THE INTERSECTION OF FAITH AND FAMILY
Three Rural North Dakota Cemeteries

BY MARJORIE PEARSON

Three rural cemeteries, located within ten to twenty miles of each other, can be seen across the rolling agricultural fields of Morton and Oliver Counties in North Dakota. Their presence evokes the turn of the twentieth-century settlement of this area by German-Russian and German immigrants. Of the three cemeteries, two (St. Vincent Cemetery and Rosebud Cemetery) are Roman Catholic, and one (Bremen Cemetery) is Lutheran (Protestant). The two Catholic cemeteries, one with a surviving church, are set close to the road on open plots. The less visible Lutheran cemetery is set farther back from the road behind a grass-covered field and is partially obscured by trees and bushes. The three cemeteries (known as *Gottesackern* or *Friedhofen* in the German language of their founders) reveal religious affiliations, family connections, and burial customs specific to their cultures. This account is part of a group of studies that have examined the roles and physical presence of German-Russian and German immigrants in North Dakota in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

What can a comparison of these three cemeteries tell us about the

St. Vincent Catholic Cemetery in Morton County is notable for its extensive array of both wrought- and cast-iron crosses. The only identified blacksmith for the wrought-iron crosses was Thomas Stebner, a German-Russian immigrant who lived in Mandan. In this overview looking to the west, St. Vincent Church is in the background. *SHSND SA 31376*

ethnic history, cultural patterns, and interactions among the German immigrants from Germany and the German immigrants from Russia, also known as German-Russians, who settled in North Dakota west of the Missouri River? Awareness of the impact of Germans from Russia began to be acknowledged and studied in the early 1970s. The similarities and differences among the two German groups can be seen in the physical presence of their cemeteries and the use of the German language in those cemeteries.[1] Each cemetery and the church associated with it has its own story. Yet there are similarities and cross-connections within a relatively limited geographic area. This article compares those cemeteries and the monuments and markers that express the faith and family associations of their founders.

German-Russians and Germans in Morton and Oliver Counties

The German-Russians in North Dakota were largely defined by their religious identities, whether Catholic or Protestant. As immigrants came to the United States, they tended to settle with their immediate compatriots from Russian areas and adhered to cohesive religious practices. In Morton and Oliver Counties, the

German-Russians who came from the Black Sea region known as the Beresan colonies northeast of Odessa were almost exclusively Catholic.[2]

During the 1870s, the Catholics of Dakota Territory were initially served by Benedictine missionaries from the Conception Abbey in Missouri, under the vicariate apostolic of Nebraska, who focused on military forts and American Indian reservations due to the small number of settlers. An independent diocese, headquartered in Fargo and coinciding with North Dakota statehood, was established in 1889 under Bishop John Shanley (1852–1909).[3] German-Russian Catholics began settling in central and western North Dakota as railroad lines were extended west of the Missouri River, but there was an acute shortage of German-speaking priests to minister to them. Shanley recruited Father Vincent Wehrle (1855–1941), a Swiss immigrant and member of

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the Order of St. Benedict, to travel among these communities. Wehrle became the head of the Benedictine abbey in Richardton, which had been founded by monks from St. Gall's Priory in Devils Lake. Members of the order went on to serve numerous parishes in western North Dakota under the Diocese of Bismarck, which was established at the end of 1909 with Abbot Vincent Wehrle named the bishop in 1910.[4]

The Catholic Church and the German language were important sources of community and stability for the German-Russian settlers in North Dakota.[5] Even as they established churches, or joined existing ones, the parishioners complained about priests who could not understand

This plaque, "Made by Bismarck Foundry & Welding Co Bismarck ND," is on the back of the large cast-iron cross monument in St. Vincent Cemetery. Bismarck Foundry & Welding Company is the only identified foundry known for creating many of the cast-iron markers in Morton County and Oliver County cemeteries. *SHSND SA 31376*

their German language. Father Daniel Collins (1841–1909), the priest of St. Joseph's Church in Mandan, wrote to Bishop Shanley in 1907 that the German-Russians were reluctant to meet their financial obligations because of the language issue.[6] Once small Catholic parishes and missions were established in Morton and Oliver Counties, typically about ten miles apart, they were often served by priests with a varying command of the German language who traveled from church to church before a large number of trained German-speaking clergy could be given more permanent assignments. The use of the German language remained a

Map by Sara Nelson

constant in German-Russian parishes into the 1940s, despite broader pressures for Americanization and anti-German sentiments during the two World Wars. Not only was German the language of the scripture readings, hymns, and sermons in church services (although the Mass itself was said in Latin), it was also the language of instruction in the parish schools and at church social functions and continued to be used at home and among daily interactions with neighbors.[7] Anthropologist and folklorist Timothy J. Kloberdanz explains that German-Russian groups shared "the same ancestral homeland; dialectical varieties of the same German language; an emphasis on close family ties; and a strong agricultural orientation."[8]
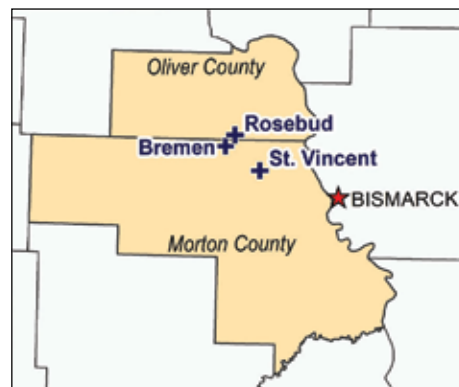
The backgrounds and experiences of the Germans from Germany, also known as the *Reichsdeutsche*, differed from those of the Germans from Russia, also known as *Volksdeutsche*. Many of the Germans from Germany practiced the Lutheran faith.[9] The Germans from Germany were German citizens, unlike their German-Russian counterparts. While the Germans

also came to homestead, some had previously settled elsewhere in the United States and then moved west.[10]

Immigrants from northern Germany (Bremen and Saxony) began to settle in the New Salem area of Morton County, inspired by Chicago immigration societies and the new railroad lines spreading westward. Sociologist William C. Sherman illustrates and describes the settlement patterns that spread from New Salem and Judson eastward into the fringes of Sweet Briar Township and northward into Oliver County.[11] These immigrants were adherents of the Protestant Lutheran faith, which had originated under the leadership of Martin Luther in Saxony, the section of Germany from which many of them came. Also known as Old Lutherans, they affiliated with the Lutheran Missouri Synod that

Rt. Rev. Vincent Wehrle, Bishop of Bismarck. Bishop John Shanley recruited Father Vincent Wehrle (1855–1941) to travel among the German-Russian Catholics settling in central and western North Dakota. In 1904 Wehrle was named the first abbot of what would become Assumption Abbey in Richardton. He became the first bishop of the new Bismarck Diocese in 1910. St. Margaret's Church in Crown Butte was renamed St. Vincent's in his honor in 1934. *SHSND SA 00113-00154*

had been established at a meeting of pastors in Chicago in 1847 and spread throughout the Midwest and the Great Plains.[12] Sherman has been quoted as saying that "Germans usually are found wherever the Lutheran Missouri Synod church is found . . . the two are almost synonymous in North Dakota."[13] The North Dakota churches were initially served by traveling missionary preachers who had been trained at the Missouri Synod seminary in St. Louis. Later ministers often served more than one congregation. As with the Catholics, there were similar patterns of church establishment, with churches located approximately ten miles apart, allowing farm families to meet for weekly services. These German-speaking immigrants retained the use of German in their church services and religious instruction well into the twentieth century. While the language was a source of cohesion among the community members, it was also an important affirmation of religious faith and orthodoxy. The tenets of the Missouri Synod mandated the use of German because its clergy felt that the use of English translations of the Bible and in church services would dilute the purity of their doctrine. They also struggled with translating such key concepts as *Gerechtigkeit* (righteousness), *Heiligkeit* (holiness), and *Schoepfung* (creation) into English, fearing that their meaning would be lost.[14] German Lutheran funeral services focused on important elements from the Lutheran liturgy: scripture, hymns, and a sermon that preached about Jesus Christ and salvation.

