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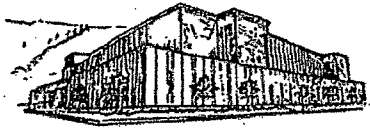
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RELIGIOUS OUTSIDER: EPISCOPALIAN BISHOP DANIEL S. TUTTLE IN
FRONTIER UTAH, 1867-1886

By Benjamin M. Cater

B.A. Point Loma Nazarene University, 2002

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

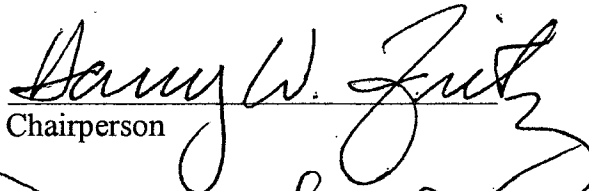
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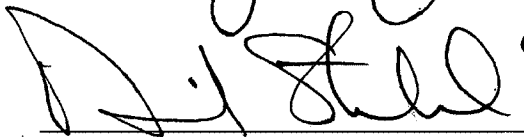
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Religious Outsider: Episcopalian Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle in Frontier Utah, 1867-1886

Chair: Harry Fritz



This is a biography of Episcopalian Bishop Daniel Sylvester Tuttle and his career in frontier Utah between 1867 and 1886. The central argument is that Tuttle was Utah's first significant religious outsider. For nearly twenty years, he served as the "Missionary Bishop of Montana Territory with jurisdiction in Idaho and Utah" for the Protestant Episcopal Church, basing his operations in Salt Lake City. The introduction presents Bishop Tuttle, the main argument, and the various reasons for his obscurity in church and western history, and historiography.

Chapter one examines Tuttle's role in establishing parish schools in Salt Lake City and adjacent environs. As the cornerstone of his religious ministry, parish schools exposed Mormon children to a wider world than "Zion," the isolated frontier headquarters of the LDS Church. Throughout Tuttle's career he established six schools, servicing three thousand students by 1886. Because formal academics did not exist in the territory until statehood in 1896, Episcopal parish schools filled a scholastic lacuna while setting a precedent for future educational efforts.

Chapter two analyzes the development of St. Mark's Hospital, the first modern medical institution in the American West. Additionally, it examines the role that Tuttle played in the enterprise during his career. The "Social Gospel"—the application of the Bible's social and humanitarian themes to everyday life—clearly motivated the Episcopal mission's work in the medical/social field. With Utah experiencing the first stirrings of industrialization, St. Mark's Hospital and its related social ministries addressed the medical and moral needs of Utah's citizens during the Gilded Age.

Chapter three looks at Tuttle's role as the official religious leader of his Episcopal mission. Specifically, it examines the bishop's administration of six churches, more than a dozen clergymen, an Episcopal community of several thousand persons, and mission subsidies over \$350,000. Furthermore this section considers Tuttle's philosophy of evangelism, which included tailoring religious strategies to the Church's needs in addition to the peculiar conditions of post-Civil War Utah. It also emphasizes his policy of religious co-habitation with LDS Church.

The conclusion reviews Tuttle's career, its accomplishments and his lasting legacies in Utah, western, and church history, and argues that his standing as Utah's first significant religious outsider merits further historical study.

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A Note on the Sources and Acknowledgments

Primary materials on Tuttle and the Episcopal mission in Utah can be found in the Special Collections Department of the J. Willard Marriott Library at the University of Utah. As of December 2005, all original sources are located in The Episcopal Diocese of Utah Records (EDUR ACCN 426) and the Papers of Frederick Quinn (FQP ACCN 2136). Additional facts reside at Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City (USHS). Because few documents from individual Latter Day Saints (LDS) exist, some analyses leave room for interpretation. In the following chapters, footnoted works include author and publication information, and where applicable the collection title, accession, box, and folder numbers. The photographs that appear come from Utah State Historical Society, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Graphics Division, and the Archives of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas. For help gathering these materials, I thank Stan Larson at University of Utah's Special Collections, Alan Barnett at Utah State Historical Society, Steve Lucht at the Episcopal Archives, and historian Frederick Quinn, who through his conversations and professional work, introduced me to Tuttle.

I would also like to thank The University of Montana's A.B. Hammond Fund for Western History for paying the cost of a Utah research trip in December 2005. History faculty Harry Fritz and Dan Flores served as thesis committee members and just as importantly, my good friends. Historian Bob Swartout offered advice as an outside reader, and Ron Mackenzie and Garden City OPC, Travis Koch, Greg Johnson, the Cater/Ward families, the Marshs, the Lillstroms, Rob Bauer, Charlie Presti, Bob Baker, and Nicholas Vrooman all showed their interest in this project. Finally, this is for Anne—friend, hiking partner, wife.

Introduction

“Bishop Tuttle goes forth as the fifth Missionary Bishop West of the Mississippi . . .”¹

This is a biographical study of Episcopalian Bishop Daniel Sylvester Tuttle (b.1837) and his career in frontier Utah between 1867 and 1886. For nearly twenty years, Tuttle served as the “Missionary Bishop of Montana Territory with jurisdiction in Idaho and Utah,” for the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. During this time, Tuttle based his activities in Salt Lake City, a far western location settled by Brigham Young and the Latter-Day Saints (LDS) Church in 1847. As a bishop, or the administrative head of a diocese, or district, Tuttle’s official assignment in Utah and the West in general was to expand the continental reach of his religious Communion, which beginning in the 1830s paralleled America’s national surge beyond the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River. In 1835 the Episcopal Church created “missionary districts” to organize its presence in the frontier, assigning corresponding bishops to administer regions where the church was not yet established. An industrious, clear thinking, and physically fit clergyman, Tuttle belonged to a special class of explorer priests who sought to replicate the Christian, largely Protestant, culture of the Atlantic seaboard in the post-Civil War West.²

The central argument of this study is that Bishop Tuttle should be understood as Utah’s first significant religious outsider. While the following pages substantiate this claim, it is complicated by the fact that the Mormon community was originally an outside

¹ “Domestic Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church,” *Spirit of Missions*, June 1867, 413, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

² Historian Mark Noll provides a succinct account of western expansion and evangelical mobilization in, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 163-68.

group itself, emigrating in the mid-1840s from Illinois and before that, Ohio. However, to the extent that the meaning of the term depends on a present, stable, “inside” population, the LDS Church was by decade’s end the territory’s first dominant and established community, sharing space only on occasion with migratory Yampa Ute and Snake Indians.³ On the other hand, while Mormon adherents comprised the religious mainstream in Utah, to Christian clerics like Tuttle the LDS Church was a spiritual alternative rooted in the frontier, and committed to maintaining an experimental lifestyle of communitarian living and theocratic politics. Federal legislators in the 1850s also viewed Young and his followers as deviating from America’s commitment to private enterprise and open, democratic government. While scholars of the American West, especially since the 1960s, have emphasized the normative rather than the exceptional nature of western history, the peculiar social, religious, and political conditions of Tuttle’s frontier Utah provide a remarkable check to that perspective.

The chapters that make up this thesis individually focus on three aspects of Tuttle’s career in Utah—his role in establishing formal schools, a hospital and related social ministries, and Episcopal churches. In addition, each chapter seeks to examine the long influence of each enterprise on nineteenth century western, religious, and Utah history. Between entering Salt Lake City in July 1867 and departing for Missouri as the new bishop of that diocese in August 1886, Tuttle oversaw the development of six schools in Utah, each providing a standardized liberal arts education to territorial young people. These institutions were then new to the Far West, and collectively serviced more

³ Dale Morgan, “Utah Before the Mormons,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Winter 1968): 3-23. Morgan contends that Utah’s pre-Mormon history is so obscure that prior to the arrival of Hudson Bay Company trappers and short-term Spanish visitors in the early nineteenth century, it should be referred to as a “proto-historical” period.

than three thousand students—both LDS and non—during Tuttle’s tenure. In addition to providing a curriculum-based education, they also functioned as the cornerstone of Episcopalian evangelism in Utah. Tuttle himself was originally a teacher, and believed that by diffusing academic knowledge in the isolated environment he could engender in young people and their parents honest, open, and thoughtful inquiry. Collectively, these themes compose the focus of chapter one.

When Tuttle entered Utah in July 1867 he observed a territory in a state of transition, halfway between an agrarian region and one experiencing the first stirrings of industrialization. In addition to the completion of the transcontinental railroad at Promontory Summit on May 10, 1869, Utah also witnessed the beginnings of commercial banking and mining, the latter an enterprise that would play a critical role in every facet of the territory’s, and the state’s, history. To meet the needs of Gilded Age Utah and territorial miners in particular, Tuttle in 1872 oversaw the establishment of St. Mark’s Hospital, the first modern medical institution in the American West. Although the idea was not his, Tuttle played a key role in preparing the enterprise for opening, and later providing financial counsel, as well as written and verbal encouragement. Tuttle also administered several social ministries related to St. Mark’s Hospital designed to alleviate the physical, emotional, and mental burdens of territorial citizens. Laywomen were especially important to Episcopalian social care, in addition to Tuttle’s mission generally. Embodying the ideals of the “Social Gospel,” Tuttle and his colleagues perceived in St. Mark’s Hospital an opportunity to apply their religious commitments to everyday life in the nascent urban West.

Whereas the first two chapters examine Tuttle’s roles as a pioneer educator and healthcare administrator, the third chapter analyzes the bishop as a church builder. As implied, Tuttle perceived his career in general as inherently “religious” and supportive of his Christian ministry. Still, by examining his church-building strategy in particular the reasons for his religious successes become clear. Unlike most mainstream church denominations in post-Civil War Utah, the Episcopal mission, under Tuttle’s guidance, focused its activities on supporting the material and spiritual prosperity of its Communion rather than attacking the LDS Church. In close to twenty years, Tuttle facilitated the development of seven churches and the growth of a minority religious community numbering close to 1,200 men, women, and children. While Tuttle remained privately critical of Mormonism, particularly the doctrine of polygamy, he maintained cordial ties with the LDS Church generally. Much of his success can be traced to his flexibility, that is, his willingness to tailor his religious strategies to the distinctive conditions of “Zion,” or LDS-Utah. With an alternative religious community, the federal government, and mainstream Christian denominations united by the “Mormon problem” simultaneously



present in Utah, Tuttle peacefully exploited the territory’s distinctive matrix to support Episcopalianism’s western growth.

In spite of Tuttle’s extraordinary career and lasting significance in Utah history, he remains an essentially overlooked figure. The reasons for this

Figure 1: Bishop Tuttle, c. 1875

problem are many and are indicative of the interpretative currents in modern historiography. Typically, scholars who have recognized the bishop have been historians of American religion, perceiving him as a key player in the western expansion of the Episcopal Church. Frederick Quinn, an Episcopal priest and UCLA-trained historian, for example, has interpreted Tuttle as a pioneering bishop critically important to Utah's Episcopalian history.⁴ Others, such as James Beless Jr., Utah's diocesan chancellor, or a bishop's assistant, in addition to BYU historian Arnold Garr, have also analyzed his career, the latter referring to Tuttle as a "sterling example" of religious tolerance and cohabitation.⁵ Still, the amount of scholarship on the bishop numbers a mere handful of pages. In 2004, Quinn lamented Tuttle's historical neglect, writing, "I wish I could meet graduate students seeking a thesis topic or colleagues looking for a next book to write. One ready topic is The Life and Writings of Daniel S. Tuttle. Tuttle was a giant of the church in nineteenth-century America, and his Reminiscences only scratch the surface. A person of spiritual depth and thoughtfulness, he deserves a modern biography."⁶

The historians listed here, however, occupy a relatively exclusive place in the historical community. By contrast, scholars working in a wider corpus of American church history pay little attention to Tuttle. George Marsden, for instance, does not mention him in his seminal work, Religion and American Culture, and colleague Mark Noll devotes only few sentences to Tuttle in his.⁷ Additionally, LDS historian Leonard Arrington and Episcopal scholar James Thayer Addison collectively reference Tuttle only

⁴ Frederick Quinn, Building the "Goodly Fellowship of Faith": A History of the Episcopal Church in Utah, 1867-1996 (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2004), chapter one.

⁵ James Beless, "Daniel S. Tuttle, Missionary Bishop of Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly 27 (October 1959): 358-78; Arnold Garr, "Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle: Episcopalian Pioneer among the Mormons," Mormon Historical Studies 1 (Fall 2000): 63-80.

⁶ Quinn, xiv.

⁷ George Marsden, Religion and American Culture 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt, 2001); Noll, 327.

a handful of times.⁸ In the cases mentioned here, one reason for the bishop's conspicuous absence is a preference among these scholars for the elite, intellectual personalities governing church policy and polity in the American East, usually in places such as New York, Boston, or Philadelphia.⁹ In spite of Tuttle's rank and accomplishments, he still appears to be a backwater figure. Besides a regional preference, it still remains unclear why Tuttle has escaped the scrutiny of this group.

Part of the puzzle, in my opinion, is the fact that their scholastic colleagues in the western historical community have dismissed Tuttle and the religious dimension of the American frontier in general. Survey courses and textbooks commonly exclude mainstream clerical figures, and Mormonism and Native American spirituality get only brief coverage. Several excellent biographies of Brigham Young exist, in addition to many volumes on the LDS Church. At the anecdotal level, at least, Bishop Tuttle appears to have been overshadowed by the modern scholastic emphasis on Mormon history.

There are, however, a few notable exceptions to the neglect of western religion among scholars. University of New Mexico historian Ferenc Szasz has written widely on religion in the American West and his study, The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and Mountain West, 1865-1915, highlights the careers of Tuttle and his ilk in the turn-of-the-century West.¹⁰ Again, however, Szasz, like Quinn and Beless, is a rarity in his field, focusing his attention on a topic still suffering from minimal scholastic interest.

⁸ Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, The Mormon Experience 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 177; James Thayer Addison, The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931 (New York: Archon Books, 1969), 231-4.

⁹ Thank you to historians Grant Wacker, Mark Noll, Laurie Maffly-Kipp, Jan Shipps, and Mark Silk for discussing this and other issues at the January 2006 AHA Meeting in Philadelphia.

¹⁰ Ferenc Szasz, The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and Mountain West, 1865-1915 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988); also, Religion in the Modern American West (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000).

Whereas the reasons for Tuttle's absence in church scholarship are more difficult to pinpoint, explaining this occurrence in western literature is more straightforward. In fact, Professor Szasz has outlined several explanations for this historiographical problem. The two dominant ideas are that for many years, western historians have embraced a Turnerian understanding of the frontier past. For brevity's sake, this model, postulated by University of Wisconsin, and later Harvard, historian Frederick Jackson Turner (d. 1932) argued that the West offered nineteenth century Americans an opportunity to recreate themselves in an environment comparatively devoid of people. "The existence of an area of free land," Turner argued, "its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development."¹¹ More precisely, he suggested that it was on the frontier that Americans came to value personal self-reliance and democratic government while at the same time eschewing the cultural baggage of the East, part of which included traditional, Old World organized Christianity. While some Turnerian scholars have analyzed Christian groups in the West, they have traditionally focused on those denominations that excelled in the plain-spoken and locally-minded culture of the frontier. Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists have been examined, whereas the more liturgical and clerical traditions such as the Episcopalians and Catholics, have been excluded.

Szasz also contends that in addition to the popularity of Turner's model, the perpetual "myth of the American West" militates against a popular and scholastic acknowledgement of the role of the clergy and mainstream religion in the western past.¹²

¹¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," The Frontier in American History 4th ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 1.

¹² Ferenc Szasz, "The Clergy and the Myth of the American West," Church History 59 (1990): 497-506.

What Szasz left out, however, is the fact that “new western” historians have also excluded mainstream religion from historical narratives. Beginning in the 1960s, new western scholars rejected Turner’s model by arguing that America’s western pioneers were in fact essentially conservative, replicating rather than rejecting their old institutions, values, and beliefs. In the West, they argued, many of America’s problems—racism, violence, capitalist exploitation, environmental destruction, and women’s political exclusion—were left unsolved. Rejecting Turner’s optimistic understanding of the frontier, new western scholars instead encountered the West as a place that played host to a variety of fundamental human ills, many of which stemmed from national economic arrangements. Perceiving the West as a place of conquest, University of Colorado historian Patricia Limerick (b.1951) argued that the “American West has a history grounded in primary economic reality—in hardheaded questions of profit, loss, competition, and consolidation.”¹³ Because the western clergy do not fit easily into the legacy of conquest, they have been neglected in new western scholarship.



Figure 2: Main Street, Salt Lake City, Utah, c. 1862

In the last twenty years, however, historians of the West have shown a newfound interest in mainstream religion. In reaction to the utter neglect of previous generations,

scholars today are increasingly accepting the place of the Church and clerics like Tuttle.

¹³ Patricia Limerick, The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West (New York: Norton, 1987).

While religion in the West still remains on the borders of the historical discipline, generally speaking the themes in this field center on race, ethnicity, and the American urban West. In addition to historians like Peggy Pascoe, Laurie Maffly-Kipp, and Ferenc Szasz, Patricia Limerick has also developed a keen interest in organized religion as a way of understanding Mormon “otherness,” or ethnicity.¹⁴ Still, according to one contributor to the Western Historical Quarterly, while “scholars of the New Western history have show a greater awareness” of the role of religion in the American West, “much remains to be done.”¹⁵

Thus, in addition to presenting Bishop Tuttle as Utah’s first significant religious outsider, this study also helps to fill the pronounced gaps in modern western and church history. Tuttle and the Episcopal mission manifest several themes of both Turnerian and new western scholarship, therefore providing a complicated, nuanced portrait of Utah’s frontier past. By implication, this thesis argues that the bishop and the field of comparative religion in Utah and the West warrant further historical study. While the terms “outsider” and “insider” constitute some methodological problems, historians today still admit their relevance.¹⁶ The overall interpretation presented here is original, drawing from previous scholarship only in terms of facts, and lesser interpretative angles.

¹⁴ Patricia Limerick, “Peace Initiative: Using the Mormons to Rethink Culture and Ethnicity in American History,” Something in the Soil (New York: Norton, 200), 235-55.

¹⁵ Michael Engh, “ ‘A Multiplicity and Diversity of Faiths’: Religion’s Impact on Los Angeles and the Urban West, 1890-1940,” Western Historical Quarterly 28 (Winter 1997): 491.

¹⁶ For example, see R. Laurence Moore, “Religious Outsiders and ‘Civil Religion,’” in Major Problems in American Religious History ed. Patrick Allitt (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 17-21.

Chapter 1: Schools

“Out from the training in church schools may emerge in most wholesome manner and degree, faith that is not afraid to reason and reason that is not ashamed to adore.”¹

Introduction

Attempts to establish formal education in Utah first began on July 1, 1867, with the opening of St. Mark’s Grammar School, located in a dilapidated, abandoned adobe structure once used as a bowling alley and owned by the mother-in-law of a local Gentile, or non-LDS, physician named Dr. J. King Robinson.² The yearly rent was \$660 and the building could accommodate fewer than one hundred people. Thirteen students enrolled for the school’s inaugural term begun under the supervision of Episcopalian clergymen George Foote and Thomas W. Haskins. Approximately two months prior these men arrived as forerunners of Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, Missionary Bishop of Montana Territory for the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. Tuttle had been consecrated on the 1st of May in Trinity Chapel, New York and would arrive in Salt Lake City on July 2. His official assignment was to expand the Episcopal Communion in present-day Montana, Idaho, and Utah, and it was from Salt Lake that he planned to base his activities. Though Tuttle’s career would be officially religious and function under church auspices, it also promised to be educational since establishing schools in the liberal arts tradition formed an integral part of his overall mission strategy.

¹ Daniel Tuttle, Missionary to the Mountain West: Reminiscences of Episcopal Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, 1866-1886 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 361. This volume was first published in 1906 under the title, Reminiscences of A Missionary Bishop, by New York publishing firm, Thomas Whitaker Company. Hereafter cited as, Reminiscences.

² Daniel Tuttle, “Report of Bishop Tuttle 1867,” 13; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the efforts of Bishop Tuttle to establish formal education in Utah between 1867 and 1886, and will argue that he played a critical role in laying a firm scholastic foundation for Salt Lake City and its adjacent communities.³ Tuttle oversaw the construction of six schools in frontier Utah, including St. Mark's Grammar School (1867), Ogden School of the Good Shepherd (1870), St. Mark's School for Girls and St. John's School Logan (1871), St. Paul's Plain City (1876) and Rowland Hall Boarding School (1881). These institutions were then new to the Far West, adhering to rigorous scholastic standards while enrolling a diverse student body of Mormon and non-LDS young people. They collectively serviced more than three thousand persons by 1886, and provided the curricular model for Utah's state institutions that would form ten years later.⁴ Contemporaries who witnessed Tuttle's efforts publicly voiced their praise. D.H. Christensen, a colleague of Tuttle's successor, Bishop Leonard, noted in 1915 for example that Tuttle had encouraged "the enrichment of the [scholastic] curriculum" by offering students courses in Latin and algebra, as well as music and the arts. President Levi Edgar Young of the LDS's First Council of Seventy remarked following Tuttle's death in 1923 that "no more beautiful story could be told than that of the late Bishop Daniel Tuttle, who came to Utah . . . and raised funds for the establishment of a denominational school in Salt Lake City," leaving "an influence on the

³ This is the conclusion of historian Frederick Quinn. I would like to thank Mr. Quinn for encouraging my interest in Tuttle, and kindly discussing his educational impact in frontier Utah. Frederick Quinn, "Building the 'Goodly Fellowship of Faith'" (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2004), 15.

⁴ Daniel Tuttle, 20th Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, August 14, 1886, 121; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 2.

educational ideals of the state that will never be forgotten.”⁵ Even Secretary of State William Seward acknowledged Tuttle’s importance for western scholasticism.⁶

Unfortunately, statements such as these have been overlooked by historians more interested in Tuttle’s capacity as a church leader during Episcopalianism’s nineteenth century western expansion.⁷ Explaining the reasons for this oversight is difficult, and better suited to a discussion of the interpretative currents in modern western and church scholarship.⁸ Scholars who are interested in Tuttle’s educational contributions, however, have access to several valuable sources of information, including his personal memoirs, Episcopal register, and official reports, as well as a variety of newspaper articles and correspondences among parish personnel. Facts about individual LDS and Gentile students and parents, as well as evidence from non-Episcopal origins are, however, in short supply. As a result, this study will allow for vagaries and varying degrees of certitude as it seeks to analyze Tuttle’s role in developing parish schools; his personal philosophy of education and its relationship to evangelism; and finally his career as it relates to western expansion and the material and religious conditions surrounding turn-of-the-century Utah. The final portion of this chapter will review Tuttle’s scholastic legacy, and examine how it relates to his overall standing as Utah’s first significant religious outsider.

⁵ Quoted in Arnold K. Garr, “Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle: Episcopalian Pioneer among the Mormons,” Mormon Historical Studies 1 (2000): 70.

⁶ Seward’s recognition of Tuttle, however, had mixed motives. In a letter dated 1869, he said that “the church and schools undertaken by the Episcopal Church in Salt Lake City would do more to solve the Mormon problem than the army and Congress of the United States combined.” Tuttle, Reminiscences, 365.

⁷ James T. Addison, The Episcopal Church in the United States 1789-1931 (New York: Archon Books, 1969), 230-34. Mark Noll, A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2003), 325-28.

⁸ For an insightful discussion, see Ferenc Szasz, “The Protestant Clergy and the Myth of the American West,” Church History 59 (1990): 497-506.

* * * * *

In the evening of July 2, 1867, Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle arrived by stagecoach in Salt Lake City, dusty and sunburned having just completed an overland journey that began in Albany, New York, on May 23. With him were Edward N. Goddard, Mr. and Mrs. Gordon B. Miller, and Mrs. Foote, young missionary colleagues who several weeks before had accepted Tuttle's invitation to join him in his western enterprise. The party was grateful to finally reach its destination, after making stops in Detroit and Chicago and continuing through countless stretches of dry frontier landscape characteristic of the trans-Mississippi West. On the 26th of June the company had left Denver for the final leg of their trip, taking them west through Shoshone territory to Utah, and finally Salt Lake. Tuttle, the official representative of his group, rode shotgun beside the stage driver, allowing him the opportunity to observe for the first time the intermountain region's awesome, stunning terrain. In a letter to his wife, Harriet, Tuttle recalled the Continental Divide:

We saw the Rocky Mountains in the very early morning, a hundred and fifty miles distant. A most majestic sight they were, seeming like silvery clouds of sharpest outline along the horizon. The first range is dark, rough, picturesque piles, not unlike [New York State's] Catskill range, only greatly higher, and not wooded. Lying back of this first range is the Snowy range, here and there hidden behind the first, here and there rising in cliffs and points and bluffs, far above the first . . . isn't it wonderful?⁹

Noting with similar fascination the environs of Utah's Wasatch Range, Tuttle on July 1 described the "alkali plains, desert, sandy white with soda ash" interspersed with

⁹ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 76.

“red crumbling rock [and] hillsides covered with only sage brush” and occasionally dotted with flowers “white, red, pink, and blue” comparable to exotic species.¹⁰

Entering downtown Salt Lake City just after dark, the party exited their carriages and secured lodging at a local residence to dine and generally recuperate, for in the following days they would begin establishing Utah’s Episcopal mission, the first permanent non-LDS settlement in the territory. The first order of business included Tuttle’s contacting extant parish personnel George Foote, Thomas Haskins, and Warren Hussey, and inspecting the newly opened St. Mark’s Grammar School. Tuttle had planned to make schools the backbone of his missionary work in Utah because of the territory’s many young, impressionable children. The LDS Church had settled in Salt Lake in 1847, and encouraged progeny so as to stabilize and strengthen their religious community.¹¹ The territory, however, lacked schools since LDS leader Brigham Young had been more interested in building a sustainable religious refuge for his people; consequently, Young had limited education to training in church doctrine and practical skills, such as animal husbandry and book keeping.¹² Aware of the educational climate, Tuttle perceived an opportunity to use his schools to influence subsequent generations of

¹⁰ Ibid., 88.

