question, we conducted a pedestrian survey in the summer of 2000 that focused on locations where the Jones and Plummer Trail intersected two major river drainages: the Cimarron River and Crooked Creek in southwest Kansas (Figure 4). Our crew consisted of volunteers from the Oklahoma Anthropological Society, Kansas and Oklahoma university graduate students, and interested area enthusiasts. During the four-day survey, we covered selected portions of the landscape, mainly along the first and second terraces above the alluvial flood plains.

Our search for evidence of a Coronado campsite or a Plains village site went unrewarded, but we did record two historic and two prehistoric sites. The historic sites date to the early twentieth century and confirmed the existence of two post offices that served the Anglo-American frontier communities of Odee and Miles City, Kansas. Both post offices were located directly on the Jones and Plummer Trail, indicating the continued importance of this route for American settlement following the development of the Texas cattle economy. One of the two prehistoric sites occurred near an artesian well on the second terrace above the south bank of Crooked Creek. The site was poorly preserved as a modern structure obscured what seemed to be a substantial portion of the site. Chipped stone debris of local origin was found in the vicinity of the building. The other prehistoric site was a campsite situated on an eroded alluvial fan on the first terrace on the north side of the Cimarron River. The site appeared to have some integrity and was designated based on the presence of a few stone flakes from a locally available resource and a possible fire-cracked rock. No diagnostic artifacts were found at either site, but the stone was later identified as Day Creek dolomite, likely to be from local outcrops in southwestern Kansas.

Although our survey did not locate sites with diagnostic artifacts dating to the Late Prehistoric period, the existence of such sites in the study area cannot be ruled out. No subsurface testing was performed on this pedestrian survey. Investigations of the cutbanks along the Cimarron River and Crooked Creek revealed that the surface sediments in many locations along the floodplain consist of a thick layer of recently deposited sand (Figure 5). Therefore, only those sites located along prominent terraces that were unaffected by the periodic flooding episodes characteristic of the two streams would be visible. Cutbank exposures within the drainage channels could be more closely inspected to identify deeply buried cultural material or features. A second possibility is that river erosion has destroyed the archeological sites. If prehistoric villages existed along the floodplain and first terrace of the Cimarron River more than 600 years ago, their remains may have either been washed downstream or deeply buried beneath alluvial sediments. We can say with confidence that no evidence of Late Prehistoric occupation or Coronado’s expedition is found on the surface in these two river drainages in the vicinity of the Jones and Plummer Trail. Such evidence, however, may be present in subsurface contexts.

**Conclusion**

Our research suggests two possible avenues for further research: a more intensive subsurface investigation of the areas already surveyed along the Jones and Plummer Trail or a pedestrian survey of the trail-riverine intersections within the western and eastern corridors. Though all three corridors remain possibilities for prehistoric trade routes, we are convinced that the location of the Coronado campsite east of the Alibates Flint Quarries indicates that the central and eastern corridors are the most probable paths for Coronado’s expedition.

The contribution of this research is not the definitive identification of a north-south trade route but in the development of a method for locating such prehistoric highways. The use of historic documents to guide archeological research is not a novel idea, but it is an approach that we believe is well suited for locating the trails that linked the emerging Late Prehistoric trade economy of the southern High Plains and, by extension, the routes of European-Native American contact.
References Cited


The Kansas Archaeology Month trails theme (see “Are We There Yet? Kansas Archaeology Month Hits the Trail” in Kansas Preservation 26[1]: 6) did not seem to be the easiest subject to illustrate in a small exhibit for visitors to the Kansas History Center. Luckily the assignment of creating such a display did not stymie Austin Hibbs, a spring-semester intern in the KSHS Archeology Lab.

A Chapman native, Hibbs is a junior at Kansas State University, studying anthropology with an emphasis on archeology. His internship, under the direction of KSU Professor Michael Finnegan, is voluntary. In addition to the exhibit preparation, Laboratory Supervisor Christine Garst guided Hibbs through lab basics (cleaning, sorting, and cataloging prehistoric and historic artifacts) and some collections management tasks. He also has taken on a number of computer jobs. Fortunately, his interests extend to museum work.

Hibbs’ concept for the exhibit was to start as far back in time as he could and lead into the trails of today, demonstrating the importance of Kansas in American history. His research began in the KSHS Library/Archives and Museum. In the archeology collections, he searched for items that illustrate the diverse human groups who used trails at different times and for different purposes. The project involved selecting artifacts and photos, researching and writing label copy, scanning and mounting graphics, arranging all objects in the case, and even attaching castors to the base. Hibbs gratefully acknowledges assistance from the KSHS Photography Lab and Museum Exhibits staff.

The finished display features such items as a buffalo hide robe, exotic stone for tool making, seashell necklace, pottery jar, fragment of chain mail, brass bracelets, beaded leather pouch with metal cone tinklers, ammunition and gun parts, horse and ox shoes, railroad spikes, and bottles. These artifacts represent the stories of American Indian traders, European explorers, Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery, soldiers, settlers, Pony Express riders, Underground Railroad fugitives, railroad personnel, and modern highway travelers.

The exhibit can be viewed in the lobby of the Center for Historical Research through the month of April.