Settlement Patterns

The German-Russian settlements associated with the two Catholic cemeteries and their churches were bound by their shared faith and family connections. The first to arrive in the 1880s and 1890s filed claims for land under the Homestead Act and began to farm in the vicinity of Crown Butte, much as they had in Russia, planting wheat and ranching. In the absence of trees on the prairie, lignite, a form

St. Vincent Cemetery

Cast-iron cross with the dates 1856–1916 with crucifix and kneeling angel at the base in St. Vincent Cemetery. *SHSND SA 31376*

Stone obelisk with the dates 1849–1906 surmounted by a cross at St. Vincent Cemetery with the German inscription *Hier ruhet in Gott* (Here rests in God). *SHSND SA 31376*

of soft coal, provided fuel during the harsh winters.[15] The settlers were joined by later arrivals from their Russian villages and by members of their extended families.[16] They initially clustered around Crown Butte, but, as families grew, they expanded outward with enough of them reaching into the edges of Oliver County to establish St. Anthony Church. Based on the records of the grave sites in the two cemeteries, there were strong family links between St. Vincent's and St. Anthony and its Rosebud Cemetery. At least six families with the same last names (Barth, Berger, Dinius, Ferderer, Kautzman, and Mosbrucker) are associated with both cemeteries, and at least four families (Barth, Ferderer, Kautzman, and Mosbrucker) are related by marriage.[17] Other names seen in the cemeteries appear on Morton and Oliver County atlas maps, showing how they were closely spread in the two counties.[18]

The German Lutherans have a similar settlement pattern. The first arrivals, who claimed land under the Homestead Act, were soon joined by compatriots and members of their extended families. Many of them chose to raise cattle for dairying,

helping to establish a reputation for the greater New Salem area.[19] Several founders of the Immanuel Lutheran Church and its Bremen Cemetery helped set up the local dairy at Rosebud. The family names seen in the cemetery are among those who owned land close to the church and cemetery. Like the German-Russians, many of them are related by marriage. These included the Goldes, Hoesels, and Hogers.[20]

The German-Russian Catholics and German Lutherans were largely self-contained groups even though they spoke and read the same language, albeit with differences in their regional dialects. Intermarriage, for example, was virtually unknown. Farm ownership records show that the two groups had closely located properties, but there may not have been much social overlap, except perhaps at the local store and post office in Rosebud. The St. Vincent store and post office were very short lived and all the surrounding neighbors were German-Russian Catholics, as recounted by Rose Stein in a 1982 interview.[21]

An interesting example that suggests some interaction between the two

groups is the Ganten farm, later the Kautzman farm, on the south side of the road across from the Rosebud Cemetery. Hinrich Ganten (1838–1919) and Catherine Ganten (1849–1930) were German Lutherans who emigrated from Germany in 1885, according to census records.[22] They homesteaded this farm in the late 1890s and are recorded in the 1900 census as living there with two farm laborers. By the time of the 1910 census, the Gantens, then ages seventy-one and sixty, were living with a six-year-old granddaughter, Lina Kuether, in New Salem. In the interval between the two censuses, the farm with its stone farm house and stone dairy barn was acquired by Emanuel Kautzman (1872–1927), who provided the land for the St. Anthony Catholic Church and Rosebud Cemetery. While the Gantens may have left the farm because of their ages, they may also have wanted to be closer to their religious and ethnic compatriots in the New Salem community.[23]

Historian LaVern J. Rippley notes that German-Russian immigration to the United States reached a peak in about 1912.[24] *Reichsdeutsche* immigration would have ended at about the same

North Dakota Council on the Arts

Thomas Stebner (1879–1948) was born in Sulz, Russia, where he worked as a blacksmith and locksmith. He came to Mandan, North Dakota, with his wife, Blandina, in 1907, where he opened a blacksmith shop. He went to work in the Northern Pacific Railroad car shops and then worked for the Mandan street department. By 1932, he was the city street commissioner. Designing iron crosses was a sideline. In 1921, he applied for a patent on a safety lock. From his daughter Flora: "Friends that he maybe knew from the old country wanted him to make them [the crosses]. He liked to do things like that. He liked to work with his hands."[63]

Historians Thomas D. Isern and Kevin Nesemeier describe his work: "The most striking feature in Stebner's grave cross design is the scrollwork, highly elaborated and artfully executed. . . . Several Stebner crosses exhibit pointed rays emanating from the nexus of the cross in a manner akin to the style of Ignatz Bobb."[64]

Wrought-iron, seven-foot-high cross monument at St. Vincent Cemetery with the dates 1877–1908, with name plate in the center of the crossing. This is the most elaborate monument known to be designed by blacksmith Thomas Stebner. *SHSND SA 31376*

time. The onset of World War I in Europe in 1914 halted it altogether. While both communities remained insular, they gradually began to shift away from the use of German and into the mainstream. The change was particularly difficult for the German-Russians who had limited aims for education and focused on agricultural pursuits. As described by historian Gordon L. Iseminger, German-Russians "clung to their language, shunned contact with other nationalities, neglected public schools, and disliked free public education and compulsory attendance laws. Few German-Russian children completed the eighth grade." [25] By contrast, the *Reichsdeutschen* began to pursue higher education and political activity.[26] The differences may be partially explained by their religious affiliations, with the German-Russian Catholics following the rituals and teachings of their parish priests. German Lutherans, by contrast, focused on preaching and the reading of scripture, which required more education.

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Cemetery Forms and Patterns as Reflections of Cultural Background

Rural cemeteries in the area of North Dakota west of the Missouri River are not large—usually between one and two acres. Typically they were established next to the churches whose names they bear, sometimes preceding the actual church building itself. Based on observation, the overall plan is rectangular, and the cemetery is enclosed by a wire fence with one or more gates, at least one wide enough to allow a vehicle to enter.