¹¹ Wayne Walquist, Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West, eds. David Alexander and Richard Jackson (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1978), 1-169.

¹² Leonard Arrington, Brigham Young: American Moses (New York: Knopf, 1985), 355. While Young recognized the importance of education, Arrington contends that he explicitly opposed free schooling and believed that parents should assume the responsibility of paying for it. Young made his opinion on the matter clear by saying, “Some say they are not able to send their children to school . . . I think I would rise in the morning, wash myself, take a little composition [tea], and try, if possible, to muster strength enough to send my children to school, and pay their tuition like a man. When you have done this, if you are still unable, apply to some of your neighbors to assist you . . . I know such person are weak and feeble; but the disease is in the brain and heart—not in the bones, flesh, and blood. Send your children to school.” See also Frederick S. Buchanan, “Education among the Mormons: Brigham Young and the Schools of Utah,” History of Education Quarterly 22 (Winter 1982): 435-459.

Mormon children to seek “better views” and to discourage their community’s hostility toward Gentiles.¹³

Tuttle’s strategy of scholastic evangelism was well suited to his environment, but also to his personality since Tuttle himself possessed the necessary skills of an educational leader. He was articulate and naturally curious, and alertly aware of his physical surroundings, qualities that he manifested in his travel writings, learned conversations, and scholarly sermons preached while traveling. Tuttle had also been a professional academic before becoming a bishop, a critical factor in his election to the post of Missionary Bishop in October 1866.

On October 5, 1866, the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States nominated Tuttle to the post of “Missionary Bishop of Montana Territory with jurisdiction in Idaho and Utah.” The Convention consisted of Episcopalian Bishops from throughout North America who had assembled in New York City to discuss a wide range of affairs connected with church polity, one of which included the creation of new western parishes. Since the 1830s the Episcopal Church had created mission districts in the Far West to keep pace with America’s western expansion.¹⁴ Men assigned to frontier districts belonged to a special class of pioneer priests who possessed a wide range of qualities suitable for their calling, including religious devotion, organizational skills, athletic prowess, and scholastic erudition. At the Convention Tuttle had been nominated by the powerful bishop of New York, Horatio Potter. Votes in favor of Tuttle were nearly unanimous and a clear indication of Potter’s power and influence among his colleagues. They also, however, demonstrated a level of

¹³ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 355, 363, 110.

¹⁴ Addison, 230-34.

confidence in Tuttle's natural talents since voting bishops had been familiar with his personal background. Despite Tuttle's 29-years—still canonically unfit until his January birthday to assume the bishopric—he already possessed valuable experience as a rector, or pastor, of a moderately sized church in upper New York. Since 1862 Tuttle had overseen Ostego County's Zion Church and its myriad of administrative responsibilities, including presiding over board, or vestry, meetings, teaching Sunday school classes, and tallying church finances in addition to preaching several times weekly. He enjoyed good rapport with his congregation, and particularly strong ties with clerical subordinates.

Tuttle was also well qualified as an academic, having recently completed graduate training at Columbia College in 1857, and General Theological Seminary, the Episcopal Church's flagship institution, in 1862. Tuttle studied theology at both schools and taught underclassmen as a doctoral assistant. He was capable of enunciating complex ideas in a classroom setting, and as a result gained a campus reputation for his pronounced teaching ability. A former student and later accomplished historian, US Army General Charles King (d. 1933), testified to Tuttle's merits as a teacher in his published memoirs, saying:

Never using a harsh word, never an unjust tone, never losing faith or temper, his was yet so commanding a nature that by sheer force of personality and example his pupils followed unquestioning . . . there wasn't a boy among all his pupils that would have been surprised at his becoming a bishop inside of five years.¹⁵

In spite of superlatives, the essence of King's recollection probably conveyed an accurate description of Tuttle given the fact that several former college professors, in addition to bishop Horatio Potter, had hired him to privately tutor their own children

¹⁵ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 359. King's recollection of Tuttle may have been in one of two books he published for Harper Brothers. The first was entitled, *Between the Lines: A Story of War* (New York; Harper and Brothers, 1888), the second being, *Campaigning With Crook and Stories of Army Life* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1893). Some information on King's education may be found in Don Russell, *Campaigning With King: Chronicler of the Old Army*, ed. Paul L. Hedren (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

while still a student.¹⁶ Intelligent, articulate, and a capable leader, Tuttle would use these strengths to his advantage while working as a pioneer educator in frontier Utah.

* * * * *

On Monday July 8 Tuttle called a meeting to discuss the Episcopal mission and the operation of St. Mark's Grammar School. The school had opened on the 1st of July and Tuttle had visited the grounds and the school's administrators, George Foote and Thomas Haskins, sometime in the previous week. During the meeting Tuttle assessed annual costs, calculating teachers' salaries to be \$720 and rent \$660, collectively yielding an amount \$1000 over that year's mission budget.¹⁷ Besides financial issues, it is not clear what other items were discussed, although it seems likely that Tuttle affirmed the initiatives of Foote and Haskins to make St. Mark's School the central part of their religious activities.¹⁸ While the school only enrolled over a dozen students, it appeared that the institution would grow since it filled a void that had been created by previously unrealized efforts to establish formal schooling. In November 1865 an itinerant Congregationalist pastor and army chaplain at neighboring Fort Douglas, Norman McLeod, had gathered a small community of Salt Lake City Gentiles to meet weekly in a building located on 35th East/3rd South. The group was interdenominational and met under the title, Young Men's Literary Association, though it later changed its name to

¹⁶ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 43, 54. Tuttle privately tutored the children of Dr. Anthony and Dr. Turner, both of General Theological Seminary. Impressed with Tuttle, they referred him to New York bishop Horatio Potter, who had also been looking for a quality teacher to train his kids.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 109.

¹⁸ Recalling his first impression of St. Mark's School, Tuttle wrote "on my reaching Salt Lake City for the first time in 1867, I stayed only ten days. These ten days, however, sufficed to enable to discover and to approve heartily the wisdom of Messrs. Foote and Haskins in deciding that a day school would be a most efficient instrumentality in doing missionary work." *Ibid.*, 363.

Independence Hall to denote its essential “otherness” from the Mormon community. McLeod led members in church services and classes for religious training, which they referred to as Union Sunday School. Classes were small, using approximately 25 percent of the building’s two hundred seat capacity, and inadequately designed for young children.¹⁹ Union Sunday School continued to function, though weakly, under district attorney and former Fort Douglas Captain Charles Hempstead, until Episcopal clergymen Foote and Haskins arrived to take over during the first week of May 1867.²⁰

By mid-May Foote had secured an abandoned adobe bowling alley as a building for the impending Episcopal school. Foote reported that he had purchased the property from a local Gentile physician named Dr. J. King Robinson, and that it had been “gutted by the Mormons under the pretense that it was an immoral resort.”²¹ Foote also collected remodeling materials costing \$1000, as well as school supplies including desks, books, and slates. Much of the latter originated from sources in the East, and thus denoted a significant material link growing between frontier Utah and eastern society. With the help of Haskins and Warren Hussey, a laymen banker who arrived in Salt Lake from Denver the previous fall, Foote began preparing local Gentiles for the opening of St. Mark’s and the arrival of bishop Tuttle. Critically important to this endeavor was advertising for the new school, which Foote accomplished by hosting adult education classes on topics ranging from history to music to biblical studies.²² When St. Mark’s School opened to the public on July 1, it was prepared to assist children who were ready, even willing, to begin matriculation.

¹⁹ Ibid., 367.

²⁰ G.O. Larson, “Utah and the Civil War,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 (Winter 1965): 55-77.

²¹ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 371.

²² Ibid., 369.

Tuttle planned to stay in Salt Lake City until the 15th of July, after which he would depart for an extended visit to parish districts in Idaho and Montana. Until then he continued to acquaint himself with his colleagues, discussing plans and goals, as well as overland travel and the more interesting aspects of frontier life. On July 10 Tuttle reported walking the city's local Gentile district to introduce himself and his mission, and to recruit young persons for St. Mark's School.²³ Tuttle's candid exchange with his neighbors was beneficial, since it was then that he met Mrs. Durant, the Gilbert family, and other future friends and patrons of the school and mission. He also spent time in downtown Salt Lake City, his new residence and headquarters of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The LDS Church had migrated to the Salt Lake Valley two decades before, seeking religious asylum outside the United States. LDS leader Brigham Young believed that his church would grow, and thus designed the city to accommodate an expanding religious community. As Tuttle wandered up and down Salt Lake, he acknowledged Young's great feat of urban planning:

Streets straight and wide, rills of irrigating water running along the sides to refresh the growing shade trees, locust, cotton-wood, and soft maple, yards and gardens filled full of peach, apple, and apricot trees, of grapes, and all vegetables . . . almost every family here has a cow; and all cows get their living free on the waste plains and pastures beyond the Jordan [River].²⁴

In the morning of July 15 Tuttle saddled his horse in preparation for visiting Montana and Idaho.²⁵ Edward Goddard would accompany him, and the two planned to winter in Virginia City until the following spring when they would then return to Salt

²³ Ibid., 116.

²⁴ Ibid., 107.

²⁵ There is conflicting information about when Tuttle left Utah. Tuttle claims he left on July 11th arriving Virginia City, Montana on the 18th. However, in Reminiscences he states that he departed on the 15th. The issue here is not the day of his departure, but rather ambiguity in historical memory.

Lake. Being a bishop, Tuttle recognized that his future work with Utah's schools would be mainly administrative, and conducted mostly from the road. After all, his parish approached 340,000 square miles and was served by a limited number of clerical assistants. Thus before departing Tuttle placed in order St. Mark's personnel, assigning Haskins to be the organizational head of the school and Hussey to be in charge of supplies. Both men would report to Tuttle, and provide updates on the school's progress while also seeking his counsel on unforeseen or complicated issues. Tuttle wrote that while away from Utah, he acted as "the ultimate reference."²⁶ Tuttle also approved faculty personnel, Sarah Foote and a young woman identified only as Miss Wells, "an apostate Mormon who had come across the plains at the age of six."²⁷

Between mid-July and the following summer, Tuttle and Goddard traveled their mountainous parish planting churches and schools while residing in Montana's territorial capital, Virginia City. Much of their work included familiarizing the community to the presence of the Episcopal mission. Tuttle frequently met people in their cabin homes or along the network of trails surrounding the mining town. Despite being a professional academic whose associations included the elite and powerful, Tuttle had the ability to mingle congenially with ordinary men and women. During his time in Montana Tuttle's intellectual, probing mind led him to consider the surrounding mountainous landscapes: "I recall most vividly their rude robustness, their unmeasured hopefulness, their astounding vigor, their audacious unconventionality! Even the errors and imperfections

²⁶ Ibid., 386. It is difficult to know with any accuracy Tuttle's traveling schedule. But based on his "Episcopal Register," it appears that he resided in Salt Lake City for less than two weeks between July 15, 1867 and September 1868. He also spent approximately 57 percent of his career between 1867 and 1886 away from Utah.

²⁷ Mary Clark, "Rowland Hall-St. Mark's School: Alternative Education For More Than a Century," Utah Historical Quarterly 48 (Summer 1980): 271-92.

belonging to them we were not ashamed of.”²⁸ He also turned his attention to St. Mark’s Grammar School. On October 9 Tuttle wrote his first official report to the Episcopal Church’s board of domestic missions in New York City, requesting support by saying, “the great feature of the work is the teaching and training of the children,” and continuing, “we need, first, some land—a lot for our own, to build upon. We need, second, to have a school house built on that lot. We pay now rent of \$660 per annum for our present inadequate, incommodious school-house.”²⁹ Although Tuttle worked tirelessly to make his schools financially self-reliant, the vast majority of educational funding would ultimately come from outside sources located in the American East.

While few records exist to indicate Tuttle’s communication with Haskins and Hussey concerning St. Mark’s School through 1867-68, Tuttle had been correct in asserting the inadequacy of the school’s current location. By July 31, 1868, St. Mark’s had grown in enrollment from thirteen students to one-hundred and from two to six teachers. The institution also expanded its property holdings to include not only the bowling alley but also Independence Hall, the present location of Episcopal church services.³⁰ Funds to support St. Mark’s growth came mainly from eastern patrons, although no specific names or figures are available. Tuttle continued throughout the winter to lobby on behalf of his educational work, writing in December an appeal to the Spirit of Missions, the Episcopal denomination’s monthly magazine,

Out of a strange place we make our appeal to you. A strange community we are living among. A strange social atmosphere environs us. . . . Thousands of children are growing up in this Territory who have never heard of any other

²⁸ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 118.

²⁹ Daniel Tuttle, “Letter to the Spirit of Missions,” Spirit of Missions, October 8, 1867, 1, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

³⁰ Daniel Tuttle, 2nd Annual Report, Morris, New York, September 23, 1868, 264; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

religion than the Mormon; who know absolutely nothing of any other social system than polygamy. . . . With God's help and blessing, we mean to go right on with just such work as we are doing. If this land is to be saved, through the Holy Spirit, to civilization and Christianity, the children must be taught and trained in civilized Christian ways.³¹

Tuttle spent the remainder of the winter in Virginia City attending duties there, including serving as the territorial legislature's chaplain, securing lots for future churches and schools, teaching Latin to a nephew of a retired colonel, preaching several times weekly, and studying his Greek New Testament.³² For the remainder of the year and through 1869 Tuttle continued living in Montana, moving from Virginia City to Helena in the fall after bringing his wife, Harriet, and son, George, west from Albany. Despite his absence from Salt Lake, he nevertheless remained informed of St. Mark's School and conscientious about his duties in that endeavor. In July 1868 Tuttle traveled to give an address to children and the general public who had gathered for a public exhibition of St. Mark's at Independence Hall. Tuttle's gesture, like many others, was important for giving unquantifiable encouragement to the inchoate western mission. In the fall Tuttle attended the General Convention in New York City, taking time to deliver a lecture on the danger of frontier bishops leaving their parishes to raise funds in the East. His argument seemed to have resonated with listeners since afterwards future St. Mark's patroness, Miss Mary Coles of Philadelphia, promised her substantial financial support.³³ Tuttle also traveled to New Haven, Hartford, and Philadelphia making appeals for school funding.

³¹ Daniel Tuttle, Domestic Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, December 1867, 836; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

³² Ibid., Reminiscences, 177.

³³ Daniel Tuttle, "Episcopal Register," #73, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 10 FD 5; Ibid., Reminiscences, 210.

Enrollment continued to grow at St. Mark's Grammar School during the winter of 1869, despite moderate economic and administrative difficulties. Thomas Haskins and George Foote remained the supervisory heads of the enterprise and reported a daily attendance of 115 students. Tuttle continued laboring in Helena to secure a permanent Episcopalian presence there. As in Salt Lake, he turned to hosting public educational classes as a way of advertising the future school and church, this time on topics including the Protestant Reformation, and Charles I and English constitutional history.³⁴ Tuttle later noted that his missionary plan was to plant schools and then allow churches to naturally grow into place.³⁵ He also approved George Foote's preparations for a grammar school in Corrine, a nascent Gentile railroad town northwest of Salt Lake, as well as Haskin's occasionally teaching soldiers at Fort Douglas.³⁶ Tuttle's most important work, however, included developing a strategy for stabilizing St. Mark's School. Tuttle reported on March 2 that expenses, particularly school heating costs, had jeopardized the school's solvency: "coal out—burning pine wood at twenty-five dollars per cord. In two weeks three stoves had burned eighty dollars up."³⁷ Additionally Haskins had become sick and Henry Foote, George's younger brother, was preparing to leave Salt Lake to begin mission work in Boise. While it seems that Tuttle had already decided to settle permanently in Salt Lake, it is not totally clear that he had fully

³⁴ Daniel Tuttle, "Letter to Mr. Clark," April 1, 1869; EDUR ACCN 426 BOX 7 FD 3; *Ibid.*, Reminiscences, 226. University of New Mexico historian Ferenc Szasz has argued that frontier preachers functioned collectively as a "general public utility" since they provided secular academic education in addition to religious training. Szasz writes, "The Sunday evening service became a special forum for the dissemination of such knowledge. By the 1890s, it was proving more and more difficult to gather a crowd on Sunday evenings. Gradually, these evening services became 'less religious,' and began to include discussions of current issues." Ferenc Szasz, The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and Mountain West, 1865-1915 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 49.

³⁵ Daniel Tuttle, 7th Annual Report, Boise, Idaho, September 23, 1873, 5; FQP ACCN BOX 9 FD 1.

³⁶ Daniel Tuttle, 3rd Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 15, 1869, 70; FQP ACCN BOX 9 FD 1.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Reminiscences, 226.

committed to this idea since his solution to the present dilemma written on the 6th of April included securing “one good man, layman, or cleric, to devote his whole time to [the] Salt Lake School” and for Foote, Haskins and himself to (then) assume year round teaching responsibilities.³⁸

Having decided to settle his family in Salt Lake City, Tuttle made plans to relocate between his summer visitations to Montana and Idaho. Tuttle recorded spending from July 27 to September 10 in towns including Deer Lodge, Bannack, and Bozeman, Montana, and September 26 to October 21 in Boise, Silver, and Idaho City, Idaho.³⁹ On the 10th of September Tuttle, his wife, and mother-in-law and now, two sons, arrived in Corrine to board carriages for Uintah and then Salt Lake. Although he had been away from Utah and the daily operations of St. Mark’s Grammar School for close to two years, he remained confident of his ability to assimilate into school operations since during his absence he had been “constantly advised of what [Haskins and Foote] were doing” and had “helped them by correspondence . . . in their straitness, perplexities and discouragements.”⁴⁰

After completing a trip to Boise on October 21 Tuttle began administrative duties at St. Mark’s, acting as principal and business manager. He also shared with Haskins and Hussey a daily teaching curriculum including algebra, geometry, Latin and Greek, and Bible study. One hundred and sixty students now attended the school, many of whom received \$40 annual scholarships subsidized by Tuttle and the Episcopal Church. Foote had proposed this method of student funding at some uncertain date early in the mission, and these monies enabled St. Mark’s and future Episcopal schools to exist. On

³⁸ Ibid, 228. Although, it is possible that the crisis simply expedited his removal to Salt Lake City.

³⁹ Ibid., “Episcopal Register,” #118-142.

⁴⁰ Ibid., Reminiscences, 244.

November 3 Tuttle wrote an article for the Spirit of Missions in which he urged readers to continue their support of scholarships, saying, “So many of our scholars are too poor to pay tuition that I do trust that all our former scholarships will be renewed, and that some more will come in. Thus only can we secure such income from the school as not to be financially swamped.”⁴¹ Later that month Tuttle sent George Foote east to rally needed school revenue.



Figure 3: Bishop Tuttle, c. 1867



Figure 4: St. Mark's School, n.d.

⁴¹ Daniel Tuttle, “Letter to the Spirit of Missions,” Spirit of Missions, January 1870, 11; EDUR ACCN 426 BOX 7 FD 12.

While the early numerical success of St. Mark's can be attributed to the lack of public schooling in frontier Utah, an additional factor may be the territory's poor economic climate, specifically the lack of monetary species between the beginning of the LDS settlement in 1847 and the ratification of statehood in 1896. Utah historians Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton have argued that during this time the territorial economy was essentially agrarian and functioned through a system of barter and trade. The minting of currency had been allowed by the LDS church in 1849, but discontinued two years later due to the coins' dubious reputation for quality. The defaulting of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads to construct a line connecting Ogden with Salt Lake City in 1869 further impeded the circulation of cash.⁴² Additionally, despite the increased presence of currency introduced by Utah's growing commercial mining economy, Young in 1868 established a series of LDS trading cooperatives as a defensive measure against Gentile encroachment; consequently, cash remained scarce until the 1880s when non-LDS commercial banks began rapidly emerging to assist mine labor. When St. Mark's and other subsequent parish schools developed, territorial children who desired a formal education but lacked adequate means sought enrollment at Tuttle's Episcopal schools since they offered quality training for free or at a minimal cost.

In the winter of 1870 Tuttle recorded that he hired a local Mormon girl named Ellen Poxon to assist Harriet with household work. Domestic responsibilities had

⁴² Leonard Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 70, 265-70. Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter Day Saints, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 161-84. Arrington asserted that the Mormon economy sustained staggering losses because of the failed railroad contract: "\$500,000 in cash and even greater aggregate losses to the subcontractors, merchants, and laborers," Arrington, Brigham Young, 349. Also see Arrington, "Banking Enterprises in Utah, 1847-1880," Business History Review 29 (December 1955): 312-34.

multiplied during the past year with the birth of the Tuttle's second son, Herbert, and Harriet's assumption of public duties associated with the mission. Harriet, like many late nineteenth century women, had experienced expanded work opportunities in western cities to help with establishing society.⁴³ Coinciding with Poxon's agreement to assist Harriet was Tuttle's decision to enroll the young girl in St. Mark's Grammar School. Poxon had apparently wanted a formal education and requested her mother to send her to the Episcopal academy. Although Mrs. Poxon initially refused, she later acquiesced and a friendship between the two families ensued.⁴⁴

It is reasonable to assume that similar experiences among LDS children and parents occurred with greater frequency during the 1870s, since Tuttle and his colleagues began expanding parish schools into traditionally Mormon towns. The Episcopal mission concentrated its efforts first on Ogden, a community strategically located to the north of Salt Lake. Tuttle seems to have planned to develop a school there during 1869, although there is no direct evidence to support this claim. Beginning in May 1869 Brigham Young and his colleagues initiated their plan of protecting Utah territory from Gentile outsiders working on the transcontinental railroad. While their efforts were mainly defensive, a critical feature of the LDS plan included building the Utah Central railroad to connect Ogden and surrounding northern towns with Salt Lake.⁴⁵ While the rail line would allow greater access to the center of the LDS community, it had the important consequence of financially undermining Corrine, a Gentile railroad community where Tuttle had approved mission activity to begin in 1869. On 12 January 1870 Tuttle cancelled classes

⁴³ There are several good books on women's working experiences in the 19th century West. A readable treatment is Dee Garceau, The Important Things of Life: Women, Work, and Family in Sweetwater County, Wyoming, 1880-1929 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

⁴⁴ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 258.

⁴⁵ Arrington, Brigham Young, 348-51; The Mormon Experience, 174-75.

at St. Mark's to watch Young drive the final railroad spike of the Central line.⁴⁶ As he stood next to approximately 15,000 Mormons, Tuttle witnessed the viability of Corrine's future seriously jeopardized, and thus redoubled his commitments to Ogden.

On March 13 Thomas Haskins entered Ogden to begin making preparations for a new school. This included gathering local subscriptions to pay for a teacher's salary, the cost of renting a building, and construction materials needed to remodel the interior for classrooms.⁴⁷ Haskins balanced his time between Ogden and teaching at St. Mark's School until July, when he was replaced by James and Lucelia Gillogly, graduate students from the University of Connecticut's Berkley School of Divinity, who had been recruited by George Foote in the fall of 1869 to assist Tuttle's mission. Between the spring and fall of 1870 Tuttle continued teaching as well as raising money from eastern and local patrons. Fundraising was Tuttle's perennial, as well as his most significant, task during his career in Utah. He reported in his Annual Report of 1870 that \$40/yr. scholarships allowed St. Mark's students, mainly from cash needy LDS families, to continue their education: "More than two thirds of these [students] come free. They must so come, because of the absolute poverty of their parents."⁴⁸ Additionally St. Mark's now had an enrollment of 181 students, and had expanded classrooms to include three former dry goods stores renting for \$65 per month each.⁴⁹ The critical importance of Tuttle's fundraising efforts can be seen by recognizing not only St. Mark's rising expenses, but also that donation totals since the beginning of the mission now equaled

⁴⁶ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 251.

⁴⁷ Lucelia Webster Gillogly, Early Missionary Life in Ogden, Utah, Alameda, California, 1900, 2, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 14 FD 1.

⁴⁸ Tuttle, 4th Annual Report, Boise, Idaho, September 19, 1870, 65; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

\$19,503.05, of which only 3 out of 255 subscriptions came from patrons living west of the Appalachian states.⁵⁰

On the 1st of October Ogden's School of the Good Shepherd opened in a rented saloon located on the corner of 5th and Wall Street. A dozen students attended the first day, and thirty by the end of the month, although reports do not make clear the precise religious composition of the student body. In 1900 Lucelia Gillogly recalled in a letter to Thomas Haskins that during the first month of classes, students were mainly Gentile children whose parents resided locally as employees for the Union and Central Pacific railroads. Gillogly did not indicate the basis of her claim but assumed that Ogden's railroad families perceived the Episcopal building to be a facility intended for religious minorities.⁵¹ Tuttle, however, noted in a report for the domestic board of missions dated 1870 that James Gillogly's students were "nearly all Mormons."⁵² While it is improbable to ascertain the precise makeup of the school's initial enrollment, Tuttle's approximation seems to be more likely since the town of Ogden had emerged during the previous year as a central hub for the "Mormon road," a rail line built by Mormon workers connecting Salt Lake via the Utah Central to Ogden, and later in 1872 the Utah Northern with LDS towns like Logan.⁵³ Additionally, the Gentile community in the early 1870s amounted to "less

⁵⁰ Daniel Tuttle and George Foote, "Acknowledgements," Spirit of Missions, May 21, 1870, EDUR ACCN 426 BOX 7 FD 14, BOX 34 FD 15. George Foote also played a critical role in raising support. In July 1870 he reported that the Utah mission had not received \$7500 in promised donations, and requested they be sent quickly so as to not delay school work: "If you know of such amounts being contributed to our Mission, please have them forwarded to us at once, for we need just about this sum to enable us to build our school house." George Foote, "The Salt Lake Mission," The Gospel Messenger, July 7, 1870; EDUR ACCN 426 BOX 7 FD 9.

⁵¹ Gillogly, 2.

⁵² Daniel Tuttle, Domestic Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, July 1871, 306; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

⁵³ Arrington, Brigham Young, 350.

than 10 percent of the total population.”⁵⁴ Finally, Tuttle was more intimately connected with the school since he personally received official statistics from teacher Gillogly.

While Tuttle certainly wanted to demonstrate to his church his success in Utah, the social and religious conditions surrounding Ogden suggest that the discrepancy in reports points more to the problems of historical memory than bias among religious minorities.