In rural areas, family cemeteries often preceded a church cemetery, as was the case with the Crown Butte Cemetery on the George Stein farm. The small family cemetery was superseded by the St. Vincent Cemetery. Once a church cemetery was established, family graves might be relocated or new monuments commemorating earlier off-site burials might be placed in the church cemetery.[27]

In the Catholic cemeteries, generally the graves are laid out in straight rows, oriented north-south, with the graves themselves placed east-west. The headstones and markers may face either east or west. The section for adult burials is consecrated ground, while another section is set apart for burials of infants and children who died before they could be baptized. Often this section was later consecrated. In still active cemeteries, this section may also be used for more recent burials. A wide aisle between the two sections allows for vehicle access and also is dominated by a large shrine cross. The experience of a Catholic cemetery is recounted by researcher and genealogist Phyllis Hertz Feser: "Upon entering [the cemetery] we always knelt at the big central cross and said some prayers."[28] Landscaping and plantings are minimal beyond those placed on individual grave sites. The overall impression is one of order and restraint.

Feser explains the arrangement and types of markers:

> Usually people who were pompous in life have large showy headstones. The more modest or quiet the individual, the smaller and less significant the marker—some have none at all. Cemeteries often remind me of a city. The most recent part has the low modern granite

Shaped block monument for "Mutter" (1872–1942) and "Vater" (1870–1952) at St. Vincent Cemetery. The inscription reads: *Vater nicht mein sondern dein Wille gesche* (Father not my but Thy will be done). *SHSND SA 31376*

Wrought-iron cross, seven and a half feet high, designed by blacksmith Thomas Stebner for an unidentified grave at St. Vincent Cemetery. The nameplate, which would have been placed in the crossing, is missing. *Photo by Marjorie Pearson*

Father Bernard Strassmaier leads a funeral procession uphill in south central North Dakota, 1920–30. Also pictured are Dr. Aaron McGaffey Beede in the background behind Strassmaier, John Magloire "Jack" Carignan Sr. in front of horses, and Joseph Bernard "Joey" Holter driving horses. S*HSND SA 00032-OL-20-00017*

markers, next and of older vintage are the large granite, then a gradual regression in stones. Along the back, in the oldest section, are the iron crosses.[29]

This pattern is reflected in the St. Vincent Cemetery. In the Rosebud Cemetery, the stones and the iron crosses are intermingled.

Feser recounts the example of her great-grandfather Jacob Herz (1856–1918), who was buried in St. Joseph's Cemetery, fifteen miles south of Glen Ullin in rural Grant County: "Great-grandpa Jacob's grave has a large granite stone with photos, located at the front of the cemetery. Was he a pompous individual, was he a founder, or was he instrumental in forming the community? Perhaps some of each would be correct. They were the very first settlers in that area and he donated the land on which the church and cemetery were located."[30] Feser contrasts Jacob Herz's monument with the iron cross of her grandfather Athanasius Hertz (1871–1920), also at St. Joseph's: "Grandpa has an iron cross grave marker which is so much kinder than the cold stone markers on some of the other graves. It is made of iron that is shaped and curved to form

an interesting design. . . . his is curves and scrolls of metal with a circle in the center that has his name and dates on it. I touch the smooth, black curves of the cross and trace my finger over the raised letters that spell Grandpa's name."[31]

In the Lutheran Bremen Cemetery, the graves are laid out in a less ordered pattern, more clustered in family groups rather than regular rows, although the graves themselves are placed with an east-west orientation. Infant and child burials are not set aside in a separate section. Large plantings by family grave sites provide a landscaped setting. Stone markers of varied types are the norm. In some of the family plots, a large stone monument is inscribed with the family name, and then smaller stone markers are placed for individual graves. Although the church itself is no longer in place, the cemetery has much of the character of a rural Protestant churchyard.

A Sea of Iron Crosses
Rural Catholic cemeteries throughout North Dakota are recognized for their distinctive iron crosses. Since the late 1970s, folklorists and genealogists have made a concerted effort to identify and record wrought-iron

crosses as distinctive artifacts of folk art and culture.[32] Most, although not all, are identified with German-Russian immigrants who brought the tradition of fabricating wrought-iron crosses as grave markers with them from Russia. Ukrainians also have a wrought-iron cross tradition, which they may have learned from their German-Russian neighbors. Historians trace the fabrication of wrought-iron crosses to sixteenth-century Germany. Then migrants from Germany brought the iron-cross tradition to regions of the Russian empire in the eighteenth century.[33] According to Kloberdanz, "those German-Russians who made and used wrought-iron crosses . . . were primarily Roman Catholic and shared similar attitudes towards life, death, and the hereafter. . . . The traditional view of many German-Russian Catholics toward life tended to be colored by an ever-present awareness of death. . . . German-Russian Catholics particularly respected the consecrated ground of their dead." [34]

The fabrication of wrought-iron crosses, which did not lend itself to mass production, was very much a local affair. In North Dakota and other regions of the Great Plains settled by German-Russians, the

blacksmiths who created them were immigrants from Russia who learned their skills there or were trained by other immigrant blacksmiths.[35] Cross-making was a secondary venture to their main blacksmithing work. Because of the time involved in fabrication, folklorists assume that such crosses were fabricated to mark the grave of an individual after his or her death and then installed some time later. The crosses take a variety of forms, usually individual to the blacksmith, who added his own distinctive patterns to the basic cross form.[36]

The main components are wrought iron with applied plaques, either of wrought iron with applied letters or cast iron. Some have crucifixes or other Christian symbols applied in the center of the cross. Originally all had name plates with birth and death dates, some with places of birth and death, either placed in the center

> These three rural cemeteries serve as testimony to the persistence of the German-Russian and German settlers who founded them and the respect of their descendants for their heritage.

of the cross or on a vertical plaque below the cross arms. (Often, some of these elements have been lost over time.) In some cases, the name plates are porcelain applied to a cast-iron base. Months, familial designations (*Mutter* [mother], *Vater* [father]) and any other inscriptions such as *Hier ruht in Gott* (Here rests in God) are in German. In our cemetery examples, wrought-iron crosses span a relatively short time period, from 1900 to about 1920.

Feser cites the frugality and ingenuity of the German-Russian creators and patrons, as well as the desire to maintain identity and self-sufficiency.

The German-Russians were a people who were not easily impressed, least of all with themselves. Perhaps therein lies one of the secrets of the beauty in the crosses. Their creation was done in a spontaneous nature . . . they used what was on hand . . . heated the iron and bent it around whatever was available in the blacksmith shop. It was much more economical to have a marker made from available scrap iron than it was to buy a stone one. . . . By relying on their local blacksmith they remained self-sufficient.[37]

Cast-iron crosses are another significant monument type in the rural Catholic cemeteries. Cast-iron crosses and markers fall into a variety of types, ranging in size from small (two feet high) to large (five feet high). Crosses are cast in a variety of patterns.[38] As with the wrought-iron crosses, crucifixes and other symbols are cast separately and affixed to the crosses, and name plates and inscriptions are affixed in separate plates on the front. Like the name and inscription plates on the wrought-iron crosses, these are generally in German, although English inscriptions begin to appear in the 1920s. A foundry inscription may be cast or affixed on the back of the cross, on the cross arm, or at the base.

The only identified foundry known for creating many of the cast-iron markers in Morton and Oliver County cemeteries (as well as cemeteries in Emmons County to the southeast) was the Bismarck Foundry and Welding Company. It was established in Bismarck in 1914 by Adolf Kutchera, a German-Hungarian immigrant who arrived in the United States in 1904, according to the 1920 census. Crosses and markers from the Bismarck Foundry in the Rosebud and St. Vincent cemeteries largely coincide with the dates of Kutchera's business. Kutchera operated the Bismarck Foundry until 1922, when the business was sold to Clarence L. Thompson, who operated

St. Vincent Cemetery

Wrought-iron cross with the dates 1864–1909 at St. Vincent Cemetery, designed by Thomas Stebner. *SHSND SA 31376*

Wrought-iron cross with the dates 1906–08 by an unknown designer at St. Vincent Cemetery. *SHSND SA 31376*

Wrought-iron crosses (no dates) with heart-shaped name plates by an unknown designer at St. Vincent Cemetery. *Photo by Sara Nelson*

Shrine cross with cast-iron crucifix affixed to the wrought-iron cross. The corona behind the crossing and the INRI sign plaque are of wrought iron. INRI is the abbreviation for *Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum* (Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews). The cross is placed along the middle aisle of Rosebud Cemetery. *SHSND SA 31376*

it as the Bismarck Welding Shop. Kutchera then shifted his business to automotive machine work under the name of Modern Machine Works.[39]

Kloberdanz explains that cast-iron markers could be manufactured relatively quickly based on stock prototypes, then personalized with the applied name plaques. In some cases, a family might install a group of almost identical cast-iron crosses for individuals who died over a period of several years.[40]

Stone Monuments and Markers
While not as distinctive as the iron crosses, the multiple examples of stone monuments and markers also highlight the cultural backgrounds of those buried in the cemeteries. Geographer Richard Francaviglia and others have developed a typology of stone monuments, based on period and form. These types can be seen in both Catholic and Lutheran cemeteries, and generally fall into the following categories: obelisk and cross-vault obelisk (1890s–1920s), tablet (1890s–1940s), pulpit (1900s–1940s), and block (1920s–1950s).[41] The earlier examples in our cemeteries, beginning in the early twentieth century, are generally formed of gray marble, sometimes with inset ceramic portraits,

that were popular in the 1920s and 1930s. Later examples tend to be of granite. The Catholic cemeteries are differentiated by the extensive use of crosses rising from the tops of the obelisk markers. Both Catholic and Lutheran cemeteries have tablet and block markers engraved or incised with crosses. Monuments in both have ceramic portraits. Crosses may be placed on the slanting ledges of the pulpit-shaped monuments in both. Stone monuments and markers were probably fabricated locally at a facility like the Bismarck Marble and Granite Works.

The Three Cemeteries and Their Churches
St. Vincent Catholic Cemetery and St. Vincent Church, originally St. Margaret's Church, is located in Crown Butte, Sweet Briar Township, Morton County, fourteen miles northwest of Mandan. St. Margaret's was founded in 1896 as a mission church by the Order of St. Benedict to serve the needs of German-Russian immigrants who had begun homesteading in the area. The two-acre cemetery, with the earliest burials dating from 1897 and 1898, is notable for its extensive array of iron crosses, both of wrought and cast iron. The church parish survives in its fourth building, dating from 1934.

The first German-Russian settlers, George Froehlich (also spelled Frohlich) and George and Jacob Boehm (also spelled Bohm), came to this part of Sweetbriar Township in 1888 and 1889, from Speier, Russia (now part of Ukraine). They were soon joined by additional families from Karlsruhe, Speier, and Katherinenthal.[42] Among them were George Yantzer (1858–1932) and his wife, Anna Mary Renner Yantzer (1866–1921), and George Franz Stein (1850–1923) and his wife, Juliana Boehm Stein (1855–1911), along with his parents, Jacob (1825–95) and Marianna Stein (1830–99).

The settlers called their community Crown Butte, after a nearby geographic feature. Father J. A. Lemieux and Father Vincent Wehrle, Benedictine missionaries, first celebrated mass in a sod shanty on the Yantzer farm, northeast of the present church site, in 1893. Lemieux continued to serve the settlers who organized St. Margaret's Church. The parish was officially founded in 1896 when a sod church was built at the west edge of the cemetery under the direction of Father Daniel Collins, who ministered to St. Joseph's Church in Mandan. George and Katherine Frohlich transferred the property for the church and cemetery to Bishop John Shanley (representing the Diocese of Fargo) in June 1896. The sod church was replaced by a frame church in 1902, built on the same site under the direction of Father Henri Breunagel. When that church burned, it was replaced in 1907 with a large frame Gothic Revival style church, built on the hill west of the cemetery under the direction of Father Leo Kaufmann, who served the St. Margaret parish and other mission churches between 1906 and 1912. In 1906, Kaufmann supervised the construction of a rectory south of the church site. A gambrel-roof frame Verein Hall (a meeting hall for German social organizations) was built to the east of the frame church sometime between 1924 and 1927.[43]

The 1907 church was destroyed by a fire in 1933. It was replaced by the present brick church in 1934, built under the direction of Father Adolph Brandner, pastor between 1933 and 1940. The new church with a highly visible steeple recalls some details of traditional Eastern European architecture. At that time, the parish renamed itself St. Vincent's in honor of Father Wehrle, who had become the bishop of the new Bismarck Diocese in 1910. Curiously, the St. Vincent Post Office had been established in 1917 close to the church, operating out of the local store owned by Anton Kautzmann. This suggests the name change for the parish had been under discussion prior to being formally adopted. The Crown Butte Telephone Exchange also operated out of the store.[44] The rectory burned to the ground in 1950. It was replaced by a modern house in 1959 and was the residence of the parish priest until 1969, and then again between 1985 and 1991. It was rented out when it was not the residence of the priest and was demolished sometime after 2010.[45]

Despite increasing use of English and assimilation into larger society, religious and cultural traditions were maintained in the cemeteries well into the twentieth century.

The cemetery has been an integral part of the parish since its beginnings as indicated by the transfer of the property from the Frohlichs to Bishop Shanley on behalf of the Fargo Diocese. The church cemetery was preceded by a small cemetery for members of the Bohm and Stein families, also called the Crown Butte Cemetery, on George Stein's farm in Section 12, southeast of the church. The deaths of these early settlers occurred between 1894 and 1909. However, almost all of the names are recorded on monuments in the St. Vincent Cemetery as well, with

the earliest death being that of John Bohm in 1894. The Bohm family monuments are grouped near the southwest corner of the east section of the cemetery. Carl and Julia Bohm are recorded on one monument; John, George, Mary, and Matilda Bohm are recorded on another. Otherwise the earliest burials, based on the death dates of 1897 and 1898 on monuments and markers, are located in the northeast section of the cemetery and extend westward. The west section of the cemetery contains infant and child burials, as well as burials of relatively recent date. The church history identifies the first recorded burial as that of Margaretha Landeis on January 2, 1903.[46]

The open grassy cemetery (on the south side of the road now identified as Thirty-sixth Street, 1.3 miles east of County Road 83 [Thirty-third Avenue]) is enclosed by a wire fence. The almost three hundred graves are laid out in rows and divided into east and west sections.[47] A wide gate allows for vehicle access between the two sections, while a pedestrian gate leads into the east section. The east section is dominated by iron crosses. The group of thirty-one wrought-iron crosses fabricated by local blacksmiths and craftsmen are among the most impressive assemblages in the state.[48] The only identified blacksmith was Thomas Stebner (1879–1948), a German-Russian immigrant who lived in Mandan; he created crosses with particularly ornate scrollwork and is credited with three crosses.[49] The approximately forty cast-iron crosses set among the rows are also impressive. Bismarck Foundry and Welding Company has been identified as the fabricator of many of the crosses.