Ogden’s School of the Good Shepherd continued to grow during the final months of 1870 and into the spring of 1871. The school acquired a second teacher, Mahlon N. Gilbert, a college graduate and former Sunday school student of Tuttle’s at Zion Church, who desired to assist the Utah mission. School property also expanded to accommodate additional classes. In December Tuttle purchased an old tannery shop for \$3,000, having received funds earlier that month from an eastern patron, John D. Wolfe of New York City, who previously gave Tuttle \$1000 in May 1867 as seed money for the new mission and who would underwrite many subsequent mission enterprises.⁵⁵ Tuttle allocated \$700 to assist Gillogly’s efforts to remodel the tannery which begun in January, and to pay the overland travel for two additional teachers, sisters Carrie and Nettie Crocheron of Brooklyn, New York. Arriving in April, the new teachers assisted the school’s thirty-five primary and secondary students in a variety of lessons, including music and French.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Ibid., *The Mormon Experience*, 175.

⁵⁵ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 255.

⁵⁶ Daniel Tuttle, *5th Annual Report*, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 2, 1871, 4; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

Women would ultimately play a critical role in Utah's parish schools, both as educators and students, since Tuttle viewed women's education as a central concern requiring his personal attention and support. Tuttle belonged to the generation of Americans that witnessed the establishment of female colleges beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, and increasing after the Civil War.⁵⁷ He had had positive experiences with women and formal education in the past, most notably co-teaching Bible study classes at his parish church in the 1850s with Jane Mount, an intelligent laywoman whom Tuttle respected and admired.⁵⁸ Tuttle also recognized the value of female schooling in Utah, where he, like many Americans, believed Mormon women were exploited by the religious doctrine of plural marriage. In 1856 the Republican Party chose as its political platform the abolition of polygamy, in addition to slavery. Although contemporary scholars have demonstrated that polygamy was practiced to a far less extent than imagined, Protestant denominations as well as the federal government worked for its eradication starting in the late 1850s.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ An excellent survey of the history of women's higher education is, Helen Horowitz, Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from their Nineteenth Century Beginning to the 1930s (New York: Knopf, 1984). Another good treatment can be found in Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University: A History (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 307-29.

⁵⁸ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 44.

⁵⁹ George Marsden, Religion and American Culture, 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt, 2001), 92. Arrington, The Mormon Experience, 161-200. Arrington writes, "for most non-Mormons in the nineteenth century (and many in the twentieth)-the predominant and peculiar feature of Mormonism was plural marriage, or polygamy. This rallying point for the anti-Mormon crusades of the 1870s and 1880s established a persisting stereotype. But the great majority of Mormons have had no direct experience with polygamy. Considering that the church is approximately 150 years old, that polygamy was in effect for about one-third of that time, and that at the maximum less than one-fifth of the church population lived in polygamous families while the principle was in effect, then less than one-fifteenth of all Mormons have been so involved," 185.

The need for education and Christian virtue, combined with the success of St. Mark's Grammar School and Ogden School of the Good Shepherd, thus encouraged Tuttle in 1871 to establish a formal girls' school. In September 1871 Tuttle oversaw the opening of St. Mark's School for Girls located in the basement of St. Mark's Cathedral Church, which had opened earlier that month. The institution was advertised in the Spirit of Missions as a "first class High School for girls only" that sought to train healthy, companionable, and self-reliant Christian women. Principal Charlotte Hayden administered fifty-three students, and was assisted by "the ladies of the parish" and teacher Thomas Haskins. In 1872 two additional teachers joined the enterprise, although their names are not known.⁶⁰

While St. Mark's Girls School began its inaugural year, St. Mark's Grammar School continued to function with a robust student body and staff of capable teachers. In 1872 the institution had grown to the extent that a permanent schoolhouse was crucial for maintaining scholastic standards. Tuttle wrote in his annual report that enrollment had risen to 350 students serviced by nine teachers, and that community members, both Mormon and non-LDS, had proposed to the school's board of directors that they lend Tuttle money for erecting a new building.⁶¹ Since October 1867 the school had been meeting in Independence Hall, and after that three general stores starting in 1869. In 1871 Tuttle reported that approximately fifty students had been refused enrollment in September because of space limitations.⁶² Aware of St. Mark's success and desirous of prolonging educational growth, Tuttle agreed to the community's offer and accepted

⁶⁰ Tuttle, Domestic Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, July 1871, 306; John Sillito, "Mainstays of the Liturgical Life: Episcopal Women in Late 19th and Early 20th Century Utah," Utah State Historical Society Annual Meeting, August 17, 2002, Salt Lake City, Utah, 4; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 22 FD 1.

⁶¹ Daniel Tuttle, 6th Annual Report, Boise, Idaho, September 21, 1872, 6; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Domestic Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, July 1871, 306.

\$4,000 while contributing \$3,000 from the mission budget toward the new building. He also borrowed \$15,000 for the remaining costs, despite his reservations against debt.⁶³ In 1873 520 students and thirteen teachers moved into St. Mark's new residence on 141st East/First South, featuring classrooms for primary and secondary grades, and a modest library.⁶⁴

In 1873 Tuttle executed his plan to establish an additional school in Logan, another traditional Mormon stronghold. As with Ogden, Logan had been chosen as the site of Episcopal mission activity based on the belief that it would become an important commercial center conducive to eastern, non-LDS businessmen.⁶⁵ Additionally it was a town of approximately two thousand people, many of whom were financially unstable, and thus hypothetically receptive to Tuttle's free or low cost parish schools. On January 31 Tuttle, along with William Stoy, a clergyman recruited from Deer Lodge, Montana, entered Logan to survey the town for potential school sites. Tuttle did not report how a lot was chosen or secured, although it seems that their decision was influenced by Joseph Richardson, an Episcopal laymen and prominent eastern businessman who had personally subsidized part of the Utah Northern rail line.⁶⁶ The school eventually opened on the 5th of February in a former bakery on First North/Second West owned by an apostate Mormon, named Aaron Dewitt.

It is unclear how many students enrolled for the inaugural year at Logan's St. John's School. Tuttle indicated in his 1873 report written on September 23 that no

⁶³ Ibid., 6th Annual Report, 6.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 7th Annual Report, 3.

⁶⁵ A.J. Simmonds (d. 1995), curator of Special Collections and Archives at Utah State University, wrote in 1985 that the Utah Northern line was heavily funded by "Benjamin and Joseph Richardson, leading New York financiers and prominent [Episcopal] Churchmen." A.J. Simmonds, "Strength Out of Zion: A History of St. John's Episcopal Church and the Anglican Presence in the Cache Valley," Logan, Utah, 1985, 4, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 14 FD 3.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 4, 21ff.

scholars attended the institution, but that by 1874 sixty children, all Mormon, matriculated.⁶⁷ Student numbers probably began small and then increased, since in September 1873 Tuttle approved Stoy's decision to move the school to a bigger location on Main Street. The building had been owned by William Sherman, a former LDS member who had apparently opposed Brigham Young's 1869 economic strategy forcing Mormon stores to ally with the church's Zion Cooperative Mercantile Association.⁶⁸ After suffering a boycott by local LDS members, Sherman sold his property to Stoy, who then remodeled the building, equipping it with furniture and materials for one-hundred students and a school newspaper. By 1874 students elementary through college preparatory level attended Logan St. John's, and were overseen by three faculty members.

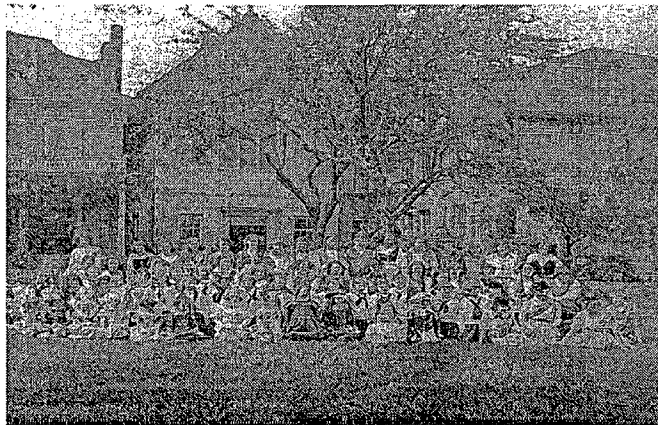


Figure 5: Rowland Hall student body, n.d.



Figure 6: Rowland Hall, n.d.

⁶⁷ Daniel Tuttle, 8th Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 25, 1874, 57; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

⁶⁸ Simmonds, 10.

During the following two years Tuttle spent much of the time away from Utah visiting parishes in Montana and Idaho, as well as raising funds in the East to pay for mission expenses. Operating costs had risen dramatically beginning in 1870 with the Episcopal mission's construction of new schools, a church Cathedral, and in 1872 a modern hospital. The national Panic of 1873 added to financial strains, causing Tuttle to write in his annual report two years later, "I beg you, for myself and for all Missionary Bishops, as you would not have us lose our courage, or quit our old, or shrink back, or sink down with whelming work all round, to keep up all you have so gloriously done, and to stir up the [church] people to do yet more and better to furnish us means, general and special, for our campaigns."⁶⁹ To help meet costs, Tuttle in 1874 recorded traveling East to attend fundraising events after making parish visits to Idaho between May and June and Montana until September fifth. Tuttle did not return to Utah until December 22 and repeated the same arduous summer schedule the following year, returning to Salt Lake on October 29, 1875.⁷⁰

While the majority of Tuttle's official duties entailed interfacing with adults, especially when gathering subscriptions, he was affectionate toward children and often called on them to help in raising money for schools. In 1874 Tuttle wrote his colleagues, "Take loving care of the children. . . . Have a parish School whenever you can; if you cannot, make a rule to visit sometimes the school or schools kept near you."⁷¹ Following James Gillogly's sudden death in February 1881, Tuttle promised his wife, Lucelia, to provide an education for her children. He also called on children, such as the "Bishop

⁶⁹ Daniel Tuttle, 9th Annual Report, Helena, Montana, September 7, 1875, 5; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, "Episcopal Register," #466-634.

⁷¹ Daniel Tuttle, 3rd Annual Convocation Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 25, 1876, 15; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 12 FD 4.

Tuttle Boys and Girls” of Philadelphia, to partner with him in raising \$40/yr. scholarships.⁷² Tuttle demonstrated his rapport with young people in a letter dated May 1, 1922, requesting their help in increasing church attendance: “Dear Friend, you are a communicant of the Church. I thank God for that. I ask leave to enlist you in a special act of service for the Church. . . .”⁷³ Tuttle’s work on behalf of public education in Utah was thus official but also personal, demonstrative of his obedience to Jesus’ special interest in children, as well as Tuttle’s particular personality traits that contributed to the success of his career in youth education.

* * * * *

Historians of the LDS church have routinely recognized the late 1860s as a critical period in Mormon history, for it was then that the first significant wave of Gentile outsiders, mainly miners passing through to other western states and workers for the transcontinental railroad, began encroaching on Salt Lake, or “Zion,” and initiating the end of the Mormons’ isolated religious community. In focusing on the various strategies of defense employed by Young and his community, scholars have, however, exaggerated the LDS’ antagonism to outsiders.⁷⁴ Tuttle and his Episcopal mission had been extremely successful in attracting Mormons to parish schools, and had enjoyed favorable

⁷² Ibid., *Reminiscences*, 47.

⁷³ Daniel Tuttle, “Dear Friend,” May 1, 1922, 1; EDUR ACCN 426 BOX 7 FD 3.

⁷⁴ For example, Leonard Arrington used 1869 to begin his section entitled, “The Kingdom Threatened,” while Davis Bitton cites the date as a convenient starting point for tracing the “creative adjustments” experienced by the LDS church. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 235-353; Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, 243-336.

recognition from the LDS community. For example, on February 10, 1875, the Desert News, the official LDS newspaper, reported that

St. John's School has enrolled sixty pupils. It has the "Triumph" desk also, and a fine organ. The pupils range in duties from the first reader, to the Latin language. In consequence of the great diversity of recitation Mr. Davis, the very efficient teacher, labors under great disadvantage, but with his marked ability he will make his labors count to the very best possible advantages.⁷⁵

Additionally, the Salt Lake Tribune featured a story, saying,

The work done by St. Mark's school is worthy of recognition. St. Mark's school opened in the territory, and during its nine years of existence it has performed an important work. Over three fourths of the young people taught there receive free scholarships; that is, the cost of their tuition is paid for by some benefactor in the East. The Episcopalian denomination, in planting a mission church in this city, have shown a liberality and a persistence which gives proof of their earnest good deeds.⁷⁶

These newspaper accounts accurately depicted the success that Tuttle's schools' experienced. By 1876 679 students attended four schools, equating to nearly 10 percent of the territory's total children.⁷⁷ Furthermore, they were attended to by a trained staff of twenty-three teachers. In Ogden enrollment had risen to 144 students in 1872, fourth-fifths of whom were purportedly from Mormon households. Additionally, School of the Good Shepherd had moved into its own building for the 1876 academic year. In January James Gillogly had proposed to Tuttle that he buy new lots for \$800. Tuttle agreed and offered to split the cost between the mission and the Ogden community. Raising local funds and contributing part of his savings, Gillogly gathered subsidies to allow Tuttle on February 24 to purchase three lots on Center/Third West, centrally located between the Ogden railroad station and hotel. After hiring a local contractor to build the schoolhouse,

⁷⁵ Desert News, 10 February 1875, USHS.

⁷⁶ Salt Lake Tribune, 25 May 1876, USHS.

⁷⁷ Gustive Larson, Outline History of Territorial Utah (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1972), 124.

the school opened on the 20th of August, costing \$4600. One month later, Tuttle displayed his personal confidence in the parish educational work, writing thoughtfully in his annual report: “We are a working lever. We have a fulcrum by our residence in Utah. Our power is small . . . but it is at the longer arm. So the weight, though fearfully, heavy, will be moved.”⁷⁸

The influence of Tuttle’s schools had clearly spread throughout Utah and even beyond by 1876. This notoriety, however, should not be surprising not simply because of the Episcopal mission’s success, but also because more attention had been given to Utah since the mid-nineteenth century. Beginning in 1847 with the Mexican cession of the American southwest and increasing into the early 1860s, the federal government escalated its presence in Utah. The reasons were many, including first to diminish southern influence during the Civil War, protect the overland mail route, and facilitate the western Indian Wars; and secondly, to assimilate by law, and later force, the LDS church into mainstream America.⁷⁹ Tuttle entered into the former narrative in May 1867 when he received a personal letter from Secretary of War Edward Stanton assuring him that he had advised western military officers to provide the young bishop with “such protection as he may need and as may be in [their] power consistent with service.”⁸⁰ While military operations prevented Tuttle from assuming federal patronage, government bureaucrats viewed him as a helpful contact in the territory as they dealt with the “Mormon problem.” Evangelical churches, too, had strengthened their missionary efforts to the American West in the wake of frontier mining rushes starting in 1849, and the accelerated pace of

⁷⁸ Tuttle, 9th Annual Report, 3.

⁷⁹ Larson, 55-77. Robert Utley, ed., The Story of the West (New York: DK Publishing, 2003), 168, 171, 188-90.

⁸⁰ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 56.

western expansion after the Civil War. In order to instill the frontier with Christian morality and a devotion to American democracy, argues historian Laurie Maffly-Kipp, evangelical denominations sent missionaries west to establish churches and address perceived social ills.⁸¹ Traveling overland in 1867, Tuttle thus represented the first generation of Gilded Age missionaries, such as Sheldon Jackson and Thomas Starr King, whose careers were publicly admired and followed.

The Episcopal mission in Salt Lake City continued to expand its educational reach in 1876 by planting another school in the territory, this time in Plain City, located between Ogden and Logan in northern Utah. As with the other schools, the enterprise was strategically located along the transportation links of the region. It differed, however, since Tuttle and his colleagues had not initiated the school building process. Little information exists concerning this operation, but it appears that in the summer of 1876 several Plain City men approached James Gillogly in Ogden to request his assistance in building a school. James' wife, Lucelia, recalled in 1900 that these men were former LDS members, having "joined the Mormons when they knew very little about them, and wished [now] to return to the mother church."⁸² She recalled that they were originally from England, and probably belonged to the first generation of Europeans starting in the

⁸¹ Laurie Maffly-Kipp, Religion and Society in Frontier California (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994). Maffly-Kipp argues that parochial schools and reform societies were later additions to the missionary strategy of church planting and evangelizing, and should be seen as responses to the perception that western society militated against traditional attempts to engender religious devotion. Timothy Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 1957), 148-62. While Smith concentrates mainly on religious developments in the East, he emphasizes that addressing social concerns remained the distinguishing feature of American religious life after 1865 throughout the United States. H.W. Brands, The Age of Gold (New York: Anchor Books, 2002), 243-358; Addison, 230-34.

⁸² Gillogly, 2.

1850s to join the LDS church and immigrate to Zion.⁸³ Tuttle wrote his Annual Report of 1876 on May 25 and consequently did not indicate the number or type of students educated that year. However, Episcopal records do indicate that twenty-five children matriculated between 1877-78, during which the schoolhouse was being built.

In November 1876 Gillogly had written a petition in the Spirit of Missions requesting eastern patronage for the new project. He also, with Tuttle's counsel, negotiated terms with the community to purchase an acre lot and to supply \$600 for construction materials, while leaving it to townspeople to raise subscriptions for building costs. The terms were met, albeit modified, and the school's cornerstone was laid on April 14, 1877.⁸⁴ St. Paul's Plain City School opened in January of the following year, employing four teachers known only as Miss Vance, Mrs. White, Miss Abbie Lees, and Miss E.M. Thompson. According to Lucelia Gillogly, apostate Mormons hailed the opening of the school, recalling that "the stars and stripes were unfurled before the school-house, the Liberals all being very happy and proud to have a schoolhouse of their own, the first in this Mormon town."⁸⁵ Later that May Tuttle visited the school to offer encouragement and support, and also to draw to it increased public attention by offering a religious sermon.⁸⁶

Financial concerns remained a burden to Tuttle and his colleagues in Salt Lake throughout the 1870s and the subsequent decade, threatening to halt the mission's scholastic progress. After the Panic of 1873, Utah experienced for several years a

⁸³ Arrington contends that approximately 30,000 LDS converts, mainly from England, ultimately came to Salt Lake City. Transportation from Europe was expensive, so Young wisely planned to provide subsidies through a program called, the Perpetual Emigration Fund. 98-108.

⁸⁴ Daniel Tuttle, 10th Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 19, 1876, 5-6; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

⁸⁵ Gillogly, 7.

⁸⁶ Tuttle, "Episcopal Register," #874.

prolonged downturn in its regional economy, mainly due to the falling price of lead, the chief ore next to silver extracted from local mines.⁸⁷ Compounding the problem was the relative parsimony of the Episcopal Church in domestic missionary funding. Until 1877 the church's Board of Missions functioned as a general repository for mission tithing, receiving funds for both domestic and foreign enterprises. As a result, home missions competed against their more needy foreign counterparts in Africa, China or Puerto Rico, usually losing.⁸⁸ Additionally, few men of the denomination had any significant knowledge of missions or interests in them, and thus withheld financial contributions.⁸⁹

Tuttle grappled with the mission's dismal economic status, candidly expressing his emotions in official reports. When traveling in Virginia City, Montana, in 1877 Tuttle wrote, "anxiety possesses our hearts, and care chisels some lines on our faces, in planning and working to keep our obligations met and things vigorously moving on."⁹⁰ In spite of financial pressure, however, Tuttle continued to expend resources on behalf of Utah's parish schools. He believed that his schools were critical for developing vital and intelligent religious faith, saying, "out from the threefold training in church schools may emerge in most wholesome manner and degree, faith that is not afraid to reason and reason that is not ashamed to adore."⁹¹ He further rationalized spending on education since he perceived the LDS church to be stronger than when he arrived in 1867.⁹² To keep the enterprise financially stable, Tuttle continued to devote a large part of his energies to raising funds. In his annual report for 1877, he encouraged his audience to

⁸⁷ Daniel Tuttle, 12th Annual Report, Fort Shaw, Montana, August 10, 1878, 2; FQP ACCN BOX 9 FD 1.

⁸⁸ Quinn, 8.

⁸⁹ David Holmes, A Brief History of the Episcopal Church (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1993), 60-70; Addison, 230-323.

⁹⁰ Daniel Tuttle, 11th Annual Report, Virginia City, Montana, August 18, 1877, 3; FQP ACCN BOX 9 FD 1.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Reminiscences, 361.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 12th Annual Report, 3.

recommit themselves to supporting school scholarships. Almost all students at Ogden, Logan, and Plain City received tuition remission, as well as those at both St. Mark's schools. About such funding, Tuttle wrote, "they are the rain and dew to refresh and invigorate us. Our hands are upheld, our bills are met, our hearts are cheered, and scores and scores of children, otherwise neglected, are being trained to the useful, the true and the pure."⁹³

While Tuttle spent more than a year between the mid-1870s and 1880 traveling in the Atlantic region preaching and gathering donations, he also ventured into his local community. He had already received neighborhood support in building St. Mark's schoolhouse in 1872, and been made aware of Utah's gratitude by townspeople and various newspaper reports. Indicative of such positive sentiment is a note written to Tuttle from a Salt Lake City saloonkeeper, saying, "Bishop Tuttle has not called on me. I am ready to help him."⁹⁴ While no information exists to indicate the technique that Tuttle employed to meet his needs, he seemed to have gone door-to-door in addition to making written or verbal appeals. In 1878 Tuttle began receiving long-term endowments, the first being the Selfridge Fund of \$1000/yr. from an anonymous, locally retired Navy officer.⁹⁵ The Bradford Fund of \$500/yr. began the following year, given by a Cleveland area woman for St. Mark's schools. Finally, Tuttle as well as Hussey, Gillogly, and new missionary George Wilkes, also advanced portions of their personal earnings to defray schools costs.

Beginning in 1880 Tuttle expanded his enterprise in women's education by allotting parish monies to a proposed girls' boarding school. Besides improving the

⁹³ Ibid., 11th Annual Report, 3.

⁹⁴ Ibid., Reminiscences, 404.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 12th Annual Report, 3.

quality and enrollment capacity of St. Mark's School for Girls, the reason for developing such an institution was to provide parents in rural farming communities with a facility that would provide their children with training in academics and social etiquette.⁹⁶ Tuttle responded by developing "a home away from home," a school that offered day classes and allowed students to board with neighboring Episcopal families. Boarding schools had been a scholastic tradition since the early national period, and thus did not represent a deviation or novelty in public education. The plan also included merging the new operation with St. Mark's School for Girls, which had continued meeting in the basement of St. Mark's Cathedral since its opening in 1871.

Immediate funding for the proposed school came in 1881 from the Rowland family, a wealthy Philadelphian patron and former in-law of R.M. Kirby, an Episcopal cleric who had come to Utah in 1871. Kirby had been married to the Rowlands' daughter, Virginia, until her sudden death prior to the overland journey. On April 29, 1881, Kirby personally received \$5000 from Benjamin Rowland, which he then transferred to Tuttle.⁹⁷ Tuttle purchased a lot on A Street/First Avenue that included a small dwelling known as the Watt-Haskins home. The home had been originally owned by a Mormon named Watt, who received the property from Brigham Young but later sold it to Warren Hussey and Thomas Haskins between 1870-71.⁹⁸ On the 29th of August Rowland Hall-St. Mark's Boarding School opened, enrolling just over a dozen students. Despite a low turnout initially, attendance grew in the following year to include seventeen boarders and

⁹⁶ "100 Years of History," 1.

⁹⁷ Daniel Tuttle, "To My Excecutors," 1881, 1; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 7 FD 3. After receiving the money, Tuttle wrote to his executors saying that the funds should be used for purchasing land (lots 2 and 3 in block 16) and for the expenses of a "Boarding Schools for Girls under the name of 'Rowland Hall' and for no other purpose."

⁹⁸ James Beless, "The Episcopal Church in Utah: Seven Bishops and One Hundred Years," Utah Historical Quarterly, 36 (Winter 1968): 80.

sixty pupils. Additionally, the enterprise now featured a sizeable library of books donated from various eastern publishing houses. Tuttle offered his thanks for such support, saying in his annual report, “The booksellers have generously helped me. Mr. W.H. Appleton, of New York, gave precious personal attention to the selection of good books; and his firm and Harper Brothers, and Routledge and Son, and Scribner’s sons and Lippincott and Co., sent me \$550 worth of books, for the nucleus of an excellent library.”⁹⁹ He also paid homage to wealthy Episcopalian women in Utah, Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, in addition to members of the Episcopal Church’s Women’s Auxiliary Board.

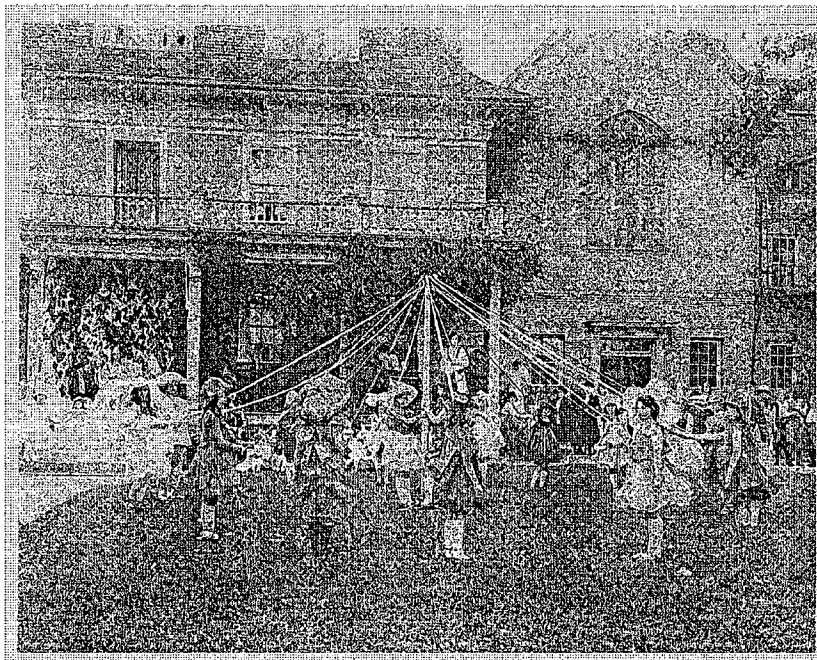


Figure 7: Rowland Hall: students at the maypole, n.d.