It is striking to see crosses, both wrought iron and cast iron, arranged in rows by family. The Sturn family has wrought-iron crosses (without birth and death dates) for five family members and one cast-iron cross for H. J. Sturn, who died in 1911 at the age of one. Members of the Gress families

Rosebud Cemetery

Obelisk monument with the dates 1872–1927 with a ceramic portrait and German inscription. *SHSND SA 31376*

Cast-iron marker for infant who died when she was four days old in 1922. The marker depicts a sorrowing angel, not a cross. Her grave is along the western edge of Rosebud Cemetery. *Photo by Marjorie Pearson*

have wrought-iron crosses, including one identified as the work of Thomas Stebner, and cast-iron crosses. The cast-iron crosses are almost identical to each other, although the family members died at different times between 1913 and 1916, suggesting that all the crosses were installed later, but at the same time. Three Yantzer children, all of whom died in 1898 of diphtheria, have similar cast-iron crosses with Bismarck Foundry plates.[50]

Stone monuments, many in the form of gray marble obelisks surmounted by crosses, are located among and to the west of the iron crosses. Others take the form of tablets, pulpits, and blocks, as discussed in greater detail above.[51] Many similar stone monuments are placed in the west section. An unusual example in the east section is the double monument for Dominick Zander (1842–1923) and Elizabetha Berger Zander (1847–1915), who had arrived in Crown Butte in 1893. A pair of columns support an aedicule (a stone canopy) surmounted by a cross with the inscription "IHS." The monuments and crosses in the east section face west. The monuments and crosses in the west section face east. English

inscriptions appear on some markers as early as the 1920s. However, German inscriptions persist on some monuments as late as the 1950s. The 1998 study of the cemetery identified twelve stone monuments with ceramic portraits from the 1920s and 1930s, but a more recent assessment has identified twenty monuments with such portraits.[52] A tall shrine cross is placed at the south end of the vehicle aisle. It is of wood and approximately ten feet tall with a sculptured figure of Christ suspended from the cross bar. This cross replaced an earlier wood cross that had been installed in 1908 by Father Leo Kaufman.[53]

Rosebud Catholic Cemetery is located in Oliver County, northeast of the crossroads of Thirty-fifth Avenue and Twenty-ninth Street, one mile north of the Morton County line, and about ten miles southeast of Center, the Oliver County seat. The cemetery and the nonextant (no longer existing) St. Anthony of Padua Church, a mission church served by the priests of St. Margaret's (St. Vincent), were founded in 1907 to meet the needs of German-Russian immigrants who were settling in Oliver County and northern Morton County. The one-and-one-

half acre cemetery, with the earliest burial dating from 1906, is notable for its array of iron crosses, both of wrought iron and cast iron. The church was closed in 1948 and subsequently demolished.[54]

The cemetery and church were established on land that belonged to Emanuel Kautzman (also spelled Kautzmann, 1872–1927), a German-Russian immigrant who acquired large amounts of farm land in Morton and Oliver Counties. Kautzman had acquired the Ganten farmstead on the south side of the road opposite the cemetery. The cemetery was named after the local Rosebud post office about four miles to the southwest of the site. George Kautzman (d. 1906), the infant son of Emanuel and Rosa Kautzman, is the earliest known burial. In the 1911 directory of the Diocese of Bismarck, the Rosebud church, called St. Anthony of Padua, is identified as a mission church under the aegis of the Crown Butte (St. Margaret) church. The church building, a frame structure, was probably built under the supervision of Father Kaufman, who served both churches. It is not clear where the church was located in relation to the cemetery; in the 1917

North Dakota Council on the Arts

This wrought-iron cross with the dates 1889–1912 at Rosebud Cemetery was designed by blacksmith Ignatz Bobb. *SHSND SA 31376*

Ignatz Bobb (1876–1962) emigrated with his wife, Catherina, in 1907 from near Odessa, where he was a blacksmith. In North Dakota the Bobbs lived in Crown Butte, Hebron, and Center, where Ignatz Bobb farmed and worked as a blacksmith on the side. The Bobbs were members of St. Martin's Catholic Church in Center. According to a grandson, Ignatz Bobb and blacksmith Thomas Stebner were friends: "They borrowed ideas."[61]

Historians Thomas D. Isern and Kevin Nesemeier characterize Bobb's work in Rosebud Cemetery: It exhibits "certain signature design elements, such as the sheet iron panels between the double bars near the base and at the junction of the cross arms. The four heart-pointed rays emanating from the center of the cross also are marks of Bobb's work. His style is distinct from any other smith in the region."[62]

Oliver County atlas, it is shown at the southwest corner of the site, close to the crossroads. The parish was disbanded in 1948, with worshippers dispersing to St. Martin's in Center or St. Vincent's in Crown Butte.[55]

The Rosebud Cemetery has many similarities to the St. Vincent Cemetery, although it is about half the size. The open grassy site is enclosed by a wire fence and accessed by a wide gate on the west side. Like St. Vincent, it is divided into east and west sections with the ninety (or more) graves laid out in rows.[56] The majority of the graves are grouped in the northern halves of the two sections, with the earliest graves to the northeast. Infant burials are largely grouped in the west section with some interspersed adult burials. Adult burials predominate in the east section. Three wrought-iron crosses, two of which are credited to Ignatz Bobb (1876–1962), a German-Russian immigrant blacksmith who lived in Crown Butte, are located in the east section. Many cast-iron crosses and markers (approximately twenty-five) are located in both sections, a significant number of which have Bismarck Foundry and Welding Co. name plates. As in the St. Vincent Cemetery, English inscriptions appear on some markers as early as the 1920s, but German inscriptions persist on some monuments as late as the 1950s. Many grave sites are identified by flat concrete markers with the inscription "Unknown Grave."

Family groups are particularly notable in Rosebud Cemetery, and family plots may be outlined with stones; in the St. Vincent Cemetery families tend to be more dispersed. Stone monuments, many in the form of obelisks surmounted by crosses, are located among the iron crosses in the east section. Tablet, pulpit, and block monuments also can be found. Many similar stone monuments are located in the west section. The monuments and crosses in the east section face west, and the monuments and crosses in the west section face east. Based on

their style and materials, a number of stone monuments appear to be later replacements for earlier markers. The prominent stone obelisk monument for Emanuel Kautzman suggests his importance in the community. His son John Kautzman (1896–1931) has a similar monument. Both monuments have ceramic portraits. A monument for Katherine Schafer (1852–1908) takes the form of a pipe cross set behind a later granite block monument. A seven-foot tall shrine cross of wrought and cast iron, with a cast-iron figure of Christ suspended from the cross bars, is placed at the center of the west row of the east section. A wrought-iron corona surrounds the crossing, while a tablet with the applied letters "INRI" is at the top of the cross.[57]

Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church (Bremen) Cemetery is located two-and-one-half miles east of the defunct Rosebud Post Office, about twenty-seven miles northwest of Mandan, but is associated with the town of New Salem, about fifteen miles to the southwest of the cemetery. The church and cemetery were established in 1899 by a group of German Lutheran immigrants on land donated by Max Hoesel (1865–1946), one of the church founders. The one-acre cemetery is closely associated with the founding members of the church, who established a small settlement in the immediate vicinity and initially called it Bremen. The earliest recorded burial, of one of the church's founding members, Frank Sporleder, dates from 1901.[58] Aside from one iron cross, the grave markers are relatively modest stone markers organized by family groups.

The founders of the church and cemetery, German immigrants from Bremen, Saxony, and other areas of northern Germany, initially located around New Salem and then moved northward in Morton County and into the southern part of Oliver County. The group had started meeting in 1895 or 1896 in members' homes with the Reverend Frederick Wohlfiel,

Bremen Cemetery

Wrought-iron cross with the dates 1873–1914 by unknown designer at Bremen Cemetery. The inscription in English, "Forever in Our Hearts," along with the name, birth and death dates, is set on a cast-iron cross affixed to the larger wrought-iron cross. *SHSND SA 31376*

Obelisk monument with the dates 1883–1914 at Bremen Cemetery. *SHSND SA 31376*

Bremen Cemetery

Family monument in pulpit form with raised cross on the ledge at Bremen Cemetery. The side of the monument is etched with the open gates of heaven and is inscribed "Safe in the arms of Jesus." *SHSND SA 31376*

Cross-vault obelisk monument with the dates 1876–1922 at the Bremen Cemetery is inscribed with *Hier ruht in Gott meinte leure Gattin und unsre gute Mutter* (Here rests in God my dear wife and our good mother). The indented oval once held a ceramic portrait. *SHSND SA 31376*

a missionary pastor of the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church, who was active in western North Dakota. After the church was built, Wohlfiel was succeeded by the Reverend Ferdinand Matthias. Members of the church helped establish the Rosebud Post Office in 1904, which was located in the local general store. They also established the Rosebud Creamery, which gathered milk and cream from the local dairy farmers, many of them German Lutherans, and produced butter. The creamery was originally on Emil Golde's farm, then moved half a mile west to have better access to water. Franz Emil Lindner was the president of the creamery. The Rosebud Post Office closed in 1936. In 1946, Immanuel Lutheran consolidated with the Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Salem, and the church building was sold to Concordia Lutheran Church of Beulah, North Dakota, and moved there. Based on the 1917 Morton County atlas, it appears that the church was located to the east of the cemetery.[59]

The cemetery is to the south of County Road 140 [Thirty-first Street], east of County Road 84 [Thirty-ninth Avenue], and set back from the road in a field. It is enclosed by a wire fence with rows of trees and bushes along the west and south sides. Bushes are also clustered by several groups of graves near the center and east side of the cemetery. Over thirty graves have been recorded in the cemetery, but it is likely that more unmarked graves survive that have been concealed by the dense vegetation. The graves are organized in family groups, some in outlined family plots, and they are identified by relatively modest stone monuments. It appears that a ceramic portrait has been removed from a Gothic arch obelisk monument for Ella Richter. Family groups include the Hoesels and Lindners, whose property adjoined the cemetery, as well as the Goldes and Goldgebauers. The grave of Mina Wolf-Golde (1872–1914), the wife of Emil Golde, has the only wrought-iron cross marker. This type

of wrought-iron cross is highly unusual in a Protestant cemetery. It has an inscription in English that was added after 2002. Most of the monuments have German inscriptions, including one for Richard Max Lindner, who died in 1963. Some English inscriptions began to appear in the 1920s.[60]

A Continuing Tradition

These three rural cemeteries serve as testimony to the persistence of the German-Russian and German settlers who founded them and the respect of their descendants for their heritage. While other physical artifacts of these settlers may have disappeared or have been dramatically altered, these cemeteries and their monuments survive. The layouts of the cemeteries and monuments and markers in the cemeteries follow the practices of their faiths. Regularly spaced rows with the graves facing east or west and little landscaping characterize the Catholic cemeteries. The Lutheran cemetery, with its less formally arranged family groups, has more landscaping. A sea of crosses, whether iron or stone, rising above the prairie landscape, is the key indicator of a Catholic cemetery. The monuments in the Lutheran cemetery may have their own religious symbols such as inscribed crosses and open gates of heaven. As striking as the monuments themselves is the use of the German language on these monuments in all three cemeteries, often into the mid-twentieth century. Even though the use of that language may have changed or diminished during the life of the deceased, it claims its ongoing importance and reflects a continuing tradition in death.

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ENDNOTES

1. The first Roman Catholics from Speier came to Glen Ullin, North Dakota, in 1885, then spread east to Mandan and west to Glendive, Montana. Settlers from the Beresan colonies northeast of Odessa made up more than half the population of Morton and Stark Counties. Shirley Fischer Arends, *The Central Dakota Germans: Their History, Language, and Culture* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1989), 38, 40. See also William C. Sherman, "Ethnic Distribution in Western North Dakota," *North Dakota History* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1979): 9. An expanded version of this article appears in William C. Sherman, *Prairie Mosaic: An Ethnic Atlas of Rural North Dakota* (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1983). Timothy J. Kloberdanz wrote about German-Russian symbols and the persistence of the German language in "Symbols of German-Russian Ethnic Identity on the Northern Plains," *Great Plains Quarterly* 8 (Winter 1988): 3–15. The Germans from Russia Historical Society had been founded in 1971 to promote appreciation of the German-Russian heritage. Kloberdanz discusses the problems of defining "Germans" in North Dakota, based on their areas of origin. While many came from Russia or other areas of Eastern Europe and gave those areas of origin to census takers, they still considered themselves German because that was the language they spoke. See Timothy J. Kloberdanz, "Volksdeutsche: The Eastern European Germans," in William C. Sherman and Playford V. Thorson, eds., *Plains Folk: North Dakota's Ethnic History* (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1988), 119–121, 137–38.

2. Sherman, "Ethnic Distribution," 9. The Beresan colonies, located in the Beresan River valley in today's Ukraine, are discussed and graphically depicted in Adam Giesinger, *From Catherine to Khrushchev: The Story of Russia's Germans* (Winnipeg, MB: Marian Press, 1974; repr., Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1981), 113–19. Several of these colonies were Protestant, including Mennonite and Lutheran, in their religious practices, but they did not send emigrants to Morton or Oliver Counties.

3. George Rath, *The Black Sea Germans in the Dakotas* (Freeman, SD: Pine Hill Press, 1977), 309–15.

4. Accounts of the early history of the diocese are recounted in Louis Pfaller, *The Catholic Church in Western North Dakota, 1738–1960* (Mandan, ND: Crescent Printing Co., 1960); Patrick A. Ahern, ed., *Catholic Heritage in Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota* (St. Paul: Diocese of St. Paul, 1964); Terrence G. Kardong, *Prairie Church: The Diocese of Bismarck 1910–1985* (Bismarck: Diocese of Bismarck, 1985); Marge Gross and Margaret Sitte, eds., *Perseverance in Faith: A History of the Catholic Church in Western North Dakota, Diocese of Bismarck 1910–2010* (Strasbourg, France: Editions du Signe, 2009).