Showing gratitude for the Women’s Auxiliary was especially appropriate, since this group was critical to the existence of Rowland Hall and western women’s education generally. The Auxiliary had been established by leading women of the Episcopal

⁹⁹ Daniel Tuttle, 16th Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, August 29, 1882, 2; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 2; Daniel Tuttle., Journal of the 4th Annual Convocation, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 15, 1886, 18; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 12 FD 4.

Church in 1872 who worked simultaneously at the local and national level addressing perceived needs, the most common being the procurement of “specials” or extra funds for parish projects, and support for women’s education. Mary Donovan, an Episcopal scholar at City University of New York, has argued that between its establishment and the early twentieth century, women worked through this organ to develop “in almost every major city in the western United States a secondary school for girls.”¹⁰⁰ Although the Auxiliary was not technically autonomous from the church’s missions board, it still received monies that were earmarked for specific purposes. Tuttle, who had suffered financial strain since the early 1870s, benefited from the Board not simply because it provided consistent funding for women’s education, but also because it gave him a greater level of control over the placement of parish subscriptions.

* * * * *

In 1884 Tuttle spent eight months fundraising, primarily in the East. He also dedicated a significant portion of time to Idaho where he continued to oversee the settlement of the Episcopal Church. Montana had been set apart as a separate missionary parish in 1880, after Tuttle convinced the General Convention that the territory’s size required it having its own resident bishop. Relinquishing Montana proved to be a necessary though difficult task for Tuttle since he had developed over the years a deep affection for its people and land: “Montana! my brother, I have been for thirteen years the bishop so named. The illimitable mountain pasture ranges of that territory, its broad

¹⁰⁰ Mary Donovan, A Different Call: Women’s Ministries in the Episcopal Church 1850-1914 (Wilton, Connecticut: Morehouse-Barlow, 1986), 71, 66-87.

valleys yellowed with grain harvests, its cattle upon a thousand hills, its abounding herds of rich-fleeced sheep . . . of all these I know.”¹⁰¹ Tuttle’s pain, however, was mitigated by that fact that he could now give more personal time to addressing concerns, such as stabilizing Utah’s school system. School expenses had remained high in the mid-1880s, and had threatened to subjugate the Salt Lake mission to eastern financial dependence. Tuttle had warned against this since the 1870s, and advocated that local parishioners assume a greater degree of economic responsibility.¹⁰² The problem, however, was not laziness or ambivalence on the part of Utah’s frontier community, nor penury by the Episcopal Church. Rather, it was mainly the enormous success of Tuttle’s parish schools. Student numbers had soared in the 1880s, requiring increased parish spending. Eight hundred and five young people attended five academies in 1884, with the majority receiving annual scholarships. In the following year enrollment numbers declined slightly, but expenses remained considerable since over 70 percent of students matriculated on scholarship.¹⁰³

Discouraging eastern financial dependence remained a theme throughout Tuttle’s lectures and official reports during his final years in Utah. A second theme, however, included warning the Episcopal Church of not taking advantage of the educational opportunity in Utah. For Tuttle, the ultimate value of education lay in its support of virtue, evangelism, and true religious faith. On March 17, 1885, Tuttle alluded to his

¹⁰¹ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 434.

¹⁰² Tuttle’s emphasis on economic self-reliance, however, was not an end in itself. Rather, he, like turn-of-the-century historian Frederick Jackson Turner, saw it as a means to achieving a worthier goal. For Turner, it was a democratic and truly distinctive American culture; for Tuttle, it was to contribute to the western expansion and settlement of the church. Tuttle wrote, “There is too much feeling that the rich folk will take care of Missions; or that we have all that we can do to see to the support of our own Parish church . . . we must do all we can for ourselves financially. Let only needs that are next to necessities impel us to ask the East for help. We must be active in efforts to extend the Church, her services and her structures.” Ibid., Journal of the 4th Annual Convocation, 21.

¹⁰³ Daniel Tuttle, 19th Annual Report, Challis, Idaho, August 27, 1885, 575; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 2.

philosophy of education and religion in a lecture delivered to an assembled Episcopal audience in St. Paul, Minnesota:

The Mormons will not improve their schools. They have no good teachers among themselves. A small body of Mormons sends their children to the Gentile schools, insisting that they should be well educated, but these parents are generally those who are indifferent or have apostatized from the Mormon faith. The government and the church should put free schooling and training within their reach. The Gentile schools now there afford them an education from the elementary to the high school grades, fitting them for college. The religious people should do all in their power to build up and sustain the Gentile schools in Utah.¹⁰⁴

Tuttle's public criticism of the LDS church should be understood in the context of an era in which religious debate, argumentation, and condemnation were commonplace. His comments about Mormon education, particularly, should also be recognized as a legitimate judgment against his religious adversaries as Brigham Young and the LDS hierarchy had been ambivalent about public schooling since their settlement in Zion. Although a few schools existed within the church's ward system, they were insufficient and "reflected the patchwork quilt of aspiration, apathy, rhetoric and actual commitment which characterized much of the century's education at the national level."¹⁰⁵ Utah's parish academies, on the other hand, embraced a rigorous, standardized, liberal arts curriculum comparable to that of renowned ivy-league schools. In 1885, Rowland Hall teacher Martha Humphrey reported that she and her colleagues had worked "hard to get together old examination papers and other pertinent material to prove to Smith and other

¹⁰⁴ *Deseret News*, 2 April 1884; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 20 FD 1.

¹⁰⁵ Frederick Buchanan, "Education in Utah," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 154. S.S. Ivins, "Free Schools Come to Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (October 1954), 321-23; Frederick Buchanan, "Education among the Mormons: Brigham Young and the Schools of Utah" *History of Education Quarterly* 22 (Winter 1982): 435-59.

colleges that [their students] were worthy to be admitted to their ivied halls without examination.”¹⁰⁶

Tuttle continued his strategy of scholastic evangelism in 1886, working to establish a sixth parish school in Silver Reef, Utah, located in the southwestern corner of the territory. As with the early history of the other parish schools, little evidence remains concerning the beginning of this enterprise. Tuttle does, however, record that what little work he had been involved with came to a halt on the afternoon of the 27th of May after receiving a telegram via Wells Fargo saying that he had been elected by the General Convention to the bishopric of Missouri.¹⁰⁷ Tuttle had been nominated to the post once before on June 1, 1868, but rejected the offer, believing that his experience in Utah’s exceptional religious atmosphere was critical to establishing the Episcopal Church. This time, however, he acquiesced to the Convention’s request since he had accomplished his evangelistic goal. Since arriving in 1867, he had established his religious Communion in Utah in part by meeting the scholastic needs of the territory’s children. He had also overseen the building of six schools and the education of more than three thousand Mormon and non-LDS young people, three hundred of whom formally joined the Episcopal denomination as a communicant, or a baptized and financially contributing member of the church. Additionally, not a few students graduated from Tuttle’s academies to eventually lead successful careers in academics or other professional vocations.¹⁰⁸ While his ultimate hope of founding a future college, seminary, and

¹⁰⁶ Clark, 284.

¹⁰⁷ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 468.

¹⁰⁸ Samuel Unsworth and Frederick Cook matriculated at St. Mark’s Grammar and Logan St. John’s School graduating in 1872 and 1875, respectively. Unsworth later pursued graduate training at St. Stephens College, New York, while Cook entered seminary en route to becoming vicar, or minister, of St. John’s Church, Logan. Henry McBride completed his education at St. John’s, later serving as governor of Oregon

university never materialized, the educational aspect of his Episcopal career was largely successful.¹⁰⁹ Tuttle also agreed to vacate his post since he believed that youth was increasingly necessary for the widely scattered and vigorously growing field.¹¹⁰ After notifying the General Convention of his decision on June 16, Tuttle embarked several days later for his final visitation to Idaho as Missionary Bishop, returning to Salt Lake City in early August.

* * * * *

In assessing Tuttle's scholastic legacy in frontier Utah, a good place to begin is at the start of his career as Missionary Bishop. On August 20, 1867, Tuttle arrived in Virginia City, Montana, after leaving Helena on the 12th. E.N. Goddard had accompanied him on this inaugural visitation to Montana, but had remained in Helena to begin missionary work there. Tuttle planned to winter in Virginia City, and then travel to New York the following summer to rendezvous with his wife and son. He had been away from them since May, a busy but lonely period of time partly ameliorated by frequent letter writing. Letters, while potentially problematic for the historian, in this case prove valuable particularly for helping explain the motivation behind Tuttle's vigorous and consequential scholastic activities. For example, in a letter dated August 21, 1867, Tuttle wrote to Harriet bemoaning his having to write sermons without the aid of

from 1901 to 1905. In 1879 and then 1884, Tuttle recorded sending four students to Union Theological and General Theological Seminary, New York City.

¹⁰⁹ Tuttle, 8th Annual Report, 112. Concerning the system of parish schools, Tuttle wrote in 1874, ". . . yet it is a foundation also, daily growing stronger, for the future College, Seminary, University. If only it might be endowed!"

¹¹⁰ Ibid., Reminiscences, 477.

his personal library: "I miss my books greatly, but mean to try to write a sermon a week without them, because I think it is my duty so to do." Tuttle then continued, "Do you know that never yet in my minister's life have I gone into my study and commenced work on a sermon without kneeling down and praying: 'O God, guide me and help me to study, think, and write as Thou wouldest have me to do, for Thy glory, the good of my fellow men, and the salvation of mine own soul.'"¹¹¹

Indicative here is the observation that Tuttle was an academic who united his intellectual rigor and personal religious conviction. He loved the scholastic life and viewed reading and academic study as divine blessings. Reading, particularly with Harriet, was especially enjoyable. On the 16th of June 1870, Tuttle reacted to news of the June 9 death of author Charles Dickens: "Dickens is dead. It is a calamity to the world, is it not? Do you not think, dear, that next winter we can revive our good old habit of evening readings aloud from Dickens or some other author?"¹¹² Reading and study, in addition to giving intellectual pleasure, were also seen as opportunities to use the mind and will for divine service. Tuttle's work in frontier Utah as school administrator, teacher, and fundraiser should thus be understood as temporal activities having eternal significance. Tuttle's parish schools were only expedients by which he could evangelize Utah, establish the Episcopal Church, and undermine LDS hegemony. Demonstrative of this idea is Tuttle's unhesitating compliance with the Episcopal Church's decision to close his parish schools in 1892 in support of the state school system, commencing with Utah's state ratification four years later. Although public education after the Civil War had become increasingly secular and detached from its earlier religious orientation, Tuttle

¹¹¹ Ibid., 142.

¹¹² Ibid., 273.

believed that modern scholasticism and religious devotion remained basically congruent, and that teachers were adequate role models of piety and virtue.¹¹³ Tuttle wrote,

To declaim against the public schools of America as being secularized, godless, profane, I hold to be unfair and unwise. True, we may not rightfully read the Bible in them if the unbelieving tax-payer objects outright . . . [but] this does not look like godlessness, and it seems a handicapping of religion in the very field where its best victories are to be won, that is, in the hearts and lives of the young. But it should not be forgotten that living examples influence the young far more than any books, though they be the best. . . . They are a power in America. Americans take a great and just pride in them. Such declamation is inept speaking out of time, dissonant singing out of tune.¹¹⁴

Tuttle's support of formal education continued after assuming the bishopric of Missouri in 1886, then the largest parish in the country. While his role was less pronounced, his responsibilities were significant and solidified his role as a western public intellectual. In 1916 Tuttle delivered the commencement address at Washington University-St. Louis, and later represented Columbia College at University of Edinburgh's 300th anniversary. Underlying his scholastic notoriety, however, was his legacy in frontier Utah. Between 1867 and 1886 Tuttle had overseen the education of numerous students and the development of several schools, thereby filling the academic and material voids in the territory. He also helped to lay a firm scholastic foundation that subsequent institutions would build on, namely Brigham Young University (1875) and Utah Agricultural College (1888), later Utah State University.

Hypothetically, it appears that another crucial feature of Tuttle's legacy was his forging a material and social link between Utah and the American East. Tuttle's schools emerged in the late 1860s and early 1870s, a critical time in the history of the territory and the LDS Church in which Utah experienced a transition from an atmosphere of

¹¹³ Rudolph, 346-8.

¹¹⁴ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 362.

religious parochialism and unity to one marked increasingly by religious and cultural diversity. To the extent that parish schools successfully facilitated conversion to Episcopalianism or rejection of the Mormon religion, in addition to collectively acting as a beacon for westward Gentiles—and especially for the federal government’s intention to overthrow the LDS church—it appears that Tuttle played an important role in this gradual shift.¹¹⁵ Arguably by 1886 the cultural and religious landscape of Utah had begun to resemble more its modern form than that of 1847. The next chapter will examine Tuttle’s efforts to establish St. Mark’s Hospital (1872) and related social services, enterprises founded by religious outsiders embracing the “Social Gospel” and intending to alter the medical and moral landscape of frontier Utah.

¹¹⁵ Historian Charles Peterson has observed that, “In Utah history questions about the roles of church and state in education were most hotly contended during the latter third of the nineteenth century as part of the general effort to bring the Mormons into a fuller conformity with national and political social norms.” Charles Peterson, “A New Community: Mormon Teachers and the Separation of Church and State in Utah’s Territorial Schools,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Summer 1980): 294.

Chapter 2: Hospital and Social Care

“Poverty, ignorance, misery, disease, old age and sin make the numbers of the helpless and the infirm in Salt Lake City to be large. In caring for them extensively as we do, we are surely in the line of obedience to the Master’s orders.”¹

Introduction

Typical of Tuttle’s Episcopal career in frontier Utah were activities designed to address the medical, material, and psychological needs of Salt Lake City’s inhabitants. Tuttle belonged to a special class of Gilded Age missionaries who ventured west planting churches and schools while also working to ameliorate the harsh living conditions of pioneer communities. Open spaces combined with cold winters, hot and dry summers, a paucity of people—especially friends and family—and the relative lack of community institutions collectively made the frontier a difficult place to live. Tuttle, a man of robust physical strength and mental health, periodically lamented the trials of western life. While passing through Omaha, Nebraska, on June 1, 1867, he wrote despondently,

There are no trees here, and no rocks, and I feel lonesome. A few hills behind us, however, relieve the lonesomeness somewhat. The streets are very muddy, and the whole town new, formless, and dirty. They say they suffer here greatly from high winds, and in the summer time almost intolerably from the dust.²

Although many of the problems associated with frontier living were alleviated after the Civil War by the rapid development of western communities, urbanization and industrialization introduced a new set of contentious issues. Human subjugation,

¹ Daniel Tuttle, *17th Annual Report*, Challis, Idaho, August 11, 1883, 3; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 2.

² Daniel Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West: Reminiscences of Episcopal Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, 1866-1886* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 64. Hereafter cited as *Reminiscences*. Tuttle’s duties as Missionary Bishop required much time on the road visiting distant parishes in isolated locales. Loneliness was thus a perennial issue, particularly while away from Harriet and son, George. From Boise, Idaho on October 27, 1867, Tuttle wrote, “With tearful eyes I say longingly, ‘How I wish we could be and live and love together!’” *Ibid.*, 159.

particularly labor exploitation in the expanding mining and railroad economies, in addition to prostitution and domestic and racial violence, represented some of the negative by-products of towns densely populated and loosely regulated.³ Missionaries, focused on building churches as well as decent, ordered communities, perceived cities as increasing opportunities for sin and vice, and were therefore, particularly dangerous. Thus beginning in the mid-1860s, mainline Protestant churches added a reforming dimension to their western missionary campaigns. Guiding their activities was the “Social Gospel,” a philosophy that, according to University of New Mexico historian Ferenc Szasz, applied “the social insights of the Old Testament prophets and Jesus to the society around them” with the intention of sanctifying and stabilizing western life.⁴ While religious reformers like Tuttle remained concerned about civic improvements such as public education and churches, their energies went additionally to providing medical and material aid to slum environs and assisting the immigrant, ethnic poor.

This chapter examines the development of St. Mark’s Hospital—the first modern medical facility between Denver and Los Angeles—and its related social services sponsored by the Episcopal mission in Salt Lake City. Additionally, this chapter argues that Tuttle acted as the capable overseer of such ministries, working to establish the hospital and later acting as the institution’s main supporter. Between the opening of St. Mark’s in April 1872 and Tuttle’s departure for Missouri in 1886, Tuttle facilitated the

³ Racial, ethnic, and sexual strife in the West were in many cases directly tied to labor. See W. Thomas White, “Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Northwest Railroad Work Force, 1893-1912,” in Major Problems in the History of the American West, eds. Clyde Milner, Anne Butler, David Rich Lewis (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), 318-28.

⁴ Ferenc Szasz, The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and Mountain West, 1865-1915 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 193. Many themes in Szasz’s chapter entitled, “The Social Gospel in the New West,” are also discussed in the classic study of eastern antebellum social reform, Timothy Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform on the Eve of the Civil War (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 2004), 148-62.

medical care of over four thousand men, women, and children.⁵ He also worked to address the material needs of Salt Lake's urban poor, and alleviate the psychological burdens of the city's bereaved and grieving. While Tuttle never explicitly connected his activities to the Social Gospel, he and his colleagues clearly embraced its essential theological assumptions. Historians who have focused on Tuttle's efforts in expanding the Episcopal Communion west have, unfortunately, overlooked his real social concern for *fin de siecle* Utah.⁶

Just as the last chapter analyzed the role of Tuttle's schools in establishing the Episcopal Church in Utah, this section will also explore the significance of St. Mark's Hospital and related enterprises for further strengthening the denomination in frontier Salt Lake City. Sources informing this subject include Tuttle's personal letters and official reports, in addition to various newspaper accounts. Secondary works, while relatively limited, exist sufficiently to contextualize issues raised here.⁷ The final pages of this chapter will review Tuttle's reforming legacy, and how themes in this section underscore the central argument of this thesis, that Tuttle was Utah's first significant religious outsider.

⁵ Daniel Tuttle, The Last Sermon of the Rt. Rev. D.S. Tuttle, D.D. Salt Lake City, Utah, 1886, 5; EDUR ACCN 426 BOX 7 FD 12.

⁶ Historians James T. Addison and David Holmes examine Tuttle but refrain from placing him in nineteenth century western social reform. James T. Addison, The Episcopal Church in the United States 1789-1931 (New York: Archon Books, 1969), 233; David Holmes, A Brief History of the Episcopal Church (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1993), 65.

⁷ I would like to thank USC historians Bill Deverell and David Sloane for kindly offering advice on sources and encouragement for further research in this neglected area of western history. An introduction to western religious philanthropy can be found in Religion and Society in the American West: Historical Essay eds. Carl Guarneri and David Alvarez (New York: University Press of America, 1987), chapter 6, "Social Christianity in the City."

* * * * *

On Wednesday March 13, 1872, Bishop Tuttle, weary and fatigued, arrived by stagecoach in Salt Lake City, having completed his annual visitation to New York and the East begun the previous fall. Tuttle, the Missionary Bishop of Montana Territory, had been away from his parish headquarters for nearly six months, visiting friends and family while attending to the duties of his Episcopal office. Tuttle had started his journey east the previous September, boarding the Union Pacific railroad from Ogden, Utah, on the 7th. Traveling overland through the flat, yellowed landscapes of the central plains, Tuttle disembarked three days later at the line's terminus in Omaha, Nebraska, to transfer to another rail line taking him to Albany, New York, and eventually, Morris, his former parish and personal residence. He stayed there until October, when he traveled to Baltimore to attend the General Convention of the Episcopal Church and to raise funds for his western mission. Tuttle apparently remained there until the beginning of March, returning to his frontier parish via the same route two weeks later.⁸

While Tuttle had been grateful to tour the Atlantic region during the fall and winter of 1871-72, the trip had been physically and mentally exhausting. Tuttle's Episcopal register indicates that after arriving in Utah on March 13, he spent the following weeks re-assimilating into parish operations, dedicating the majority of his time to addressing paperwork and touching base with parish personnel. He also appears

⁸ Daniel Tuttle, "Episcopal Register," #280- #292; FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 10 FD 5. Tuttle does not indicate the method of his overland travel. However, it is reasonable to assume that he took the Union Pacific railroad given the brevity of his travel time (two weeks), in addition to the fact that he recorded stopping at Ogden, Utah, and Omaha, Nebraska, the two termini exclusively used by the rail carrier.

to have remained in Salt Lake City, refraining from extended travel until mid-April.⁹ Though Tuttle was in good health and accustomed to the strenuous demands of his vocation, the reasons for his fatigue are not difficult to discern. For the past six months Tuttle had dedicated himself to crisscrossing the eastern seaboard, mainly in an attempt to gather funds for his expanding western enterprise. Not only did this require pronounced physical exertion, but also the mental fortitude of balancing donations with increased parish spending. Tuttle's annual reports demonstrate that during the previous two years, mission expenses had risen by 260 percent, due primarily to the construction of schools and churches in Utah.¹⁰ Additionally, they indicate that parish debt had climbed to \$20,000 in September 1871 with the completion of St. Mark's Cathedral Church, Salt Lake City. Although Tuttle despised debt, he remained committed to building institutions that he believed would facilitate church growth.¹¹ Financial constraints such as these, combined with their correlative mental and physical strains, clearly seem to have taken their toll on Tuttle by the spring of 1872.

Fortunately, Tuttle's arrival on the 13th of March coincided with the establishment of a new parish institution that would increase the growth and security of the Episcopal Church, all the while remaining financially independent of eastern patronage. St. Mark's

⁹ Ibid., #290-293. Tuttle remained in Salt Lake City from March 13 until April 21 attending to a myriad of duties including preaching, confirming parishioners, and communicating by mail with national church headquarters in New York.

¹⁰ Daniel Tuttle, 3rd Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 15, 1869, 71, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1; Daniel Tuttle, 4th Annual Report, Boise, Idaho, September 19, 1870, 68, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1. This percentage is based on the increase in "total expenses" between 1869 and 1870, from \$9,803.37 to \$35,286.13. While expenses would decline in 1871 to \$21,358.18, Tuttle's parish budget would remain well above \$20,000 until 1876.

¹¹ Daniel Tuttle, 5th Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 21, 1871, 4, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1. The following comment is indicative of Tuttle's attitude toward parish spending, debt, and building: "Our St. Mark's Church is at last completed, and at a cost of \$46,000. We are in debt to the amount of \$20,000. I am sorry for this; but I must be allowed to say that I am glad to have the church solid, substantial, beautiful, with no sham about it, and no ostentation either In this home of defiling heresy, that our Church structure is markedly beautiful and eminently strong is certainly a help to us in our moral and spiritual work." Ibid.

Hospital, Salt Lake City, the first modern medical building in the American West, developed between March and April 1872 through the cooperative work of clerical assistants from Tuttle's Salt Lake mission. The institution originated in response to extant material conditions in frontier Utah, and like Tuttle's parish schools, represented a spontaneous attempt to further strengthen Episcopalianism while assisting the civic development of the pioneer community. While spontaneity contributed to St. Mark's immediate success, it has also complicated the task of deciphering its earliest history. The few documents that remain today, mostly those written by Tuttle before his summer visitation of 1872, provide only a rough sketch of the hospital's beginning.

Nevertheless, it appears that the idea for the hospital was first proposed at Tuttle's personal residence following his return to Utah in mid-March. Records indicate that a dinner party had been held at the rectory of St. Mark's Episcopal Church—perhaps to celebrate Tuttle's arrival—and that Colonel Edmund Wilkes, a dinner guest, church layman, and the manager of a local silver mine, presented Tuttle with the idea after witnessing an increase in mine-related injuries during the past year.¹² Since the late 1860s Utah's territorial mine trade had become a largely commercial enterprise, producing profit in addition to injuries requiring expert medical care. While it remains unclear how Tuttle reacted to the proposal, he seems to have agreed in part because of extant mining conditions, in addition to the fact that the LDS Church's ward system, which served as a type of medical/social service, was intended mainly for Mormons and the simpler needs of an agrarian community.¹³ Documents detail that during dinner,

¹² *Salt Lake Herald*, "St. Mark's Hospital: The Corner Stone Laid Sunday Evening," 12 August 1892, USHS; Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 399.

¹³ Historians Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton argue that the LDS ward was the basic social unit of Zion, and that it functioned as a type of local government which took "the lead 'in every domestic

Wilkes informed Tuttle that miners typically suffered from a variety of ailments associated with industrial machinery, including silicosis or “miner’s consumption,” caused by breathing lead dust generated by extracting silver bullion.¹⁴

In addition to Wilkes, several other Episcopalians contributed to the institution’s building. Tuttle reported that the enterprise received a significant boost through the generous support of Dr. John F. Hamilton, a former Civil War army surgeon and the director of a local medical practice in Salt Lake.¹⁵ After the dinner in mid-March, Hamilton collaborated with Wilkes about founding St. Mark’s Hospital and purportedly offered his services free of charge. Hamilton and his wife, Fidelia, St. Mark’s organist, had been members of the Episcopal mission since July 1867 and had probably been aware of its fiscal hardships.¹⁶ Tuttle also reported that parish priest Reynold Kirby and laymen banker Warren Hussey performed the critical task of securing a building for the hospital. After searching for available property, the two men chose a vacant adobe structure located on the corner of 4th South/5th East in downtown Salt Lake, conveniently situated twenty miles from territorial mining districts. Records indicate that after securing the house and grounds, they then took steps for “carrying it on.”¹⁷ In addition to generally organizing the enterprise, this final statement probably referred to Hussey’s

improvement,” including health care. Reading between the lines, they seem to imply that the ward system was spread too thin to adequately meet serious physical ailments. Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter Day Saints, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 209.