5. Kloberdanz, "Symbols of German-Russian Ethnic Identity."

6. Gross and Sitte, *Perseverance in Faith*.

7. Francie M. Berg, ed., *Ethnic Heritage in North Dakota* (Washington, DC: Attiyeh Foundation, 1983), 113, contains the accounts of informants Rose Stein and Dominic Zander about their German language experiences at St. Vincent's. Edna Boardman, "English in the World, German at Church," *Heritage Review* 23 (Fall 1993): 11–14. See also "Appendix A: Foreign-Language Use in North Dakota Churches" in Sherman and Thorson, *Plains Folk*, 416–21.

8. Timothy J. Kloberdanz, "Iron Lilies, Eternal Roses: German-Russian Cemetery Folk Art in Perspective," in *Iron Spirits*, Nicholas Curchin Vrooman and Patrice Avon Marvin, eds. (Fargo: North Dakota Council on the Arts, 1982), 108.

9. Sherman, "Ethnic Distribution," 8. Kloberdanz explains some of the differences between the two groups in "Volksdeutsche," 119–21. German-Russian Lutherans from the Beresan colonies also immigrated to North Dakota but were not located in this part of Morton County. Giesinger identifies the Protestant groups in *From Catherine to Khrushchev*, 113–14.

10. For more background see Warren A. Henke, "Reichsdeutsche (Germans)," in Sherman and Thorson, *Plains Folk*, 63–104.

11. Sherman, "Ethnic Distribution," 9.

12. E. Clifford Nelson, ed., *The Lutherans in North America* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 178–81.

13. Berg, *Ethnic Heritage*, 110.

14. Nelson, *Lutherans*, 365–67; Boardman, "English in the World," 11–12.

15. Alvar W. Carlson, "Lignite Coal as an Enabling Factor in the Settlement of Western North Dakota," *Great Plains Journal* 2 (Spring 1972): 145–53, cited in Jeffrey A. Hess, Robert Hybben, and William Casey, "Coal Mining in the Coal-Bearing Regions of Western North Dakota, 1870–1945," Hess, Roise and Company, 1992, MS 5918, Archaeology & Historic Preservation Division, State Historical Society of North Dakota (hereafter SHSND), Bismarck, 15.

16. Rath, *Black Sea Germans*, 249–50; Berg, *Ethnic Heritage*, 114. The spellings of the German-Russian village names vary with the source consulted. "Speyer" is a common variant of "Speier." The localities are also variously described as Russia, Ukraine, Beresan, and the Black Sea. All were part of the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century. Karlsruhe and Speier were two of the original Beresan colonies in the Beresan River valley. Katherinenthal was a later Beresan settlement founded between 1817 and 1829 by Catholic families from Baden and the Palatinate. See Giesinger, 114.

17. Bonnie Schlosser, Patricia Boehm, and Mary Fried, *A Century at Crown Butte, 1896–1996* (Crown Butte, ND: St. Vincent's Church, 1996) gives many family histories and their relationships.

18. *Morton County Plat Map* (Chicago: George A. Ogle, 1917); *Oliver County Plat Map* (Chicago: George A. Ogle, 1917).

19. *75th Anniversary, New Salem, North Dakota 1883–1958* (New Salem, ND: New Salem Journal, 1958).

20. Church marriage records are listed in *To God Alone Be Glory: 75th Anniversary Booklet of the Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church, New Salem, North Dakota* (New Salem, ND: New Salem Journal, 1985), 24–25. This source contains no burial records.

21. Berg, *Ethnic Heritage*, 113.

22. The spelling of Ganten's first name appears in various sources as Hinrich, Heinrich, and Henry, among others. In the North Dakota Department of Health Public Death Index, his name is recorded as John Henry Ganten, b. 10/1/1838, d. 4/12/1919. Catherine Ganten's name is recorded as Kathrine, b. 12/31/1849, d. 1/20/1930. "Public Death Index," North Dakota Department of Health Division of Vital Records, accessed September 17, 2017, https://www.ndhealth.gov/vital/.

23. The Gantens were affiliated with the Immanuel Lutheran Church as indicated in church records listed in *To God Alone Be Glory*. Anna and Rufina Ganten were buried in the cemetery.

24. LaVern J. Rippley, "An Introduction to Richard Sallet's Russian-German Settlements in the United States," in Richard Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements in the United States*, trans. LaVern J. Rippley and Arnand Boyer (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1974), 15.

25. Gordon L. Iseminger, "Are We Germans, or Russians, or Americans?: The McIntosh County German-Russians During World War I," *North Dakota History* 59, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 7. In his essay "Three Centuries of Germans in America," Frederick C. Luebke comments on the role of education and culture in *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 170–73.

26. Henke discusses the involvement of the Germans in North Dakota politics in "Reichsdeutsche," 102–05. Kloberdanz discusses the education of German-Russians and the lack of political involvement in "Volksdeutsche," 144–45.

27. Lewis R. Marquardt discusses family cemeteries in "Eiserne Kreuze of Emmons County: A Forgotten Folk Art," *Heritage Review* 10 (April 1980): 14; for the Crown Butte (Stein) Cemetery and the St. Vincent Cemetery, see Schlosser, Boehm, and Fried, *A Century at Crown Butte,* 81–83.

28. Phyllis Hertz Feser, "From Within," *Heritage Review* 12 (April 1982): 34.

29. Phyllis Hertz Feser, "Gottesacker," *Heritage Review* 10 (April 1980): 17.

30. Feser, "From Within," 36.

31. Ibid., 35. This is from her childhood memory. A more recent record from

Findagrave.com indicates that the iron cross has been removed and replaced by a carved granite monument for Athanasius Hertz and Rosa Hertz. This monument was probably installed after Rosa died in 1960. The family changed the spelling of the last name from "Herz" to "Hertz."

32. Timothy Kloberdanz, "German-Russian Wrought-Iron Cross Sites in Central North Dakota," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, North Dakota State University, Fargo, October 23, 1989; Thomas D. Isern and Kevin Nesemeier, *Wrought Iron Cross Cemeteries in North Dakota—Continuing Survey* (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 2000); Feser, "Gottesacker" and "From Within"; Vrooman and Marvin*, Iron Spirits.*

33. Kloberdanz, "Iron Lilies," 105–06.

34. Ibid., 108–10.

35. Vrooman and Marvin provide biographical details on many of the blacksmiths in *Iron Spirits,* 49–102.

36. The form types have been categorized by geographer Lewis R. Marquardt, who also explains the fabrication process in some detail. Marquardt, "Eiserne Kreuze."

37. Feser, "From Within," 39.

38. The types were often illustrated in catalogs. Two examples are: *Iron Grave Crosses* (Milwaukee: Badger Wire and Iron Works, 1920), and *Cast Iron Crosses* (Sheboygan, WI: Kohler, Hayssen and Stehn, 1901).

39. Marquardt cites the Bismarck Foundry for Emmons County cemeteries in "Eiserne Kreuze," 11. "Notice to Announce Change of Concern Name to Modern Machine Works," *Bismarck Tribune*, January 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 1922; Christopher Bjorke, "Still Modern After All These Years," *Bismarck Tribune*, January 8, 2011.

40. Kloberdanz, "Iron Lilies," 107. The St. Vincent Cemetery has Bismarck Foundry crosses for Yantzer family members who died in 1898, well before the establishment of the foundry. The cemetery also has almost identical cast-iron crosses for members of the Gress family who died between 1913 and 1916.

41. Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Cemetery as Evolving Cultural Landscape," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61 (September 1971): 501–09, and Timothy G. Anderson, "Czech-Catholic Cemeteries in East Central Texas," *Material Culture* 25 (Fall 1993): 1–18, categorize the types of stone monuments found in cemeteries in Oregon and Texas. The obelisk is a vertical shaft of marble that rises about 58 inches to a pyramidal point. The cross-vault obelisk is a marble spire about 58 inches high, topped by a cross-vaulted "roof." The tablet, usually of marble, has a rounded arch top, with an average height of about 28 inches. The pulpit is of marble or granite, usually about 30 inches high, and resembles a pulpit with an inscription on the slanting surface. The block is of granite and tabular in form, about 24 inches high, 24 inches wide, and 6 inches deep. The forms are applicable to contemporary cemeteries in North Dakota. Francaviglia, "The Cemetery," 502–03.

42. Rath, *Black Sea Germans*, 249–50.

43. Schlosser, Boehm, and Fried, *A Century at Crown Butte,* 32–34, 45–46. The deed transfer lists the name as "Frohlich."

44. Douglas A. Wick, *North Dakota Place Names* (Bismarck, ND: Sweetgrass Communications, 1988); Schlosser, Boehm, and Fried, *A Century at Crown Butte*, 36. A photo of the store building and telephone exchange and the telephone subscriber list is illustrated on page 31.

45. Pfaller records the construction of the new rectory in *Catholic Church*, 116. The rectory was still standing in 2010, when the Bismarck Diocese published a centennial history, *Perseverance in Faith.* The Verein Hall was still standing in 1996. Neither building is there now.

46. Schlosser, Boehm, and Fried, *A Century at Crown Butte*, 80–81. The Crown Butte (Stein) Cemetery and St. Vincent's Cemetery are recorded in *Cemeteries and Burial Sites of Morton County, North Dakota* (Mandan, ND: Morton County Historical Society, 1978), and George L. Barron, *Most Cemeteries of Morton County* (Bismarck, ND: Bismarck Mandan Historical and Genealogical Society, 2002).

47. The actual number of recorded graves varies with the source consulted. One early record is listed in Schlosser, Boehm, and Fried, *A Century at Crown Butte*, 80–81. A typewritten transcription is given in Thomas J. (Scheffer) Hoffman, *The German Catholic Settlers in Morton County, North Dakota,* (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1993). The most recent records are available through Findagrave.com, which records 284 graves in the St. Vincent Cemetery; 90 percent of the grave sites are photographed. The names through Findagrave.com do not always correspond with those recorded in other sources.

48. The wrought-iron crosses are recorded in Thomas D. Isern and Kevin Nesemeier, St. Vincent Cemetery, 16 November 1998, NDCRS Site Form 32 MO 186, North Dakota State Historic Preservation Office, SHSND, Bismarck.

49. For more on Stebner see Isern and Nesemeier, *Wrought Iron Cross Cemeteries*, 29–30.

50. Since the foundry was not established until 1914, the crosses must have been later replacements for early markers, probably of wood.

51. See Francaviglia, "The Cemetery," and Anderson, "Czech-Catholic Cemeteries."

52. See "Saint Vincent Church Cemetery, Morton County, North Dakota, USA," accessed August 15, 2017, https://findagrave.com/.

53. Schlosser, Boehm, and Fried, *A Century at Crown Butte*, 195.

54. The name of the church is listed as St. Anthony in *Oliver County 1885–1985* (Center, ND: Oliver County Historical Society, 1985), 383, and in Gross and Sitte, *Perseverance in Faith*. Pfaller, *Catholic Church,* 50, lists it as St. Anthony of Padua as a mission of Crown Butte.

55. Kautzman's landholdings are depicted in the 1917 *Morton County Plat Map* and the 1917 *Oliver County Plat Map*, as well as listed in the *Directory of Mandan, North Dakota, including Morton and Grant Counties* (Norfolk, NE: Kreiter Directory Company, 1915, 1917). *Oliver County*, 383, has a photograph of congregants posed by the side of the church building.

56. The cemetery was recorded by Cecilia Albers, "Oliver County Cemeteries," typescript, 2002?, North Dakota State Archives, SHSND, Bismarck. She names ninety-eight burials. The most recent records are available through Findagrave.com, which records ninety graves in the Rosebud Cemetery; 74 percent of the grave sites are photographed. The names do not always correspond with those recorded by Albers. "Rosebud Catholic Cemetery, Oliver County, North Dakota, USA," accessed August 15, 2017, https://findagrave.com/.

57. The wrought-iron crosses and the shrine cross are recorded in Thomas D. Isern and Kevin Nesemeier, Rosebud Catholic Cemetery, 13 October 1999, NDCRS Site Form 32 OL 352, North Dakota State Historic Preservation Office, SHSND, Bismarck. For Bobb see Isern and Nesemeier, *Wrought Iron Cross Cemeteries*, 21. For stone monument forms see Francaviglia, "The Cemetery as Evolving Cultural Landscape," and Anderson, "Czech-Catholic Cemeteries."

58. Frank Sporleder's name is listed in Barron, *Most Cemeteries of Morton County*, 225, but is not recorded in Findagrave.com. "F. Sporleder" is inscribed on the monument for Ellen Sporleder, as observed in the field.

59. *To God Alone Be Glory*, 19–25. *New Salem, North Dakota, 1883–1983* (New Salem, ND: New Salem Journal, 1983), 97–99, discusses the establishment of the Rosebud Post Office and the Rosebud Creamery. Morton County directories list William Klein as the pastor of the Lutheran Church in Rosebud in the 1910s, but this is not supported by the church records. Klein was the pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Churchtown (Oliver County). *Directory of Mandan, North Dakota* (1912, 1915, 1917); *Plat Map of Morton County.*

60. The cemetery is recorded in *Cemeteries and Burial Sites of Morton County*, and Barron, *Most Cemeteries of Morton County*, 225, which lists thirty-eight named graves and five unmarked graves. Findagrave.com lists thirty-two burials; 90 percent are photographed. Barron lists one "iron cross" without a name. The name of Mina Wolf-Golde is now placed on the iron cross.

61. Vrooman and Marvin, *Iron Spirits*, 76.

62. Isern and Nesemeier, *Wrought Iron Cross Cemeteries*, 21.

63. Vrooman and Marvin, *Iron Spirits*, 74.

64. Isern and Nesemeier, *Wrought Iron Cross Cemeteries*, 29–30.