¹⁴ W. Turrentine Jackson, “The Infamous Emma Mine: A British Interest in the Little Cottonwood District, Utah Territory,” Utah Historical Quarterly 23 (1955): 340-52; Frederick Quinn, Building the “Goodly Fellowship of Faith” (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2004), 19; Salt Lake Herald, “St. Mark’s Hospital: The Corner Stone Laid Sunday Evening,” 12 August 1892.

¹⁵ James Beless, “Daniel S. Tuttle, Missionary Bishop of Utah,” Utah Historical Quarterly 27 (October 1959): 373. Beless notes that Dr. Hamilton was one of three licensed medical doctors residing in Salt Lake City, a town of approximately 15,000 people.

¹⁶ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 399.

¹⁷ Ibid., 396.

decision in the fall to provide a small loan to retain the hospital and assist it in its infancy.¹⁸

By the middle of April 1872 St. Mark's Hospital had passed through the basic stages of development in preparation for opening two weeks later. However, the items that would secure the institution's success, both in the immediate and long-term future, were still lacking. These included hospital furniture and standard medical accoutrements—beds and blankets, scalpels, bandages, and assorted medicinal treatments—in addition to a plan or strategy for financing the hospital costs of a mining community that was predominately poor, immigrant, and susceptible to both the serious physical injuries and the boom-bust cycles of an extractive economy. While it remains unclear how decisions were made about attaining such inventory, it is plausible to suggest that Tuttle responded intuitively and used his official capacity as bishop to help fill such voids.

Indeed, shortly before St. Mark's opening on April 30, Tuttle petitioned Episcopal patrons living in the American East to help furnish the frontier hospital with appropriate supplies. Writing in the denominational magazine, the Spirit of Missions, Tuttle requested that readers donate “comfortables, blankets, bed linens, shirts, and a few dressing gowns,” in addition to items for the poor.¹⁹ His request proved fruitful as several boxes were received in time for the hospital's first wave of patients. Tuttle also dedicated his energies toward devising a plan to underwrite patient costs for medical care.

¹⁸ Ibid., 399. The assertion that Hussey assumed a loan on behalf of the Episcopal mission seems likely, given that Kirby noted in his November 1867 hospital report that a loan had been withdrawn for the hospital; that it had been small enough for the parish to readily pay back; that all monies, unless specified, had been donated by particular organizations to improve the hospital building; and finally, that Hussey had previously loaned \$15,000 to the parish in 1871 for the completion of St. Mark's Cathedral. On the other hand, the loan may not have come from a bank, but rather Tuttle and fellow Episcopal clergymen, who each allotted \$250 of their personal income to help underwrite hospital expenses. Ibid., 392, 404.

¹⁹ Ibid., 398.

Though evidence is scant, it appears that Tuttle personally developed a strategy and later proposed it to his assistant, Kirby, who offered his approval. The two men then presented the plan to the territory's mining community, specifically corporate employees and individual tradesmen, in addition to the executives of local mines and businesses.²⁰ Essentially an informal partnership, Tuttle's proposal entailed a monthly subscription of one dollar per person in exchange for a bed, professional treatment, and medical service—in extreme cases the latter including anesthesia (nitrous oxide) and saw-induced amputations. Many of the institution's doctors would perform procedures learned in the Civil War.²¹ Because health insurance seemed to be a prudent venture in this trade, following their presentations Tuttle and Kirby received enough support allowing the Episcopal parish to begin hospital work. Tuttle noted that one of the earliest and most important subscribers was the Emma Mining Company, a British-owned enterprise that dominated Utah's commercial mine trade during the early 1870s.²² The final act that Tuttle performed on behalf of St. Mark's before embarking for his summer visitation included donating \$250 of his personal income to help defray hospital startup costs, a gesture that several Episcopal colleagues subsequently followed.²³

²⁰ *Deseret News*, "Episcopalian helped reduce Utah friction," 18 October 1967, B12, EDUR ACCN 426 BOX 7 FD 14. University of Utah historian David Miller edited a newspaper series on Utah's most significant citizens, from which one article claimed that Tuttle "got owners of mines, smelters and railroads to donate \$1 per month per employee. Any employee who wanted to be covered by the insurance also donated \$1 a month."

²¹ Quinn, 19.

²² Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 399; Jackson, 346. Professor Jackson's article, which highlights the problematic experiences of foreign investment and promotion in the mining industry of the American West, provides several illustrations of the dangerous and chaotic nature of frontier mining. For example, he writes, "In April, 1872, workmen for the latter company broke into the Emma works and the manager was forced to block the opening they had made. Shortly thereafter a cave-in cut the Emma workmen off from that section where their rivals had entered, and when the debris was cleared away the Illinois men were in possession."

²³ *Ibid.*, 396.

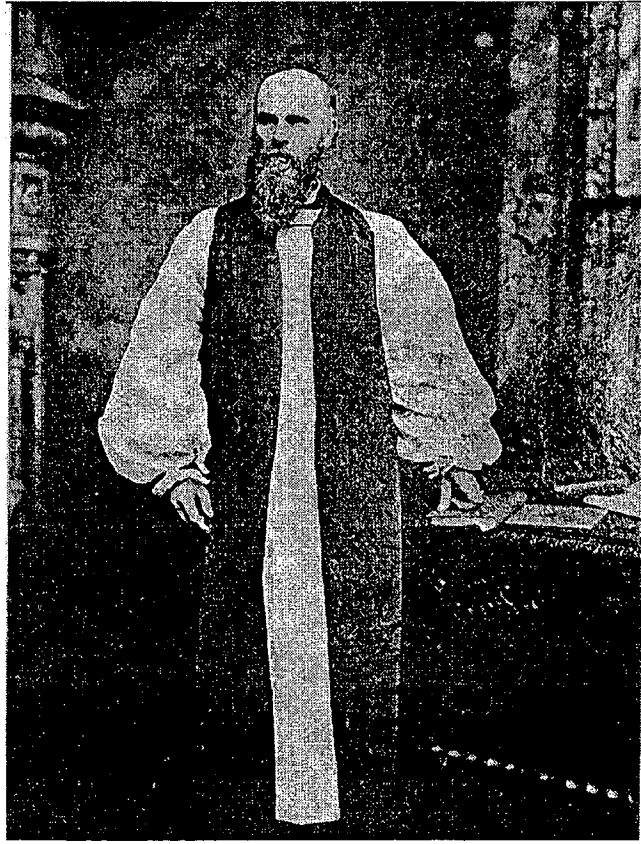
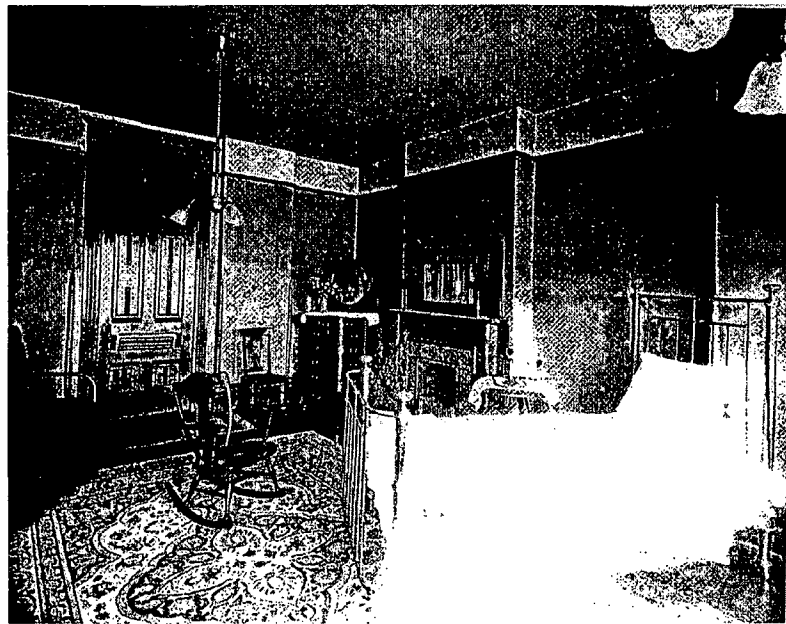


Figure 8: Bishop Tuttle, c. 1875

Figure 9: St. Mark's Hospital room, n.d.



With St. Mark's Hospital in order and ready to conduct business, Tuttle made preparations to adjourn Salt Lake City for his annual visit to parishes in Montana and Idaho. He had not been to the northern regions of his missionary district since the previous summer, and was intent on overseeing the progress of churches and schools there.²⁴ Although the hospital was still young and inchoate, it possessed by the late spring an adequate foundation allowing Tuttle to disburse and pursue pressing duties elsewhere. The hospital had opened on April 30, and accommodated patients yielding a combined profit of \$239.²⁵ Later, on the 13th of May, the original promoters of St. Mark's had formed an organizational committee and placed the institution under the supervision of the Episcopal parish in Salt Lake. The committee had also appointed Kirby and Hamilton to be the respective heads of hospital administration and medical policy.²⁶ Perceiving St. Mark's to be financially stable, capably supervised, and essentially congruent with his religious calling, Tuttle finalized arrangements to leave Utah on July 1 for Virginia City, Montana, the territorial capital and point of departure for his northern Episcopal outreach.

* * * * *

From a present perspective, the summer of 1872 proved to be a significant turning point in Tuttle's professional career since it was then that he began to assume a more casual relationship with St. Mark's Hospital. Commencing with his departure in July, Tuttle played an increasingly less direct role in the medical institution, acting primarily as

²⁴ Ibid., "Episcopal Register," #273.

²⁵ Kirby's "first annual hospital report," November 22, 1872, quoted in Reminiscences, 397.

²⁶ Ibid.

a distant, though supportive, overseer. While this transition clearly signaled a shift in official parish policy, it also reflected a continuation of attitudes dating from the hospital's beginning. After helping to organize the hospital staff in mid-May, Tuttle remained uninvolved with the institution until returning to Utah in August. In fact, records indicate that during the summer Tuttle dedicated his energies exclusively to surveying the growth of the Episcopal mission in Montana and Idaho. On July 7 he arrived in Virginia City, Montana, and visited with parishioners gathered there before departing for Gallatin City on the 10th.²⁷ Traveling by carriage, Tuttle stopped the next day to confirm church members before journeying to Bozeman on the 14th, and to Helena one week later.²⁸ Tuttle continued to tour in like manner, devoting the majority of his time to visiting parishes lacking resident clergy, including Deer Lodge, Billings, and Missoula, Montana, and Boise and Silver City, Idaho.

Although Tuttle's attention to St. Mark's Hospital would gradually diminish, it nevertheless remained steady for several years following the institution's beginning. Until the mid-1870s, in fact, Tuttle remained connected to the hospital on a regular basis, observing its status, reporting gains and losses, and raising and allotting needed funds. Like his relationship with Utah's parish schools, Tuttle communicated his involvement with St. Mark's Hospital through writing, primarily in his yearly reports and the Spirit of Missions.

After returning to Utah on August 30, 1872, Tuttle refocused his efforts on the Salt Lake mission and hospital, taking special interest in recent advances made by the latter. On September 21 Tuttle wrote his annual report, noting that the hospital had

²⁷ Ibid., "Episcopal Register," #304.

²⁸ Ibid., #306-310.

experienced a high degree of financial success since opening in April. Not only had the institution paid its initial expenses, but the bulk of its funding (\$2,587.33 of \$3,167.28) had come from generous territorial patrons.²⁹ Writing with gratitude, Tuttle reported to Episcopal readers, “Miners pay monthly dues to it. The benevolent in Salt Lake City subscribe for its support. . . . The physician, one of our own parishioners, kindly gives his services. . . . [St. Mark’s Hospital] is, I believe, doing such blessed work as the merciful SAVIOUR commends.”³⁰ He also related that several gifts had been sent from the East, including \$630 and a year supply of medicine from a layman in Brooklyn, New York.³¹ Since modern medical treatments were emerging in the post-Civil War era, this donation particularly underscored St. Mark’s commitment to scientific, progressive standards.³² Aware of the hospital’s auspicious start, Tuttle nonetheless remained cautious, concluding his report by appropriating a portion of parish subsidies to help accommodate St. Mark’s present quota of twenty patients per day.³³

The decision to devote a percentage of mission funds to St. Mark’s Hospital proved to be prescient in light of the institution’s growth during the next two years. After the publication of Tuttle’s report in September, Kirby recorded that the enterprise witnessed a dramatic rise in patient inflow, accommodating 116 individuals by November 1, and up to seventy at one time. The hospital staff also grew to include several professionally trained nurses and matrons fresh from the first generation of American

²⁹ Daniel Tuttle, 6th Annual Report, Boise, Idaho, September 21, 1872, 7, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., 9.

³² James Cassedy, Medicine in America: A Short History (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 65-77.

³³ Tuttle, 6th Annual Report, 8-9. The exact amount that Tuttle donated was \$554.95, a meager sum compared to that year’s \$26,000 budget.

female medical schools.³⁴ There also seems to have been plans for building a special women's ward in St. Mark's Hospital.³⁵ With the institution expanding at such a rate, Tuttle and the board of directors hosted a charity concert on the 18th of December. The event showcased the musical talents of hospital staff members, but more significantly represented the first of several public events designed to facilitate Salt Lake's Episcopal medical care.³⁶ Years later, Tuttle recalled the enthusiastic support of local citizens: "In buying tickets for the 'Ball' and in many ways, people of all different churches and of no churches, as well as unbelievers, and saloonkeepers, marched in the line of loyal and generous help."³⁷

Throughout 1873-74, St. Mark's Hospital maintained its pattern of steady growth, working increasingly to become a community-based institution. In September 1873 Tuttle recorded that Kirby remained the administrative head of the enterprise, and that monthly totals had increased to 184 patients and \$500 in income. Additionally, he announced that the hospital had achieved complete financial solvency—Tuttle's perennial economic goal for parish enterprises. Manifesting his role as a hospital cheerleader, the bishop proclaimed to Episcopal readers that because of the "wise headship" of Reynold Kirby, the "benevolence of Salt Lake citizens" and the consistent subscription of Utah miners, St. Mark's Hospital, Salt Lake City, was currently "not in debt one cent in any way to the outside world."³⁸

³⁴ Mary Donovan, *A Different Call: Women's Ministries in the Episcopal Church 1850-1914* (Wilton, Connecticut: Morehouse-Barlow, 1986), 127. Jane E. Schultz, "The Inhospitable Hospital: Gender and Professionalism in Civil War Medicine," *Signs* 17 (Winter 1992): 363-392.

³⁵ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 399. Tuttle personally supported the idea: "Will not some kind friends, who have means and to spare, remember our 'Woman's ward,' if ever our new hospital building is completed, and endow a bed or a number of beds?"

³⁶ *Deseret News*, "St. Mark's Hospital Concert," 1 January 1873, USHS.

³⁷ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 404.

³⁸ Daniel Tuttle, *7th Annual Report*, Boise, Idaho, September 23, 1873, 5, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

The prodigious growth experienced by St. Mark's in 1872-73 continued unabated in 1874, expanding in both patient and donation totals, and presumably, public influence. On September 25, 1874, Tuttle reported that in the past year hospital workers collected and expended approximately \$8,000, a sum given exclusively by Utah's local citizenry. Furthermore, 353 patients sought treatment, marking a nearly 100 percent increase since the previous count.³⁹ Tuttle also noted that the LDS community had availed itself to the institution in order to assist its program of public welfare.⁴⁰ In light of such far reaching successes, Tuttle surmised that St. Mark's had become a genuinely accepted institution in the predominately Mormon territory: "I think the hospital is already so well established in the good will and appreciation of the people that they would not willingly let it die."⁴¹ While Tuttle would always remain a religious outsider in frontier Utah, widespread Mormon support for his parish institutions, particularly St. Mark's Hospital, seemed to indicate that this status was more a reflection of formal religious divisions than day-to-day realities. In the same report, Tuttle also proposed that St. Mark's move to a larger, more spacious location so as to better meet the medical needs of his surrounding community. Although practical considerations prevented this until 1876, St. Mark's Hospital did, however, expand to become the essential center of the Episcopal mission's growing social ministry, and a regional rendition of the western Social Gospel.

³⁹ Daniel Tuttle, 8th Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 25, 1874, 11, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Reminiscences, 403. The Mormon Relief Society was successful and comprehensive. Historians Davis Bitton and Leonard Arrington write that its purpose was to "visit the sick and the helpless and the needy, and learn their wants, and, under their Bishops, collect the means necessary to relieve them." It also taught the poor economic self-reliance. Arrington and Bitton, The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter Day Saints, 231.

⁴¹ Tuttle, 8th Annual Report, 11.

One of Tuttle's frequent responsibilities as bishop included hiring parish personnel, including those assigned to St. Mark's Hospital. While he performed this duty for St. Mark's only several times, this job, combined with Tuttle's role as an enthusiastic supporter, facilitated the smooth and successful existence of the hospital. A telling example is his decision in 1874 to hire H.H. Prout to assist hospital manager Reynold Kirby. According to the bishop's personal records, Prout had served under Tuttle for several years as an Episcopal missionary in Virginia City, Montana, and prior to this had been a friendly and supportive acquaintance during his first pastorate at Morris, New York. Familiar with Prout and knowledgeable of his abilities as a leader, Tuttle assigned him to a variety of duties connected with hospital administration, such as raising miners' subscriptions, overseeing medical personnel, and acting as the hospital chaplain. He also appointed him to direct the Episcopal mission's growing ministry to the urban poor.⁴² Although Tuttle had been pleased with Kirby's performance and was cognizant of his "sagacity . . . noble devotion, and splendid success," he had nonetheless concluded that to remain successful the hospital needed to grow in proportion to its demand; records show that by 1875 St. Mark's Hospital handled over five hundred patients on an approximately \$9,000 annual budget.⁴³ An obvious expedient to this situation included hiring more people. Thus, in addition to H.H. Prout, Tuttle requested that his wife, identified only as Mrs. Prout, also join the hospital staff and assume the position of St. Mark's head matron, or dean of nurses.

⁴² Ibid., Reminiscences, 400.

⁴³ Ibid., 8th Annual Report, 11; Daniel Tuttle, 9th Annual Report, Helena, Montana, September 7, 1875, 3, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

Because women figured critically into the daily operations of St. Mark's Hospital, hiring Mrs. Prout was not exceptional. Documents detail that since 1872 women had formed the main body of workers at the hospital, serving mainly as matrons and nurses. In fact, Mrs. Prout appears to have followed in the wake of several previous laywomen, including Mrs. Belknap, Mrs. Bray, and Mrs. Foote (Tuttle's mother-in-law), in addition to Emily Pearsall, in assuming an eclectic mix of responsibilities vital to the hospital's practical functioning. Not only did these women administer nurses, they also performed a handful of menial duties such as nursing, cooking, and washing, as well as administering medicine, and preparing and serving food.⁴⁴ They also attended to patients despite the increasingly impersonal nature of bureaucratic medical practice.⁴⁵ As a testament to their service, in 1894 the Episcopal parish in Utah witnessed the establishment of a licensed, professional training school for nurses (St. Mark's Hospital Training School for Nurses), the first of its kind in the intermountain West.⁴⁶

Women also played an important role in the Episcopal ministry to the urban poor. Historian Mary Donovan has demonstrated that many of the same women involved at St. Mark's Hospital were also instrumental in Salt Lake City's poor relief. Perceiving this arrangement to be natural, impromptu, and indicative of the western Social Gospel, Donovan writes that these women "called on the sick and elderly, visited hospitals, prisons and mental institutions, and helped poor families with necessary social services" to promote the idea that such activities were "essential parts of the Church's mission wherever the church was to be found."⁴⁷ This dual function of Episcopalian women

⁴⁴ Schultz, 367-70.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 380.

⁴⁶ Donovan, 127.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 163-64, 8.

servicing as both hospital and social workers is not surprising given the fact that St. Mark's Hospital had always existed as an institution devoted to social improvement. Since 1872, the enterprise had provided low cost medical care through the gratuitous services of Dr. John F. Hamilton. The institution had also accommodated "two to three charity patients every month, and [had] never refused admittance to anyone while there [had] been a bed at [its] disposal."⁴⁸ Additionally, Tuttle had always viewed medical and social care as being similar ministries, often mixing official requests for hospital supplies with petitions for welfare donations, such as used clothing, shoes, and books.⁴⁹ Episcopal records further indicate that St. Mark's Hospital had begun as a not-for-profit enterprise, and thus a western forerunner of twentieth century social Progressivism.⁵⁰

By the mid-1870s, then, St. Mark's Hospital provided medical care while also functioning more generally as the real and symbolic center of the Episcopal Social Gospel in Utah. From the institution parishioners conducted a variety of programs to improve their community while also strengthening the public standing of the Episcopal Communion in Salt Lake City. Through parish societies, such as the Sewing Guild, St. Mark's Charity Association, and the Woman's Auxiliary—established coincidentally the same year as St. Mark's Hospital (1872)—Episcopal women and men helped to meet the

⁴⁸ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 398.

⁴⁹ For example, in his 1874 annual report, Tuttle wrote, "Gifts of Prayer-books, boxes and barrels of clothing, etc., for the missionaries, and our hospital, and our poor, and the children, from Women's Missionary Associations and parishes, and individuals scattered over the land, are thankfully acknowledged." *Ibid.*, 4th Annual Report, 113.

⁵⁰ Peter Dobkin Hall, *Inventing the Non-Profit Sector and Other Essays on Philanthropy, Voluntarism, and Non-Profit Organizations* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1992). Judith Sealander provides a cross-national perspective on American religious philanthropy in, "The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History," *Journal of American History* 86 (December 1999): 1371-72.

physical, emotional, and material needs of Utah's territorial citizens.⁵¹ Although a handful of anecdotal statements exist to convey the significance of this social ministry, specific accounts detailing particular instances of personal, face-to-face interaction are relatively few. However, a helpful source for expressing the real importance of parish medical and social care can be found in the memoirs of Lucelia Gillogly, an Episcopal laywoman stationed at Ogden, Utah, starting in 1870.

According to Gillogly, providing social aid represented a fundamental part of her Episcopal missionary work. She recalled that from the time of her arrival in Ogden until her departure two decades later, many services had been supplied to "the poor, nearly all Mormon families. Many calls were made at their homes, as well as at those who were not needy, and [that] clothing, food and fuel [had been] given when it was thought advisable."⁵² She also recollected that the efforts of her fellow colleagues later materialized into a formal aid society, prompting plans for a second Episcopal hospital in Ogden.⁵³ Claims such as these, though perhaps fuzzy or somewhat inflated—especially in light of the territory's competitive religious atmosphere—seem plausible in light of the fact that poverty remained an issue in Gilded Age Utah despite the best efforts of various

⁵¹ Independent scholar John Sillito has written extensively on the activities and significance of Episcopal women. He contends that on several occasions, they "raised and expended over \$1000" for the poor. Additionally, laywomen outside of the Utah worked to facilitate St. Mark's social service. In September 1874, for example, laywomen from St. Mark's Mission thanked the national Episcopal Ladies Domestic Missionary Relief Association, thanking them for sending "boxes and barrels of used clothing," and then concluding, "We, especially in this field where poverty-stricken houses are full of children whom we are caring for, are most thankful for your valuable aid." John Sillito, "Mainstays of the Liturgical Life: Episcopal Women in Late 19th and Early 20th Century Utah," Utah State Historical Society Annual Meeting, August 17, 2002, Salt Lake City, Utah, 9-10, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 22 FD 1.

⁵² Lucelia Webster Gillogly, "Early Missionary Life in Ogden, Utah," Alameda, California, 1900, 9, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 14 FD 1.

⁵³ Gillogly recalled that "a church hospital was another thing wished for, but funds were not forthcoming." Ibid., 7. Historian Mary Donovan writes, "It was these women who provided the clothing that the western workers distributed to the poor, as well as the Sunday school materials they used and hospital supplies for St. Mark's Hospital." Mary S. Donovan, "Women Missionaries in Utah," *Anglican and Episcopal History* LXVI (June 1997): 157-8.

LDS relief societies, such as the Women's Relief Society and the School of the Prophets.⁵⁴

Significantly, Gillogly also indicated that Tuttle personally supported women's work, particularly in the area of social ministry. While frontier conditions, specifically a shortage of people, explain in part his philosophy on female participation, more importantly Tuttle embraced a nineteenth century conception of gender, what historians today call the "feminine ideal." Specifically, Tuttle perceived women as naturally possessing the special ability to enter sensitive situations less suitable for clergymen.⁵⁵ For these two reasons, he championed their activities throughout his career with both verbal and written encouragement.⁵⁶ Writing on November 3, 1869, for example, Tuttle concluded his letter to the Spirit of Missions by requesting women's help: "May I say, how among other ways, ladies and others at the East can help us? Send on to me barrels or boxes of garments, new or old, for men, women, and children; boots, shoes, groceries, etc; and we will faithfully be your almoners to distribute your bounties where they will cheer up many a poor suffering fellow-mortal."⁵⁷ Later, in 1904, Tuttle recalled in his personal memoirs, Reminiscences, that women had been centrally important to social ministry in Utah, saying, "In helping such sufferers in Utah, a woman could accomplish

⁵⁴ Leonard Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter Day Saints, 1830-1900 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 245-54.

⁵⁵ This rationale for supporting women's work on the American frontier has been thoroughly explored by University of Oregon professor of history, Peggy Pascoe, in her seminal work, Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

⁵⁶ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 272. Mary Donovan concurs, and contends that women were able to "enter situations where a clergymen's presence might be suspect; as a woman, she might encourage confidences that women were hesitant to share with men." As a result, they added "an important dimension of caring to the church's presence in Utah." Mary Donovan, "Women Missionaries in Utah," 155.

⁵⁷ Daniel Tuttle, "A Letter from Bishop Tuttle," Spirit of Missions, January 1870, 10, EDUR ACCN 426 BOX 7 FD 12.

much more than could any man.”⁵⁸ However, Tuttle’s most explicit and lengthy defense for women’s social work was reserved for Emily Pearsall (d. 1872), a lay volunteer at St. Mark’s mission and hospital. Writing in his annual report for 1871, Tuttle announced,

The fact is that her help in our pastoral work, especially among the sick and the poor and the children and the ignorant and the strangers, is simply invaluable. She penetrates homes that we cannot so well enter. She reaches hearts that would close up against us. She hears confessions that would not be made to us. My decision is that she must remain with us to do her good and true “woman’s work” in our parish.⁵⁹

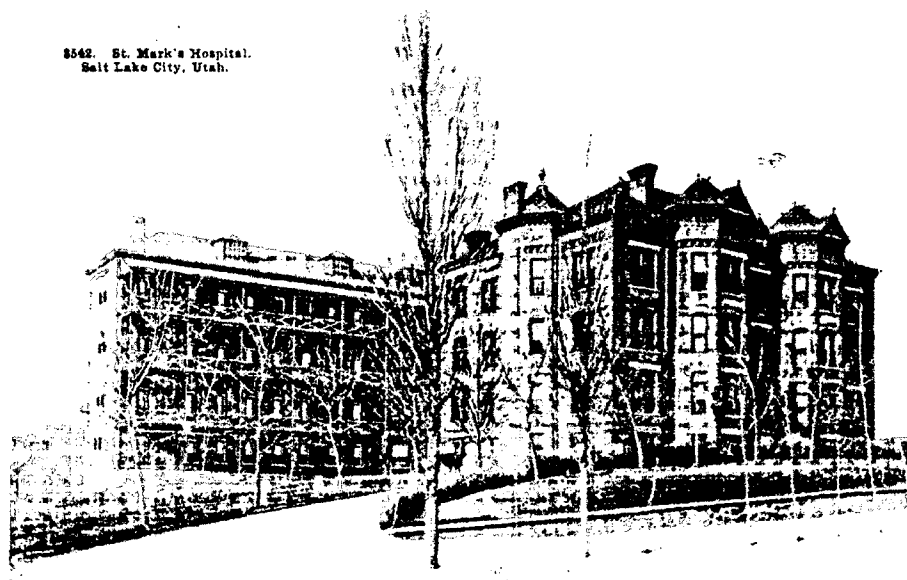


Figure 10: St. Mark’s Hospital, Salt Lake City, Utah, c. 1902

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As previously mentioned, Tuttle’s relationship with St. Mark’s Hospital changed significantly following the development of the institution in the spring of 1872. Whereas Tuttle initially played a critical role in providing medical supplies and a strategy for

⁵⁸ Ibid., *Reminiscences*, 272.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

subsidizing patient medical care, beginning in the summer and continuing from thereafter he played a less practical function in the day-to-day affairs of the institution. Rather, his primary significance lay in monitoring St. Mark's annual progress, and reporting his findings in official reports, in addition to raising and allocating funds to stabilize the infant enterprise. Years later, Tuttle's role essentially became that of a cheerleader, encouraging hospital staff members through personal interaction and written words. In light of this latter role, the remainder of this chapter seeks to examine particular highlights of the bishop-as-supporter, the various reasons for his support, and how the successes of St. Mark's Hospital strengthened the Episcopal Communion while simultaneously contributing to Tuttle's legacy as a key reformer in frontier Utah.

To sense the importance of the bishop's hospital writings, the best place to look is the collection of annual reports dating from the mid-to-late 1870s. During these years, Tuttle used his official position of bishop, together with his natural and accrued skills as a writer (he was a former teacher), to produce a wide range of literature designed to boost staff morale, offer counsel, and enthusiastically report gains made. Taken as a whole, these writings helped to shepherd the hospital through its beginnings as an ad hoc enterprise until its formal incorporation in 1879. For example, after returning from Montana on September 5, 1875, Tuttle inspected the hospital, and then proudly reported to denominational readers, "I speak again, with thankful pride, of our St. Mark's Hospital. Five hundred patients have been cared for during the past year. All the help given from the outside has been five hundred and ninety-eight dollars. The expenses have been about nine thousand five hundred dollars. The remainder has been furnished at

home.”⁶⁰ Approximately one year later, Tuttle wrote in his annual report that the hospital staff had remained capable and successful in its duties, saying that H.H. Prout was the “excellent Assistant-Superintendent and House Manager,” and that the hospital, “under the Rev. Mr. Kirby’s admirable superintendence, [had been] a grand success.”⁶¹ In the same vein, he continued by extolling the institution, saying, “I wish Church visitors from the East would call to see with their own eyes what a beneficent institution, commanding the confidence of all the Territory, it is growing to be.”⁶² Additionally, on August 18, 1877, after offering public praise to specific individuals, Tuttle in his annual report related the hospital’s unprecedented yearly accomplishments, noting that St. Mark’s had never before been “more blessedly useful, succoring more than 250 patients, and raising for itself \$8,793.95, only \$127.70 of which came from the East.”⁶³

Statements such as these clearly supported St. Mark’s Hospital and its staff of workers. But as indicated earlier, Tuttle was the essential leader of the Episcopalian social ministry in general, using the same capacities to encourage men and women embracing the basic tenants of the Social Gospel. In addition to affirming Emily Pearsall and other lay volunteers, Tuttle also consoled Ogden missionary Lucelia Gillogly, particularly after the unexpected death of her husband in February 1881. In one such typical letter, Tuttle wrote:

Dear friend, I pray for God’s continuing support and blessing for you and the little ones. You have caught the glow of [James’] heroism, and by the Holy Spirit’s grace are fanning it into even a greater flame! I need not bid you—keep your faith—and bend to your work. I know all that is assured. But I may point you . . .

⁶⁰ Daniel Tuttle, “Bishop Tuttle’s Report,” Spirit of Missions, September 1875, 678, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

⁶¹ Ibid., “Episcopal Register,” #664.

⁶² Daniel Tuttle, 10th Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 19, 1876, 5, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

⁶³ Daniel Tuttle, 11th Annual Report, Virginia City, Montana, August 18, 1877, 3, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

to the blessed truth, that work is not to be forever, that an evening is coming, and that when it has come, “there remaineth a rest, for him gone before, for you, for unworthy me, and for all who want to be and aim to be the children of God.”⁶⁴

Other letters revealed his deep capacity for pain and loss: “How the memories of him pour now into my heart, and the tears flow from my eyes. God mercifully help us that we may go HOME to be with him bye and bye.”⁶⁵ In addition to letters, Tuttle also provided material aid and educational scholarships for Gillogly and her children.

Tuttle also used his sermons to strengthen and support mission personnel. On 29 August 1886, for example, he preached his final message as the territory’s bishop, declaring to an overflow audience at St. Mark’s Cathedral,

The physicians in our Hospital! We count too little what real benefactors medical men are. Ah! How in the hard stress of disease your heart turns lovingly and trustingly to them. Let us not ungratefully forget how in the Hospital ward, and serving the sick and poor without earthly pay they are followers in fact (would God they all were followers in heart) in the footsteps of the Great Physician, merciful to help and to heal.⁶⁶

Simply encouraging his mission’s medical and social ministry in Utah, however, was not a goal in itself for Tuttle. Rather, he supported this endeavor so as to prolong and improve human health—physical, emotional, mental—as well as to fulfill his personal religious calling. Regarding the first reason, sources indicate that Tuttle himself had a healthy constitution. Contemporaries observed that the bishop possessed a strong bodily frame and clear resounding voice. He was also athletic and enjoyed vigorous exercise. While away from Utah on his annual summer visitation, Tuttle on August 13, 1877, wrote to his wife, Harriet: “I hope to have a swim in the Madison River, before dressing to make some calls and getting ready for the evening service at the schoolhouse.

⁶⁴ Daniel Tuttle, “Letter to Gillogly,” 14 February 1882, EDUR ACCN 426 BOX 7 FD 4.

⁶⁵ Daniel Tuttle, “Letter to Gillogly,” 14 February 1888, EDUR ACCN 426 BOX 7 FD 4.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, The Last Sermon of The Rt. Rev. D. S. Tuttle, D.D., 6.

I do not at all feel so tired as I expected to, and am wondering at myself. Yesterday at Bozeman I had eight services alone, and last night I got little sleep.”⁶⁷ Additionally, as a graduate student in New York City and later as a young priest in Morris, Tuttle boxed, swam in a nearby millpond, and trained on a set of parallel bars. He once wrote, “Morris made me strong physically.” To practice preaching, Tuttle would swim to a nearby island and “between two trees, almost joined together at the root” would “set up a rude pulpit board” and preach his sermons to the birds “loud and full.”⁶⁸ He also claimed to have been sick only three times during his entire thirty-two year career.⁶⁹ In addition to Tuttle’s physical vitality, his intellect also remained sharp throughout his life, allowing him to serve in an official capacity—Bishop of Missouri (beg. 1886) and Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America (beg. 1903)—until his death in 1923. While Tuttle never explicitly tied his ministry to personal health, it appears that the bishop nonetheless perceived physical vitality to be a divine blessing that could be shared with others through modern medical science and meaningful human interaction.⁷⁰

Besides his own bodily vigor, another reason for his commitment to advancing St. Mark’s ministry was his personal religious conviction, particularly the Golden Rule and Jesus’ New Testament claim that by extending mercy “to the least of My brethren, you have done it unto Me.” By providing aid for the sick, food for the hungry, and the clothing for the naked, Tuttle and his colleagues possessed through St. Mark’s Hospital

⁶⁷ Ibid., Reminiscences, 450.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 17.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 99, 150.

⁷⁰ Tuttle wrote, “God has been good to me and under His blessing my health and strength have been wonderfully preserved. As I write (1894) I have been more than thirty-two years in orders, and of my seventeen hundred Sundays of service I have been incapacitated only three.” Ibid., 150.

and its related programs real opportunities to live out the social dimension of their religious calling.

Tuttle's commitment to medical and social work, broadly conceived, was not limited to serving official parish institutions. Instead, records reveal that the bishop carried out a personal ministry outside of churches, and Utah, indicating that while his workaday connection to St. Mark's Hospital was limited, in reality he remained the leader of the Episcopal social ministry, preaching and embodying the fundamental ideals of the Social Gospel. Writing in Virginia City, Montana, during the fall of 1867, for example, Tuttle recorded visiting a sick and dying miner, and ministering to layman struggling with alcoholism. During the following year in Helena, he noted befriending a boy presumably suffering from a mental disorder. With his customary candor, Tuttle wrote, "men called him a little 'off and peculiar.' But others besides Shakespeare's fools have a wealth of heart and wit and wisdom under their motley exterior."⁷¹ While traveling in a stagecoach en route to Utah, he demonstrated his humanity when, as Tuttle put it, "a so-called doctor . . . by manner and act was insulting to a colored woman in the coach . . . I reproved him, and when he repeated the offense, I shook him soundly. At the next station, he got out and slunk entirely away from our sight."⁷² And on June 2, 1867, Tuttle and his Episcopal colleagues consoled a Nebraska couple struggling with the imminent death of their child:

I myself sat up till 2 A.M. I have had prayers with the parents and for the child and the tears flow freely from the eyes of us all. I sympathize with them deeply; I feel my own loneliness and separation from dear ones; I think it may possibly be God's will that . . . I shall bury [my] boy too before he be five years old, and the sobs come in thinking he may go away, while I am far, far off.⁷³

⁷¹ Ibid., 160, 174, 179.

⁷² Ibid., 2.

⁷³ Ibid., 65.

With death and human suffering as conspicuous realities in Tuttle's western career, he also oversaw in 1877 the establishment of Mt. Olivet Cemetery, the first non-LDS burial ground in Utah.⁷⁴

* * * * *

The success of St. Mark's Hospital and its related social services contributed significantly to Tuttle's legacy as a key reformer in Gilded Age Utah. Embracing the central tenant of the Social Gospel—the application of biblical themes to surrounding civic life—Tuttle, the hospital, and its staff of workers sought to address the medical and social needs of Salt Lake City's expanding populace. While territorial miners benefited primarily from the medical institution, community patrons in general also received quality health care at a minimal cost. Social services, too, such as the Episcopal Sewing Guild, St. Mark's Charity Association, and the Women's Auxiliary, served to ameliorate the emotional, material, and psychological burdens of Salt Lake City's urban, mostly immigrant, poor. Although it is difficult to trace the success of these particular ministries, records show that St. Mark's Hospital experienced a pattern of consistent, steady growth after 1872. In 1875, for instance, the enterprise accommodated over five hundred patients on a locally donated budget of over \$9,000, a marked increase of 150 patients and \$1,000 from 1873.⁷⁵ To keep pace with St. Mark's expansion, Tuttle in 1876 approved the hospital's decision to move to a larger facility one block north; later, in

⁷⁴ "Cemetery on the Military Reservation," Desert News 20 May 1874, 248, USHS.

⁷⁵ Tuttle, 7th Annual Report, 3.

1879, he also facilitated St. Mark's formal incorporation and subsequent move to a twenty bed brick building located on the corner of 500 East/300 South.⁷⁶ By 1882 records indicate that the hospital also added two additional wards to its location, and that it treated 380 patients for \$11,500, the majority coming from \$1/month miners' dues.⁷⁷ Finally, when Tuttle departed for Missouri on August 31, 1886, hospital records indicate that 4,776 patients had been treated since the institution's opening.⁷⁸

In addition to statistics and numbers, however, the explicitly religious character of St. Mark's Hospital and its associated social services also contributed to Tuttle's legacy as a reformer in frontier Utah. As mentioned earlier, Tuttle belonged to a special class of western clergymen who embraced the Social Gospel and committed themselves to applying its principles to their respective locations. Like Chicago's Baptist theologian Walter Rauschenbusch (d. 1918) and New York City's Congregationalist pastor Lyman Abbot (d. 1922), Tuttle (d. 1923) also perceived his efforts to "save" his community through acts of civil service as essentially religious work.⁷⁹ While Tuttle did not explicitly connect his medical activities to this effort, he nevertheless manifested its basic principles. Besides rallying funds and providing written and personal encouragement, the bishop also supported the hospital through periodically holding religious services and offering spiritual counsel to patients. In the anxious, troublesome setting of the hospital room, Bishop Tuttle provided a calm, reassuring presence. Writing in 1904, Tuttle recollected that he had always been "particular to inquire the religious connection of the

⁷⁶ Daniel Tuttle, 13th Annual Report, Fort Shaw, Montana, August 22, 1879, 5, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1; Daniel Tuttle, Journal of the Annual Convocation of the Clergy and Laity, Sheridan, Montana: Messenger Power Press Print, July 13, 1879, 13, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 12 FD 4; "St. Mark's Hospital: The Cornerstone Laid Sunday Evening," The Salt Lake Herald, 2 August 1892.

⁷⁷ Daniel Tuttle, 16th Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, August 29, 1882, 2, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 2.

⁷⁸ Quinn, 20.

⁷⁹ Szsasz, 194.

patients, and, when practicable, invited their pastors to visit them.”⁸⁰ To facilitate his ministry later in Missouri, Tuttle in the 1890s oversaw St. Luke’s Episcopal Hospital, St. Louis, in addition to a community dispensary, and services for the deaf, handicap, and low-income—mainly black—families.⁸¹ Whereas Episcopal historian James T. Addison has argued that Episcopalians were typically slow to support community work, Tuttle’s involvement with St. Mark’s Hospital and its connected ministries clearly proves the bishop to be an exception.⁸²

In addition to providing medical and social services for Gilded Age Utah, St. Mark’s Hospital was also significant for further establishing the Episcopal Communion in Salt Lake City. As with Tuttle’s parish schools, St. Marks’ medical institution further increased the physical presence of the Episcopalian mission, adding to the rapidly expanding number of non-LDS buildings in the territory. Furthermore, the hospital’s conspicuous religious affiliation, combined with its essentially non-Mormon patient base, added a further sense of permanency to the minority religious community. The construction of St. Mark’s Hospital also contributed to Salt Lake City’s gradual urbanization and to the development of an urban West, generally.

Shortly after the development of St. Mark’s Hospital in 1872, other church-sponsored medical institutions developed in Utah seeking to counter the ill-effects of Gilded Age Utah, specifically the territory’s mining and railroad industry.⁸³ In 1875 the

⁸⁰ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 398.

⁸¹ Charles Rehkopf, “The Episcopate of Bishop Tuttle,” *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin*, April 1962, 211.

⁸² For the Episcopal Church’s involvement in the Social Gospel, see Addison, 380-92.

⁸³ Kathleen M. Joyce, “Science and the Saints: American Catholics and Health Care, 1880-1930” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1995); David Sloane, “Not Designed Merely to Heal,” *The Journal of the Gilded and Progressive Era* 4 (October 2005): 331-50.

Roman Catholic community established Holy Cross Hospital, and seven years later the LDS Church completed construction of Deseret Hospital and School of Nursing. While it would seem that Tuttle and his Episcopal enterprise would compete against these institutions, in actuality the bishop and his colleagues embraced a broad-minded perspective, committed to working alongside these groups rather than contending against them. This attitude, however, is not surprising since Tuttle had always remained committed to serving his community even while serving his religious Communion. During the winter of 1869, for example, Tuttle joined LDS bishop Edwin Woolley and army colonel Henry Morrow to form the first, small-scale, organized sick care for soldiers at Salt Lake City's Fort Douglas. Additionally, after the opening of St. Mark's Hospital, Tuttle welcomed Mormon patients to the new institution. Recollecting the sense of cooperation engendered by the hospital, Tuttle wrote in 1904, "the county authorities, all of them Mormon, asked leave to send their sick poor and paid for them out of the county revenues. . . . The kindest feelings, the most generous helpfulness, were shown us by all sorts and conditions of people."⁸⁴

Tuttle's willingness to co-exist with his religious adversaries, namely the LDS Church, is indicative of his philosophy of evangelism and establishing churches, in particular. Whereas this chapter has suggested that Tuttle's significance as a religious outsider lay in his support of St. Mark's Hospital and related services—both of which sought to meet the medical and social needs of its surrounding community—the following chapter will argue that he was equally important for successfully using Utah's

⁸⁴ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 403. The Mormon Relief Society was successful and comprehensive. Historians Davis Bitton and Leonard Arrington write that its purpose was to "visit the sick and the helpless and the needy, and learn their wants, and, under their Bishops, collect the means necessary to relieve them." It also taught the poor economic self-reliance. Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter Day Saints*, 231.

peculiar and contentious and religiously-charged atmosphere to plant Episcopal churches. In doing so, he chose to focus more on building up his religious Communion than attacking the newly formed Mormon community.

Chapter 3: Churches

“My pastoral duties were a pleasure; they have always been that to me. Absolutely all the non-Mormons or Gentiles were my flock. And the Jews were ‘Gentiles.’”¹

Introduction

Churches modeled after the Episcopalian tradition developed beside formal parish schools and St. Mark’s Hospital during Tuttle’s career in frontier Utah. Embracing the religious standards of Anglicanism—governance by bishops and a thought and practice mixing Catholicism and Protestantism—these churches promoted the western expansion of Tuttle’s denomination, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. The Episcopal Communion had settled in the West beginning in the 1830s to keep pace with the advancing line of American settlers, making Tuttle’s contributions in the post-Civil War period a second-generation attempt in the trans-Mississippi frontier. While this study has thus far emphasized Tuttle’s role in the civic development of Gilded Age Utah, a significant dimension of his career included planting churches, ordaining clergy, consecrating religious buildings, preaching, and training laymen called to the ministry—activities directly supportive of Episcopalianism’s continental growth.

This chapter, which explicitly separates Tuttle’s career into compartments of church and non-church work, is in some ways problematic since Tuttle viewed all of his endeavors as essentially religious. In August 1884, Tuttle remarked in his annual report that “school work,” while intended for the scholastic enrichment of territorial students, was “pre-eminently efficient missionary work,” a sentiment that echoed throughout his tenure in Utah and, later, Missouri.² He also noted that St. Mark’s Hospital supported the

¹ Daniel Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West: Reminiscences of Episcopal Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, 1866-1886* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 247. Hereafter cited as *Reminiscences*.

² Daniel Tuttle, *18th Annual Report*, Salt Lake City, August 14, 1884, 541, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 2.

social ministry of the Church. Reflecting in 1906, Tuttle wrote, “I have tarried long with this thought, that the church is ‘the mother of us all,’ and that the missionary bishop, as her representative, is to be the guide and helper of all. . . . St. Mark’s hospital, throughout its history, under the bishop and by the side of the bishop, has stood for this thought.”³

Identifying church and church-related activities is, nevertheless, a helpful exercise for discerning the nature of Tuttle’s evangelistic success in Utah. Unlike most Protestant missionaries to the Mormons, Tuttle employed a subtle, non-combative approach focused more on building up the Episcopal Communion than attacking the newly formed Mormon community.⁴ As the following pages will demonstrate, this strategy complemented Tuttle’s efforts to influence Zion through public institutions sponsored by the Episcopal Church. However, while it elicited criticism from fellow proselytizers, it drew respect and admiration from the LDS Church. Upon Tuttle’s departure for Missouri in August 1886, the pro-LDS Daily Evening News reported, “Bishop Tuttle of the Episcopal Church, who was some time ago elected to the bishopric of Missouri, will leave a favorable impression upon all who have become acquainted with him. . . . Kind, courteous and urbane, yet dignified and firm in his demeanor, he has made friends among people of various shades of opinion. . . . We respect a consistent antagonist.”⁵

The purpose of this chapter is to examine Tuttle’s efforts to establish Episcopalian churches in Gilded Age Utah, the first permanent non-Mormon religious buildings in the territory. Tuttle’s duties as a church builder included buying land, hiring contractors,

³ Ibid., Reminiscences, 425.

⁴ T. Edgar Lyon contends that Episcopalianism like Tuttle pursued a policy of “constructive Christian fellowship with the Mormons and other people of Utah,” an approach dissimilar to that of evangelical Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists, Lutherans, and Disciples of Christ. T. Edgar Lyon, “Religious Activities and Development in Utah, 1847-1910” Utah Historical Quarterly 35 (Fall 1967): 294.

⁵ Daily Evening News, 2 September 1886, USHS.

raising and appropriating funds, preaching, and recruiting and training clerical personnel. In his official capacity as bishop, he also assumed the role of chief administrator, delegating responsibilities to missionary colleagues and lay subordinates. Between Tuttle's arrival in Salt Lake City in 1867 and his exit for the bishopric of Missouri nearly two decades later, he oversaw more than a dozen clergymen and over \$350,000 in missionary subscriptions; the construction of seven churches in Utah (Corrine 1869, Ogden 1870, Salt Lake City 1871, 1879, Logan 1873, Plain City 1876, and Silver Reef 1880); and the confirmation and baptism of over twelve hundred men, women, and children.⁶ Material contributions such as these form the basis for examining this aspect of Tuttle's career.

Additionally, this chapter also seeks to explore Tuttle's philosophy of evangelism and its application in the Utah frontier. Tuttle was a natural pastor who focused his ministry on his Church and his parishioners, in addition to the public at large and the Mormon community in particular. To achieve his goal of advancing Episcopal Christianity, he tailored his religious strategies to the peculiar conditions of the territory. Not only was Utah the headquarters of an organized alternative to mainstream religion, it was also the battleground between the LDS Church and federal government's contest for territorial control. Embracing an evangelical, or "low" church style, and an ecumenical or interdenominational approach to church participation, Tuttle successfully used Utah's exceptional cultural condition—a lack of mainstream churchgoers—to establish Episcopalian churches in Salt Lake City and surrounding environs.⁷ He also strengthened

⁶ Daniel Tuttle, *20th Annual Report*, Salt Lake City, August 14, 1886, 1-2, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 2.

⁷ The influence of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis on western religious history has been evident since the 1960s, although a recent wave of scholarship in the 1990s has been, in my opinion, more effective in complicating our understanding of the American West. A notable example is Laurie Maffly-Kipp's

his Communion by responding to his mission's internal needs while at the same time taking advantage of exterior events occurring within Utah, the Mormon community, and between the LDS Church and the encroaching federal government.

Evidence for issues raised here comes from a variety of sources. As in initial chapters, they include a combination of materials both primary and secondary, such as Tuttle's personal writings, official reports, church documents, periodicals, and correspondence between parish personnel, in addition to books and articles providing historical context. As indicated, the development of Episcopal parishes in Utah will be placed within the broader themes of nineteenth century western expansion and Gilded Age Mormonism. And as with the first two sections, which examined how Tuttle's schools and hospital contributed to his reputation as a significant religious outsider, this chapter will conclude by examining how his work in the area of Utah's Episcopalian church development completes this representation and supports the central argument of this study.

published Yale Ph.D. dissertation, Religion and Society in Frontier California (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

Generally, "High" and "Low" are technical terms that refer to competing expressions of religious practice. In the Episcopal Communion, the former is used to describe a greater emphasis on the Anglo/Catholic persuasion, including the use of colorful vestments and formal ceremony in service. By contrast, the latter denotes a more Protestant expression of faith, including less formality and a greater emphasis on evangelical theology. In regard to Bishop Tuttle, he was clearly "low" church because he used the prayer book, but without the additional prayers to the Virgin Mary; he never wore Eucharistic vestments, or a cope and miter; his sermons were also classical evangelical as they represented a solid exposition of the word. Frederick Quinn, interview by author, 6 June 2006.

* * * * *

During the first two weeks of July 1867, Tuttle set to work planting the Protestant Episcopal Church in Utah. He had arrived on the evening of Tuesday the 2nd with missionary colleagues assigned to Montana Territory, a far western location given special mission status the previous fall by the denomination's General Convention.⁸ Tuttle, the bishop of the Territory since May 1, had assumed leadership of his group, taking his companions west across the central plains from Albany, New York, on May 23. Traveling by train, flatboat, and stagecoach, Tuttle's company stopped at parishes in Chicago, Omaha, and Denver before entering Utah and downtown Salt Lake. Upon arriving, Episcopal priest Thomas Haskins greeted the delegation, remarking that Tuttle, a thirty year native of New York, had already achieved the look of an experienced westerner, toting a gun cartridge in front, pistol behind, his trousers in his boots, and exhibiting dark, dusty, sun-soaked features.⁹

After exiting their carriages, Tuttle and his colleagues checked in at a local residence before commencing official missionary duties the following day. Several weeks of overland travel had proven to be an arduous venture, making the petty fineries of Salt Lake City particularly pleasing. In a letter to his wife Harriet, Tuttle recalled dinner: "Welcome was the sight of our meal, and Miller's mouth watered when a full pint of luscious strawberries was placed in front of each of us. O how good were the new potatoes, and green peas, and string beans, and fresh turnips we had for dinner that

⁸ James Addison, The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931 (New York: Scribners, 1951), 230-1, for the creation of far western parishes, including Montana.

⁹ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 90.

night.”¹⁰ By morning, however, Tuttle and his companions had recuperated sufficiently to begin establishing the Protestant Episcopal Church, the first non-LDS institution in the territory. The first item included contacting resident clergymen George Foote and Thomas W. Haskins. Foote and Haskins, recent graduates of General Theological Seminary, had arrived to Utah on the 4th and 5th of May to break ground for the impending Episcopal mission. They had gone west after Salt Lake City banker Warren Hussey had promised Tuttle in March Gentile support, as well as a salary for a full time Christian minister.¹¹ Meeting with the two men, Tuttle confirmed reports that the missionaries had rendezvoused with Gentiles gathering at Independence Hall, and secured the building for church services and classes for St. Mark’s Grammar School.¹² He also noted that a small group currently attended services at the Hall, including three Episcopalian women—Fidelia Hamilton, O. Augusta Durrant, and T.F. May Tracy—in addition to several Jews.

Approving of the work in progress, Tuttle proceeded on Friday July 5 to survey the local neighborhoods of “Zion,” the official headquarters of the LDS Church. Writing to Harriet, Tuttle described the settlement: “Salt Lake City is beautiful, as we last night saw it from the hill back of Brigham Young’s house. . . . The River Jordan two miles off, overflowing its banks; the Great Salt Lake, like a sea, twenty miles away; snow-capped mountains bounding the basin on every side; all these make a beautiful view.”¹³ In the same letter, he also keenly observed the local Gentile population, a community seemingly divided into three basic categories—“intense anti-Mormons,” moderates, and “those who

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 58.

¹² Ibid., 369.

¹³ Ibid., 107.

are disposed to apologize for the Mormons and to think that in some things they are grossly misrepresented.”¹⁴ While modern scholarship has demonstrated that Utah’s non-LDS populace was more complex than indicated here, historians Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton have nevertheless recognized the essential truth of Tuttle’s perception.¹⁵ In response to this social condition, Tuttle related to Harriet that he planned to unite the disparate classes into a singular Christian community—thereby creating a base from which to build Episcopalian churches—through modeling steady religious devotion and a virtuous public life. With this goal in mind, Tuttle continued to tour Salt Lake City, acquainting himself with local Gentiles and advertising church services at Independence Hall for Sunday July 7.¹⁶

Before departing one week later for parishes in Montana and Idaho, Tuttle also paid a visit to LDS leader Brigham Young. Extant documents indicate that the two men met on July 9 after Tuttle, Hussey, and Foote introduced themselves at the patriarch’s personal residence.¹⁷ Hussey, who had previously established friendly relations with Young, brought letters of introduction for the Episcopal bishop, although it is not known whether an official meeting had been discussed. Tuttle described the initial encounter: “As we neared the gate he was coming out, comfortably dressed in a white coat and vest and linen trousers . . . good watch-chain, umbrella under his arm, [and] light gaiters on

¹⁴ Ibid., 108.

¹⁵ Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter Day Saints*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 161-85. One of the underlying concepts in chapter 9, entitled, “The Kingdom and The Nation,” is the diversity of attitudes toward the Mormon Church among Utah Gentiles.

¹⁶ Daniel Tuttle, “Episcopal Register” #18, FQP ACCN BOX 10 FD 5.

¹⁷ Ibid., *Reminiscences*, 111.

his feet. He has a pleasant face and voice, is somewhat corpulent in person, is of medium height, and has gray eyes, sandy whiskers, and light brown hair.”¹⁸

Young’s decision to leave at the precise time of Tuttle’s arrival has remained a thorny issue for historians interested in early Episcopal-LDS relations.¹⁹ However, Young, the 66-year-old Mormon leader besieged by Gentiles, religious outsiders, and the federal government encroaching on his experimental community, reacted cordially to the visit. Still, he used it as an opportunity to vent his frustration. Tuttle recounted that after offering to return at a more convenient time, Young countered by leading the group into his office, an expansive room complete “with iron safe and tables, and pigeon holes by the hundred filled with filed papers,” in addition to portraits of Mormon leaders on the walls.²⁰ Once seated, Tuttle and Young talked briefly about their common heritage in the East. The atmosphere of the meeting changed, however, when George Foote, silent thus far, interjected to commend the territory’s recent 4th of July celebrations and its inclusion in the United States. Young rejoined coolly, “Perhaps so, but they rather seem to me to be the Disunited States, for I see by the morning telegrams that the most rigorous military despotism is to be enforced in the South.”²¹ He then picked up a piece of Green River

¹⁸ Ibid., 112.

¹⁹ Historians have understood the timing of Young’s walk differently. Independent scholar Frederick Quinn writes critically, “Had there been a mix up about the time of [Tuttle’s] visit? If Young had been expecting Tuttle, he would not be leaving his office, and if the encounter was a casual drop in, it would suggest a less than substantive meeting was planned between the two church leaders.” Arnold Garr, professor of church history at Brigham Young University, by contrast provides a simpler, benign assessment: “When they neared the building, they came upon President Young just as he was leaving to take a walk. Bishop Tuttle offered to come back at a more convenient hour, but the Mormon leader said he would be glad to see them at that time and promptly turned around and led them into his office.” Frederick Quinn, *Building the “Goodly Fellowship of Faith”* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2004), 11; Arnold Garr, “Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle: Episcopalian Pioneer among the Mormons” *Mormon Historical Studies* 1 (2000): 67.

²⁰ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 113.

²¹ Clearly, Young was referring to Reconstruction, the period between 1865 and 1877 when the issues of the Civil War were addressed following the defeat of the South and the end of slavery. Part of Reconstruction included the military’s supervision over ten confederate states, and their organization into

gold, an ore coveted by territorial miners, and gestured to Foote to insinuate that the young missionary had been aware of town gossip, namely that Young had seized the property of heterodox Mormon apostle Amasa Lyman.²² Foote denied the charge, to which Young replied: “Mr. Foote, I want to say to you what I said to the Catholic priest when he came here; if you hear rumors flying about touching me or this people, come right here to me with them and I will always set things right. That’s the best way.”²³

Young’s statement, which effectively precipitated the end of the meeting, more importantly symbolized a line-in-the-sand warning to the newcomers against intruding into LDS affairs. While the encounter between the two leaders marked their only recorded exchange, Tuttle remained philosophic, writing to Harriet, “We were most civilly and courteously treated in this call, but I was not asked to call again. . . . He is so powerful a man in everything here, and so unscrupulous a man, I fear, in most things, that my policy will be to have as little as possible to do with him.”²⁴ Clearly, Young’s veiled threat influenced Tuttle to remain publicly neutral with the LDS Church. Other considerations, however, shaped his thinking. Not only was the Episcopal mission isolated in Utah, but previous attempts to evangelize the Mormon community through direct theological confrontation had also failed.

In 1865 Congregational chaplain Norman McLeod had begun hosting Protestant church services in the Gentile section of downtown Salt Lake City. McLeod had been

five military districts. The U.S. Army instituted a policy of martial law, and monitored local governments, elections, and protected local politicians from violence.

²² Amasa Lyman was a member of the LDS Quorum of the Twelve until the mid-1860s, when he rejected Young’s leadership and embarked to preside over the newly formed Godbeite church, named after ex-Mormon William Godbe, who broke with the LDS Church in 1870 over the issue of mining and priestly domination. For a complete account of the schism, see Leonard Arrington, Brigham Young: American Moses (New York: Knopf, 1985), 355-62, 374-5.

²³ Reminiscences, 114. Quinn provides a similar description of the meeting and its consequences, 11.

²⁴ Ibid.

stationed at neighboring Fort Douglas, established three years prior by the federal government to protect the overland mail route, guard against Indian attacks, and monitor the LDS Church.²⁵ Like other military chaplains of the time, he used his position to evangelize his company and surrounding community.²⁶ In October 1866 McLeod's religious efforts accelerated when he joined Gentile physician Dr. J. King Robinson—a well-known anti-LDS zealot—in conducting Christian services at Independence Hall. This arrangement, though popular with non-Mormons, ended abruptly several weeks later following Robinson's murder—allegedly in reaction to his warlike stance—and McLeod's subsequent decision to remain in the East where he had been working to raise money for the new enterprise. While McLeod's ministry was woefully unsuccessful, other mainline Christian denominations would unite in Utah during the 1870s to address the "Mormon problem."

Cognizant of Salt Lake City's contentious atmosphere, Tuttle thus admonished his colleagues to concentrate their energies on influencing their adversaries through personal character and dedication to church and public service. While Tuttle remained critical of the LDS Church and openly rejected its practices, particularly the doctrine of polygamy, he convinced the Mormon community that his evangelical modes remained peaceful. In fact, records indicate that from the beginning of the Episcopal presence in Utah, Tuttle's policy of co-existence was clearly embraced. Recollecting Foote and Haskins' inaugural service on May 5, 1867, Tuttle wrote,

²⁵ The federal government's oversight of Zion was predicated on the fear that the LDS Church might withdraw from the Union during the Civil War. Historian Robert Dwyer writes, "Separatism in Utah, rumors of which must have found their way to official ears, and which were borne out in the public statements of the religious leaders of the Mormon people, could be ignored no longer." For a summary account of the establishment of Fort Douglas, see Robert Dwyer, The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict 1862-1890 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), 1-28.

²⁶ The evangelical role of Gilded Age army chaplains is a key theme of David Stratton's essay, "The Army and the Gospel in the West" Western Humanities Review 8 (Summer 1954): 247-67.

It is likely that many went away disappointed that there was no red flag of war thrown out to excite the vengeance of the Gentiles or the hatred of the Mormons. . . This opening service gave the key-note to the position and policy of the Church, which, I believe, has ever since been uninterruptedly maintained by the Church in Salt Lake City. It sought to win the judgment, the conscience, the affection, the respect and the allegiance of men, whether Gentiles, apostate Mormons, or Mormons, by putting into competition with Mormon doctrine and practices the faith and practice of the Church, saying not a single word against the Mormons.²⁷

On Sunday July 14, Tuttle made preparations to depart Utah for Virginia City, Montana, four hundred miles to the north. He planned to remain there until the following summer, leaving the young Salt Lake parish to the supervision of subordinate personnel. While Tuttle's stay in Salt Lake City had lasted less than two weeks, it had nevertheless allowed him to commence missionary work in Zion, arguably the most challenging locale in his district. In previous days, Tuttle had approved church and school services meeting at Independence Hall, and had met with colleagues Warren Hussey, Edward N. Goddard, Gordon B. Miller, and others to formally organize religious activity. He had also formulated a clear set of guidelines to steer the Episcopal Communion through Utah's peculiar, even hostile, religious atmosphere. Taken together, these accomplishments ultimately proved to be critical to the operations of the enterprise. With such an auspicious start, Tuttle on Sunday attended to several last minute duties, including preaching at Fort Douglas and confirming parishioners at Independence Hall, then retired for a brief respite before an early morning departure.²⁸

²⁷ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 368.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, "Episcopal Register" #20.

According to official Episcopal records, Tuttle remained absent from his Salt Lake City headquarters for the next two years, dating between mid-July 1867 and the second week of September 1869.²⁹ Although he returned on several occasions, his visits remained brief, allowing him to attend to missionary activities in Montana and Idaho: After leaving Utah on July 15, 1867, Tuttle arrived three days later in the territorial capital of Virginia City, Montana. Edward N. Goddard had accompanied him, and together they performed a handful of duties associated with church planting, including preaching, securing land, recruiting members, and gathering funds. Anxious to get a foothold in the region's upstart mining towns, Tuttle dedicated himself to working in the territory's capital for three weeks before traveling on August 6 to rival Helena, then to various locales in Idaho, including Boise and Silver City, in October.³⁰

Despite Tuttle's separation from Utah, however, he remained conscious of his mission there. On August 17 Tuttle received an update from George Foote, indicating that since July the Salt Lake parish—newly named St. Mark's Episcopal Mission—had grown. Specifically, church membership had risen from three to twenty communicants and sixteen congregants had been baptized.³¹ Foote also reported that ninety men, women, and children currently attended Sunday school services at Independence Hall. The report also detailed several difficulties facing the mission, namely insufficient funding and a lack of available lots for church building. Two weeks later on the 31st,

²⁹ Ibid., #20-132.

³⁰ Ibid., #26.

³¹ Daniel Tuttle, 1st Annual Report, Virginia City, Montana, August 31, 1867, 50, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

Tuttle related such concerns to Episcopalians in his first annual report, later republished in the Spirit of Missions. After disclosing to readers his thoughts about Mormonism—“a wild heresy”—he then requested an increase in church funds. While records show that Tuttle had received \$1500 in cash and supplies before coming to the West, they also demonstrate that donations had slowed to \$145 in recent months.³² Thinking ahead, he also requested extra missionaries. Though this plea was fulfilled, a perennial problem for clerics like Tuttle was that during the nineteenth century, Harvard historian Timothy Smith points out, “the vital center of American Protestantism was in eastern cities rather than the rural West.”³³ As a result, western missions routinely suffered from a lack of both funds and qualified personnel.

Throughout the fall and winter Tuttle continued living in Montana while balancing his responsibilities to the mission in Utah. On October 8 he wrote a special appeal requesting donations to assist church building efforts in Salt Lake City. Independence Hall still hosted Sunday services and would continue until the completion of St. Mark’s Cathedral in 1871; however, Tuttle, an effective writer and fundraiser, expedited this process considerably by conveying to readers his mission’s steady progress in the “strange,” almost foreign location of Mormon Utah.³⁴ Later, on 6 February 1868, Tuttle counseled parish personnel frustrated by recent failures to secure land, having been excluded by LDS adherents attempting to maintain territorial hegemony in the face of increased Gentile immigration.³⁵

³² *Ibid.*, 48, 53.

³³ Timothy Smith, Revival and Revivalism: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 2004), 9.

³⁴ Daniel Tuttle, “An Appeal from Salt Lake City,” Spirit of Missions, December 1867, 836, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1; EDUR ACCN 426 BOX 7 FD 5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Reminiscences, 176.

In addition to promoting the material advancement of his Episcopal mission, Tuttle also benefited from experiences in Montana, sharpening skills later applied to missionary efforts in Utah. To missionaries of the Gilded Age, Montana Territory appeared, at least anecdotally, to be a typical frontier destination lacking the basic hallmarks of civilization—rule of law, formal education, a stable population, and traditional organized religion.³⁶ Furthermore, its pioneer culture seemed to exude an independent spirit deeply critical, even suspicious, of outsiders.³⁷ Influenced by the times, Tuttle embraced these perceptions, interpreting his calling as an opportunity to personally extend the gospel and the basic elements of American society.

As such, it was during personal encounters that he fulfilled his calling while simultaneously honing his abilities as a pastor, administrator, and missionary. Throughout the winter of 1867-68, Tuttle continued laboring in Virginia City.³⁸ St. Paul's Episcopal Church had organized during the summer, and by the fall had gathered congregants to form a Sunday school. On December 8 Tuttle presided over the school's official opening, an event that featured twenty-seven students and four teachers—a Quaker, a Baptist, and two Methodists.³⁹ Since church people were comparatively few in the American frontier, Tuttle welcomed such instances of interdenominational

³⁶ Maffly-Kipp, 3.

³⁷ Ross Phares, *Bible in Pocket, Gun in Hand: The Story of Frontier Religion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 2. About frontiersmen, Phares writes, "With land everywhere just for the taking, they spread out thinly. In their rush for political and economic freedom they outraced the established institutions of society—the church, schools, courts of law."

³⁸ Daniel Tuttle, "How Our Church Came to Our Country," *The Young Churchman Co.*, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 3, EDUR ACCN 426 BOX 7 FD 12.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, *Reminiscences*, 171.

cooperation.⁴⁰ While working at St. Paul's Church he also served as territorial chaplain, a public post conferred unexpectedly by Governor Green Clay Smith following a friendly encounter in July.⁴¹

Besides these duties, Tuttle also served his Communion in informal or "non-church" ways. As demonstrated previously, a significant dimension of Tuttle's career included becoming a vital part of his surrounding community. While this aspect fully manifested itself in Utah—particularly with Tuttle's formal schools and St. Mark's community-supported hospital—it was also present during Tuttle's two-year stay in Montana. Tuttle's personal memoirs, Reminiscences, indicate, for example, that the bishop befriended a wide assortment of Montanans—miners, loggers, bartenders, actors, civic leaders, in addition to churchgoers. Meeting in town, many also called on the bishop for counsel at his humble cabin home. In January 1868 congregants from St. Paul's Church made several unannounced visits, one time bringing new furniture for the bishop. In the same month "two men, hard, drinkers" came to Tuttle's cabin with \$106 for charity.⁴² To facilitate his ministry, Tuttle also recorded a frontier lexicon so as to better relate to the territory's plain-spoken people.⁴³ The clearest expression of Tuttle's

⁴⁰ Between 1867 and 1886, Tuttle frequently worked side-by-side with rival Protestants in an effort to establish churches and spread Protestant Christianity in the irreligious West. Tuttle's willing embrace of interdenominational cooperation underscores the central theme of Ferenc Szasz's title, "Conflict and Cooperation on the Western Frontier," in The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and Mountain West, 1865-1915 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 87-130. Tuttle's attitude of frontier-ecumenicism also agrees with the basic conclusions of historian Myron Fodge in "Protestantism in Frontier Montana, 1860-1925" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1963).

⁴¹ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 441.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 177.

⁴³ Tuttle wrote, "I learned to appreciate the force of their pioneer language." He then provided a 2-page list of words and mannerisms and their respective meanings that he found common in frontier society. "'Cinch.' To 'cinch' a man is to catch him at a disadvantage, and to press and corner him with the disadvantage. The word is taken from the act of the packer in drawing tight the band securing the burden upon his packmule, as also the saddle upon his horse. . . . 'Grub,' a meal, food. . . . 'A man for breakfast,' a homicide has been committed in the mining camp during the night. . . . 'Buck the tiger,' gamble at faro. 'Straight,' does much duty for the men of the mountains and proclaims their abhorrence of weak dilutions

desire to integrate into pioneer society and thereby widen his religious influence, however, occurred in Helena, a trade/transportation center soon to be named territorial capital (1875). Having moved there with his family in the winter, Tuttle played a leading role in quelling the city fire of April 1869, saving one man and directing local citizens to form a water line.⁴⁴ After the fire, the St. Louis Globe Democrat assessed Tuttle's community position:

The good bishop was soon at the height of popularity. The mountaineers had tested his manhood and they were ready to love and trust him for the friend and counselor he proved to be, and the popular verdict was solemnly announced by Mr. William Bunkerly when he declared: "He's full jeweled and eighteen karats fine. He's a better man than Joe Floweree; he's the biggest and best bishop that ever wore a black gown. . . . He's a fire fighter from away back, and whenever he chooses to go a brimstone raid among the sinner in this gulch he can do it, and I'll back him with my pile. He is the best bishop, and you can hear me howl."⁴⁵

Public adulation such as this continued throughout Tuttle's Episcopal career. In fact, over the years parishioners came to call the bishop, "Brother Dan."⁴⁶ While the genesis of this nickname remains unclear, it is reasonable to suggest that his experiences in Montana were related to it. In the process of establishing parish churches in the North, Tuttle also matured in his abilities to minister to frontier society. When necessary, Tuttle embraced an ecumenical, or interdenominational, approach to missionary work—a posture uncommon among competing clerics in the American East—in order to counter the dearth of western religious people.⁴⁷ He also played an active role in community

and diplomatic mixtures. It is not only 'whiskey straight,' and 'coffee straight,' but 'politics straight,' and 'religion straight.'" Ibid., 221-23.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 233-7.

⁴⁵ St. Louis Globe Democrat, October 1886, reprinted in John Linton Struble, "The People's Bishop," Montana the Magazine of Western History 6 (Winter 1956): 20-28.

⁴⁶ Szasz, 174.

⁴⁷ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 192. Conflict rather than cooperation characterized much of the religious activity in the nineteenth century American East. Church quarrels, religious schisms, and public confrontations were common occurrences among competing evangelical churches. While denominational antagonisms

affairs in order to positively influence his public surroundings. Significantly, Tuttle's father, Daniel Sr., a Methodist minister and part-time blacksmith/farmer, had also been given a moniker in his lifetime—"Uncle Daniel"—by members of his church and community in Windham, New York. At one time, he had also served as his town mayor or "supervisor." As Bishop Tuttle returned to Utah in September 1869, it is clear that his experiences in Montana had shaped his religious strategy and that he, like his father, had achieved a sophisticated understanding of the social, or extra-church, dynamics of religious ministry, embracing the biblical missionary mandate of becoming "all things to all men . . . in order to save some."⁴⁸

* * * * *

In spite of Tuttle's two-year absence in Montana, missionary work in Utah had continued unabated, expanding further into Salt Lake City and other locales outside of Zion. While the perpetuation of church operations had been left unplanned, Tuttle had assigned his colleagues with basic responsibilities and permission to work as they saw fit, promising guidance and support as "the ultimate reference" for all future activities.⁴⁹ Typical of St. Mark's mission, these guidelines were clearly embraced, testifying to Tuttle's pronounced leadership abilities and position of authority as bishop of Montana Territory. While confidence in the smooth inner-workings of St. Mark's mission flowed

remained in the West, they were also matched with instances of mutual support. For information on eastern religious rivalry, see Mark Noll, A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2003), 165-90.

⁴⁸ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 448; 1 Corinthians 9: 22. For a detailed study that reinforces this point see, Jedidiah Fox, "Built on no other man's foundation: The 14 Year Journey of Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, the first Episcopal Bishop of Montana, 1867-1880" (senior honors thesis, Carroll College, 2006).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 386.

throughout the Episcopal camp, it particularly came from Tuttle himself, who time and again exhibited a sense of assurance in the capacities of fellow missionaries. On the morning of September 10, 1869, it was thus natural for Tuttle and his family to pause in Corrine, Utah, to approve mission work there before heading to Salt Lake City later that afternoon.

According to official Episcopal records, church efforts in Corrine had commenced in the spring of 1869. In February George Foote had begun periodically hosting Sunday services in preparation for a parish school and a full-scale missionary effort.⁵⁰ While still in Helena, Tuttle had approved the venture, indicating his support for increasing St. Mark's activity outside of Salt Lake City. Since the late 1860s, Corrine had existed as a Gentile town inhabited by men and women working on the transcontinental railroad, slated for completion in May 1869. The town's religious demographic, in addition to its key strategic position, had thus compelled Foote and Tuttle to concentrate their efforts in Utah's North before seeking expansion elsewhere. Following Tuttle's encouragement, Foote entered Corrine, preaching and gathering funds for a permanent Episcopal dwelling. While it remains unclear how many people responded to Foote's efforts, he noted that early donations yielded \$2,500 in cash and building materials, and that local merchants had provided financial support to encourage town stability.⁵¹ In Tuttle's annual report of 1869, the bishop noted that after Foote collected community funds, he then erected a \$1,000 building, serving immediately as a combined church/schoolhouse.

Aside from reviewing church activities in Corrine, however, Tuttle in September resumed full-time administrative duties over St. Mark's mission. In addition to acting as

⁵⁰ Daniel Tuttle, 3rd Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 15, 1869, 70, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 2.

⁵¹ Ibid.

the principal and business manager of St. Mark's Grammar School, he also taught Sunday school and led religious services at Independence Hall. The Episcopal Communion had grown considerably in the previous two years, requiring Tuttle, Foote, and missionary Thomas Haskins to split preaching responsibilities between congregations at the mission, Corrine's new Chapel of the Good Samaritan, and neighboring Fort Douglas.⁵² Tuttle noted that his sermons were typically given to interdenominational or interfaith crowds, united in their status as religious minorities. Because Episcopal services were the only non-LDS religious gatherings in the territory, Tuttle claimed that circumstances compelled him to become a broadly accessible holy man: "Absolutely all the non-Mormons or Gentiles were my flock. And the Jews were 'Gentiles.'"⁵³

Tuttle also kept financial and statistical records of St. Mark's mission. Independence Hall still hosted Sunday services, accommodating more than fifty people and renting for \$69 per month. Additionally, the mission now owned a nearby lot purchased for \$11,000 from an anonymous ex-LDS.⁵⁴ Presumably, the lot housed the church rectory, or clerical residence, which had been built in the previous year for \$6,000. Reflective of St. Mark's numerical growth, Tuttle appropriated \$6,130.50 of \$9,803.37 to pay increased annual expenses. Although Tuttle had deferred rectory payments until 1879, he intended to achieve financial solvency in order to encourage church stability. Thus in addition to raising funds from congregants in Salt Lake City, he also requested donations from wealthier parishes in the American East, occasionally employing anti-LDS criticism to expedite the process. In September 1869, for example, Tuttle wrote, "Our work in Utah is more like Foreign than Domestic Missions. Into this

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 247.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 154.

work by far the largest portion of the generous supplies of money from Eastern givers must be poured. And this must continue so long as this monstrous Mormon delusion holds firm its sway.”⁵⁵ Clearly, in spite of Tuttle’s commitment to public neutrality with the LDS Church, in private he remained deeply critical of the exceptional community.

Throughout the fall and winter of 1869-70, Tuttle continued working in Salt Lake City, focusing his energies on building churches there, and in Corrine and other communities. On September 19 Tuttle advanced missionaries Thomas Haskins, Edward Goddard, and George Foote to the priesthood, and on December 11 sent Foote to the East to raise funds for a proposed cathedral church. Both these activities would prove critical to the vitality of the Episcopal Communion, since additional churches would require more priests and St. Mark’s Cathedral Church—one of Tuttle’s greatest material achievements in Utah—would necessitate a vast supply of denominational subsidies. Significantly, however, they also impacted immediate efforts to plant an Episcopal parish in Ogden, an “eminently Mormon town” located thirty-five miles to the north.⁵⁶

Besides establishing parish schools as forerunners of Episcopalian churches, Tuttle’s mission strategy in Utah included placing church-sponsored institutions in key strategic towns throughout the territory. While the Corrine mission and church would ultimately play a minor role in the territory’s history, its placement is indicative of Tuttle’s commitment to using extant conditions in Utah—in this case America’s western expansion via transcontinental railroad—to the advancement of his religious mission. It also reveals that Tuttle used his churches as tokens in a game of religious brinksmanship

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 3rd Annual Report, 69.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Reminiscences, 255.

with the LDS Church, which beginning in the late 1860s had inaugurated a series of defensive measures against increasing Gentile encroachment. On 17 May 1869, for example, Mormon workers began construction on the Utah Central Line, linking Salt Lake City with Ogden and the transcontinental railroad completed one week prior. Although expanded transportation increased the prospect of Zion's secular assimilation, it also provided improved access for LDS neophytes immigrating from America and Europe, in addition to furthering opportunities for Mormon farmers to profit from trade with passing pioneers.⁵⁷ Significantly, it also promised to precipitate the gradual decline of Corrine, the Gentile capital of the territory.⁵⁸

With Tuttle's approval, Episcopal priest Thomas Haskins thus commenced mission activity in Ogden in January 1870. Haskins began religious services on the 20th in the passenger waiting room of the newly completed railroad depot. Although Ogden had a population of five thousand people, only a few of these met on Sundays although weekly attendance increased from one to thirty-nine between the winter and mid-July. On July 18 Haskins rescinded duties to make way for missionaries James and Lucelia Gillogly, a husband-wife team recruited from the University of Connecticut by George Foote in the fall of 1869. Like Haskins, the Gillogly's hosted gatherings in the Ogden Central depot, in addition to unused rail cars and a nearby saloon. Between the summer and fall, the Ogden mission grew rapidly, particularly after transcontinental agent William Cook began bringing his wife and friends to Sunday services.⁵⁹ To

⁵⁷ Arrington provides a detailed analysis of LDS railroad strategy in Brigham Young, 348-51, and The Mormon Experience, 174-5.

⁵⁸ Quinn writes that until the mid-1870s, non-LDS referred to the town as "Corrine the Fair, the Gentile Capital of Utah," 24.

⁵⁹ Lucelia Gillogly, "Early Missionary Life in Ogden, Utah," 1900, Alameda, California, 1, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 14 FD 1.

accommodate the group, Tuttle appropriated \$465 for mission expenses, a portion of which went towards securing a larger venue—a vacant saloon—on the corner of 5th and Wall Street renting for \$6 per month.⁶⁰ Signifying the influence of the Ogden church, Lucelia Gillogly claimed that during the 1870s the local LDS community worked to discourage the Episcopalian outsiders:

Of course the Mormons did everything in their power to keep us from getting a foothold. . . . Mud and stones were thrown at our place of meeting and jeering noises were made round about. Any whom we approached were warned to have nothing to do with us on pain of expulsion from their church or boycotting in business. The children were taught that we were terrors come to work them great harm, and I have seen them run at our approach as if we were lions from the jungle.⁶¹

At the same time that the Ogden mission got under way, efforts to establish St. Mark's Cathedral Church also begun in downtown Salt Lake City. The cathedral, or principal church of the bishop's diocese, or district, had been planned since Tuttle's arrival in July 1867, although it was not until several years later that men and means sufficed to warrant the new construction. According to annual reports, eighty-three communicants presently attended Independence Hall, in addition to 248 participants in the mission's weekly Sunday school.⁶² Churches had been planted in Corrine and Ogden and staffed with designated personnel, and parish funds had risen from less than \$10,000 annually to more than \$35,000 beginning in 1870.⁶³ Furthermore, property records indicate that the Episcopal mission had acquired substantial space in Salt Lake City, particularly after laymen banker Warren Hussey secured a lot in early 1870 for a

⁶⁰ Daniel Tuttle, 4th Annual Report, Boise, Idaho, September 19, 1870, 65, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

⁶¹ Gillogly, 2-4.

⁶² Tuttle, 4th Annual Report, 67-8.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1st Annual Report, 48; Daniel Tuttle, 2nd Annual Report, Morris, New York, September 23, 1868, 113, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1; 3rd Annual Report, 71; 4th Annual Report, 67.

reasonable price; later that year, he furnished the mission with a \$15,000 building loan.⁶⁴ Thus on July 30, 1870, with local contractors preparing to build the next day, Tuttle laid the cornerstone of St. Mark's Cathedral Church at 231 East/100 South. Architect Richard Upjohn Sr., a leading figure in the American Gothic Revival as well as an Episcopal layman, had designed the building made of timber and sandstone taken from local forests and quarries.⁶⁵ As with St. Mark's Grammar School and St. Mark's Hospital, St. Mark's Cathedral Church manifested both the conservative building tendencies of western pioneers as well as the continued expansion of the new urban West. Architectural historian Harold Kalman writes, "As in earlier frontiers the pioneers recreated the kinds of churches they had known at home in whatever the manner the new environment allowed. By the 1850s and 1860s the Gothic Revival had come to dominate American and Canadian church design; this became the standard mode in the new mining town."⁶⁶

* * * * *

Throughout July and continuing from August until October 1870, Tuttle made his annual summer visitation to Montana and Idaho, observing the numerical progress of parishes there. Since 1867 Episcopal congregants in the North had increased from just a few to almost eighty, and were responsible for church property totaling approximately \$11,100.⁶⁷ Four clergymen administered the region, forcing Tuttle to devote a significant

⁶⁴ "How Our Church Came to Our Country," 4.

⁶⁵ Episcopal historian David Holmes writes, "Upjohn's orthodoxy was sufficiently firm that he refused an invitation to design a leading Unitarian church in Boston because he opposed that denomination's denial of the incarnation." David Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1993), 105.

⁶⁶ Harold Kalman and John de Visser, *Pioneer Churches* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1976), 179.

⁶⁷ Tuttle, *4th Annual Report*, 69.

amount of time to assisting subordinates with assigned tasks. Thus on July 28 Tuttle held services in Bannack, Montana, before traveling in August to Boise and Silver City, Idaho.⁶⁸ Although Tuttle recognized that his missions in the North required more supervision—an observation culminating in petitions to relinquish oversight of Montana—he nevertheless made Salt Lake City his priority, returning to Utah on the 5th of October. The most important business there included transitioning St. Mark’s mission to official parish status, a process demanding increased organization and full time oversight by a resident priest. On November 12 Tuttle circulated a letter advertising a organizational meeting at Hussey’s First National Bank. Three days later, St. Mark’s mission became a formal parish body.

Organizing the parish had not been Tuttle’s idea but rather that of his Episcopal congregants. But, sensitive to his parishioners’ requests, in addition to personally hoping for a unified community with the cathedral at the symbolic center, Tuttle agreed to their proposal.⁶⁹ Records reveal, however, that his motives were initially thwarted at a November 18 meeting to elect a cathedral rector, or head pastor. At the session, which Tuttle did not attend, the vestry elected the bishop by a five to two vote, irritating George Foote who had returned in May with \$18,000 in cathedral funds and was expecting the post as recognition for his contribution. On November 19 Foote resigned, informing colleagues that he planned to leave the following winter. Years later, Tuttle claimed that he foresaw Foote’s loss because of internal animosity stemming from Hussey, who presumably viewed the bishop’s brother-in-law as unfit for the job.⁷⁰ In an attempt to

⁶⁸ Ibid., “Episcopal Register” #190-209.

⁶⁹ Ibid., *Reminiscences*, 384.

⁷⁰ Possibly one reason Hussey did not like Foote was that he believed the young, headstrong missionary disrupted relations with Brigham Young, with whom Hussey had worked carefully to cultivate. Four

quell the situation, Tuttle had tried unsuccessfully to persuade Foote to avoid the vote, nominate him rector, and then receive his appointment as assistant.⁷¹ Hurt by the experience, Tuttle in December confessed to colleague Edward N. Goddard, “So troubles interior here are precipitated upon me. I am sorry to lose George and must take the church building matter entirely upon myself. . . . Mr. and Mrs. White and mother are indignantly aroused for George; and so family unpleasantnesses, even, arise. Dear friend, were it the Lord’s will, how much happier I would be at Morris.”⁷²

For the remainder of the year, Tuttle attempted to reestablish parish stability. In November and December Tuttle met with vestry, or council, members to outline his role as the cathedral rector. He explained that as the bishop his priority would remain the mission field generally, with the parish and cathedral providing further opportunities to act as a pastor. He also required a yearly salary and a vestry-nominated assistant; in 1871 Episcopal priest Reynold M. Kirby would become cathedral dean, or full-time pastor.⁷³ Finally, Tuttle related his plan of financing the \$45,000 cathedral, which would include mortgaging the new church for a \$40,000 loan, securing the loan during his upcoming eastern tour, and then gathering interest payments from congregants at St. Mark’s parish.⁷⁴ Because the vestry included local businessmen, such as financier Warren

months prior to Foote and Tuttle’s meeting with Young in July 1867, Hussey had written to Tuttle, “In a conversation [that I] had with Prest. Young since receipt of your letter he has only reiterated former statements, and assured me no minister, nor anyone else, who w’d come here and mind their own business, need have the slightest fear of being disturbed by the Mormons.” He then continued, “Prest. Young and the Mormon Church are, in my opinion, the worst lied about, if I may use this expression, of any living people. . . . The Mormons and their leaders . . . are determined to live here in peace and harmony and do justice to all; and they are utterly and absolutely unwilling to give money and support to any minister who will come here and get himself and friends into trouble.” Ibid., 58-60.

⁷¹ Ibid., 388.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Daniel Tuttle, 5th Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 2, 1871, 5, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

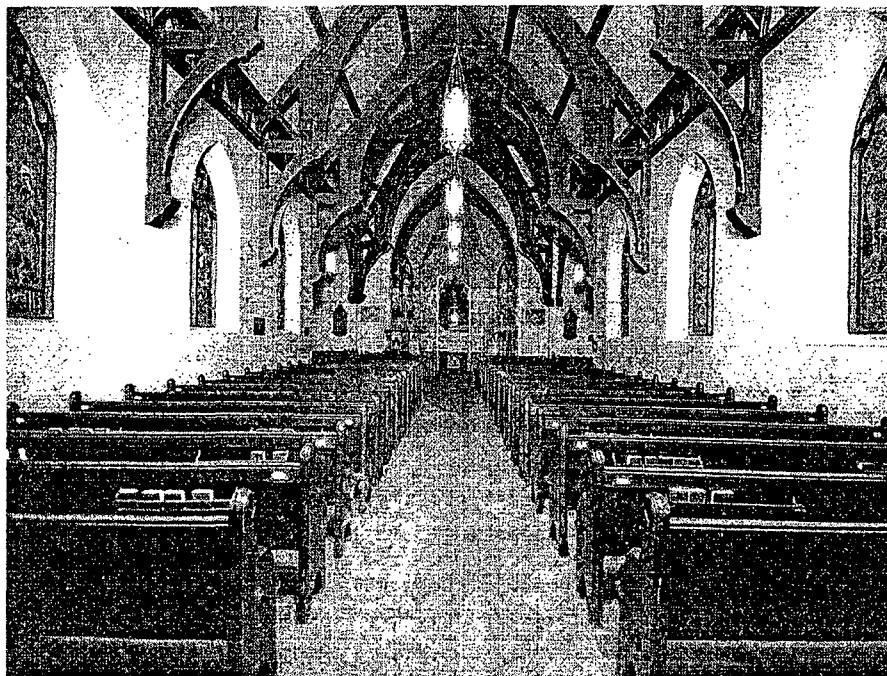
⁷⁴ Ibid., Reminiscences, 389; “Episcopal Register” #282-92.

Hussey and Roman Catholic merchant Mr. Callihan, the bishop also appears to have discussed pressing fiscal measures for the upcoming year.⁷⁵



Figure 11: St. Mark's Cathedral Church, c. 1880

Figure 12: Cathedral interior, c. 1880



⁷⁵ Tuttle, "Episcopal Register" #218.

While Tuttle's religious career in frontier Utah manifested several important themes within the Protestant Episcopal Church, his church-building strategy in particular appeared to be shaped by events developing within Salt Lake City and surrounding locales. Despite Tuttle's claim to have focused efforts on building up the Episcopal Communion while withholding attacks on the LDS community, evidence indicates that the bishop nevertheless worked in accordance with pronounced changes in the Mormon Church which weakened the institution in the years after the Civil War. In 1868, for example, English-born neophyte William Godbe began leading protests against Brigham Young and the LDS Church, particularly Young's commitment to personal domination over secular and economic matters. A successful miner and businessman, Godbe, together with merchant friends, criticized church leadership in the Utah Magazine, later known as the Salt Lake Tribune. In an attempt to consolidate his experimental community, Young excommunicated the "Godbeites" in October 1869. By January 1870, however, the decision appears to have backfired as the break-away group established the highly influential LDS Liberal Party.⁷⁶ While on a reconnaissance mission to Utah, Vice President Schuyler Colfax witnessed the Mormon fissure, presumably making mental notes about the fate of Young and his recalcitrant community.

At the same time as the Godbeite schism, Tuttle went ahead with plans to further empower churches in Ogden and Salt Lake City. In December 1870 the Ogden mission moved from its original location to a vacant corner tannery lot, purchased for \$1,500 from a self-proclaimed liberal, Henry Lawrence.⁷⁷ The move appears to have been facilitated by New York layman John D. Wolfe, "the Prince of Givers," who together

⁷⁶ The most definitive account of the Godbeite schism is Ronald Walker's published Ph.D. dissertation, Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

⁷⁷ Tuttle, "Episcopal Register" #239.

with Episcopal patrons in the East committed \$3,000 in December to promoting religious orthodoxy in Ogden.⁷⁸ Tuttle, a cordial acquaintance of Wolfe, personally received this sum and then apportioned it to Ogden's Church of the Good Shepherd to help finance its move and yearly expenses.⁷⁹ Besides working for the Ogden mission, Tuttle also focused his attention on St. Mark's Cathedral. On May 21, 1871, Tuttle preached to congregants assembled for the building's first service, given in the basement of the half-completed structure. Two hundred people attended the occasion with more than fifty turned away for lack of space. Encouraged by the event, Tuttle confidently proclaimed that by construction's end in September, "Our church proper . . . will seat about four hundred. It [will be] a most substantial church; the walls and bell tower, and cross, of honest, massive stone, with a dry, light, and well ventilated basement for our Sunday school of two hundred and twenty scholars."⁸⁰

By September 1871, however, financial records indicate that St. Mark's parish was approximately \$20,000 in debt, due mainly to costs associated with the new cathedral. Yet Tuttle remained convinced that his building policy had accommodated, if not encouraged, the growth of the Episcopal Communion in Utah. One hundred and seven communicants now attended Tuttle's three parish churches, along with twenty-nine Sunday school teachers and three hundred and three scholars. Besides raising and appropriating church funds, Tuttle also believed he should also increase his mission's physical presence. Embracing a keen understanding of the psychological impact of non-

⁷⁸ Gillogly, 4.

⁷⁹ In 1871, for example, Tuttle noted that he diverted nearly \$3,000 to Ogden for its yearly expenses. Tuttle, 5th Annual Report, 6.

⁸⁰ Daniel Tuttle, "A Letter from Bishop Tuttle," Spirit of Missions, July 1871, 305-06, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1. Tuttle continued, "I do believe that our cross-crowned church, with its complete appointments of order and beauty, will be a standing preacher here, working mightily if quiet influences in behalf of reverence and true religion."

LDS religious buildings, Tuttle wrote in his yearly report, “I am sorry for this [cathedral debt]; but I must be allowed to say that I am glad to have the church solid, substantial, beautiful, with no sham about it, and no ostentation either, costly because of its excellence and beauty. . . . In this home of defiling heresy, that our Church structure is markedly beautiful and eminently strong is certainly a help to us in our moral and spiritual work.”⁸¹

To offset economic pressure, Tuttle on September 6 traveled to the American East to gather funds. Donations from outside parishes still accounted for the majority of Utah’s parish budget, equaling almost 99 percent in the previous year.⁸² Despite earnest attempts to sever its financial dependence, St. Mark’s mission experienced the bulk of its material growth in the 1870s and 80s as a result of Atlantic-based investments. Cognizant of Tuttle’s ability as a fundraiser, the LDS Church monitored his movements while away, criticizing him for his apparent two-faced stance against the Mormon community. Upon Tuttle’s return to Salt Lake City in March 1872, the Deseret News reported that Tuttle, the “sly dog,” was now back from his “begging tour in the East.”⁸³

* * * * *

As examined in previous chapters, women played a critical role in the daily operations of Utah’s Episcopal mission. As teachers, fundraisers, and hospital/social workers, they filled a variety of positions in Tuttle’s scholastic and medical institutions.

⁸¹ Ibid., 5th Annual Report, 28.

⁸² Spirit of Missions, 21 May 1870, EDUR ACCN 426 BOX. In 1870, the magazine noted that 98.8 percent of Tuttle’s \$19,503.05 in donation money came from parishes east of the Mississippi River.

⁸³ Deseret News, 20 March 1872, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 20 FD 1.

Furthermore, as Episcopal women, they assumed a host of informal, or extra-church-duties related to their religious calling. Although the office of pastor would be reserved for men only until 1976, the Episcopal Church in the late nineteenth century nevertheless provided visible opportunities for female mission work, particularly with the creation of the national Women's Auxiliary in 1872 and the position of "deaconess" twelve years later.⁸⁴ In Utah, this national development manifested itself on many different levels, with Tuttle attentive to the significant contributions of St. Mark's women. In 1869, for example, he noted that his wife, Harriet, together with others, began spontaneously raising monies for a proposed cathedral organ.⁸⁵ Four years later, Tuttle praised national auxiliary members for assuming the remaining \$8,000 balance on the Salt Lake cathedral.⁸⁶ He also thanked women for their ministerial functions. About Harriet, Tuttle once wrote, "if the duties laid upon me have been at all successfully discharged, it has been her wise judgment and rare efficiency and unwearied activity that have made the success due."⁸⁷ In addition, he recognized that laywomen like Emily Pearsall (d. 1872) routinely performed such sacred acts as "baptizing and burying when no clergymen were available" and ministering to the city's sick and suffering.⁸⁸

In January 1873 missionary operations commenced once again, this time in Logan, Utah, an aspiring trade/transportation center located fifty miles to the north of Ogden. In previous years Logan had emerged as a second-generation Mormon

⁸⁴ David Holmes, A Brief History of the Episcopal Church (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press, 1993), 168; Mary Donovan, "Women Missionaries in Utah," Anglican and Episcopal History LXVI (June 1997), 171.

⁸⁵ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 250.

⁸⁶ Daniel Tuttle, 7th Annual Report, Boise, Idaho, September 23, 1873, 3, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Reminiscences, 248.

⁸⁸ Mary Donovan, A Different Call: Women's Ministries in the Episcopal Church 1850-1914 (Wilton, Connecticut: Morehouse-Barlow, 1986,) 156; "In Memoriam," Spirit of Missions, January 1873, 79-80, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

settlement, precipitated in part by the development of the LDS-sponsored Utah Northern Railroad. Like the Ogden Central, the Northern Line had been built by Mormons to consolidate their interests, divert traffic from Corrine, and connect the western territory to the outside world.⁸⁹ Consequently, Logan possessed a solid Mormon majority with local townspeople collectively acting as an outer perimeter of LDS expansion, or defense. To enlarge his mission at the expense of his religious adversaries, Tuttle focused his efforts on Logan, entering the community on 31 January 1871, the official completion date of the Utah Northern Line.⁹⁰ While records are sparse, it appears that shortly after arriving Tuttle and Episcopal clergyman William Stoy secured a temporary dwelling on the corner of 3rd and Washington.⁹¹ The building, a vacant bakery, had been formerly owned by Aaron Dewitt, an English ex-LDS recently marginalized by the Zion Cooperative Mercantile Association (1868) for presumably trading with Gentile outsiders.⁹² An Episcopal recusant, Dewitt seems to have influenced Tuttle's decision to purchase the property for a future church. Records indicate that Tuttle and Stoy also received real-estate counsel from Joseph Richardson, a New York investor and layman who along with his brother, Benjamin, had negotiated a deal with Brigham Young's son, John, to finance the rails and equipment for the proposed Northern road.⁹³

⁸⁹ Leonard Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 283.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 285.

⁹¹ Tuttle, "Episcopal Register," #363.

⁹² A.J. Simmonds, "Strength Out of Zion: A History of St. John's Episcopal Church and the Anglican Presence in the Cache Valley," *Logan, Utah*, 1985, 4, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 14 FD 3. Previously in October 1868, Brigham Young declared that "a Latter-day Saint should not trade with an outsider." For more on the Zion Mercantile Association, see Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 243; James Beless, "Daniel S. Tuttle, Missionary Bishop of Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly 27 (October 1959): 366.

⁹³ Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 283; Deseret News, 9 April 1873, USHS. On September 23, 1873, Tuttle noted in his annual report that a wealthy New York investor—presumably Richardson—planned to finance a Logan church building, saying, "a gentleman of New York, interested in the Utah Northern Railroad, is kindly promising us help to build a church." Tuttle, 7th Annual Report, 4.

On the 5th of February Tuttle departed from Logan, placing the mission in charge of Stoy. Tuttle reported that he planned to allocate the priest \$500 as a yearly stipend to be used for his future housing and traveling expenses. Besides financial information, little else is known about the early history of St. John's Episcopal mission in Logan. Utah State University curator of Special Collections A.J. Simmonds has, however, demonstrated that from the beginning of the mission, many participants were ex-LDS ostracized by the Church hierarchy for opposing priestly oversight. Simmonds writes, "The major figures in the [Mormon] church trials of those years, the leaders of the opposition to theocracy, are the same heads of families that appear in the first Parish Registers at St. John's."⁹⁴ In addition to Simmonds' sources, this contention seems probable in light of the fact that in September 1873 Stoy rented a building in Logan from ex-Mormon William Sherman, and that Tuttle in the same month noted that 144 of 244 baptisms in Utah thus far had been former LDS.⁹⁵ In addition to the Godbeite schism in 1869, Tuttle also used the territory's numerous recusants to advance the Episcopal Communion, both to fill his congregations and to secure property.

Throughout the remainder of 1873, Tuttle continued the administrative duties of his Episcopal mission, overseeing personnel, reporting gains and losses, preaching, baptizing, and securing needed funds for the enterprise's continued growth. But while the majority of his energies went toward fostering the Salt Lake Communion, Tuttle's personal register indicates that he also devoted a generous portion of time to parishioners in Montana and Idaho. From July 2, 1873, until the 3rd of September of the same year, Tuttle traveled throughout Montana, visiting Bannack, Bozeman, Stevensville, and

⁹⁴ Simmonds, 6.

⁹⁵ Daniel Tuttle, "What the Church is Doing for the Mormons in Salt Lake City," *The Spirit of Missions*, May 1873, 343, EDUR ACCN 426 BOX 24 FD 3.

Missoula, and from September 10 to the 23rd in Boise, Kelton, and Silver City, Idaho.⁹⁶ Since 1867 Episcopalians in the North had increased to nearly one hundred congregants and 166 Sunday school members, particularly in the rich agricultural regions of the Bitterroot and Snake River Valleys.⁹⁷ Furthermore, they had managed to secure a degree of permanency in the “stony ground” of the northern frontier in spite of the limited attention of two horse-mounted clergymen.

Attempting to juggle many responsibilities at once, Tuttle in Boise on September 23 produced his annual report for 1873. In addition to requesting increased manpower for his northern missions, he also noted that the Salt Lake City parish had continued to grow in numbers and influence. Sunday attendance at St. Mark’s Cathedral now witnessed 175 congregants and 264 Sunday school attendees. Furthermore, the cathedral was entirely debt free due in part to the patronage of the London-based SPCK, or Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.⁹⁸ Ogden’s Church of the Good Shepherd had also continued to expand with twenty-three communicants. The mission had also recently received \$4,000 in building subsidies for a future Memorial Church, proposed several months prior by John Hamersley, a New York City attorney whose children Tuttle had tutored while a graduate student at General Theological Seminary.⁹⁹ Hamersley had remained close friends with Tuttle after his move to Utah, and following the death of his daughter, Catherine Livingston, he chose the bishop to be the recipient of his commemorative funds; in April 1874, Tuttle would lay the cornerstone of the new \$11,000 stone building. While noting advances, Tuttle remained realistic about missions

⁹⁶ Ibid., “Episcopal Register” #401-10; #415-23.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 7th Annual Report, 8.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 3.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 4; The Hamersley family, however, ultimately contributed \$11,000 to the church. Ibid., Reminiscences, 52.

work, particularly in the towns of Corrine and Logan. About the former, he noted that congregational giving and attendance remained small, admitting that his decision to plant had been “miscalculated.”¹⁰⁰ Sixty miles from Salt Lake City, Corrine seemed to have reveled in its isolation from the religious and cultural norms of more settled communities.¹⁰¹ It also appears to have floundered under the mismanagement of Ballard Dunn, a third-rate missionary and ex- Confederate soldier who spent much of his time mining for gold.¹⁰² In Logan, too, Tuttle noted that Sunday attendees were few, due presumably to community pressure placed on local ex-LDS from siding with Episcopal outsiders. Because of these challenges, the bishop counseled prayer, patience, and continued financial assistance “from outside.”¹⁰³

In addition to serving as an administrator and fundraiser, Tuttle also assumed the role of pastor. Thus far, the clearest examples of this function have been Tuttle’s ministry in Helena and Virginia City, Montana, between 1867 and 1869, and his works of compassion as a co-founder of St. Mark’s Hospital. In addition to these, however, other instances remain to provide a fuller account of the bishop-as-minister. Tuttle was a former teacher trained in theology at Columbia College and General Theological Seminary, New York.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, he had been reared in a Methodist family that

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Cal Berkley scholar Brigham Madsen writes, “Corrine reflected the optimism and hopes of Utah Gentiles to fashion a successful livelihood and a satisfying life and culture in the midst of Mormondom. To the young people of Corinne the raw, western, end-of-the-trail town provided a fascinating setting for participation in many activities.” He then suggested that churches essentially failed in their attempts to compete for the time and attention of townspeople: “The sons and daughters of Corrine were not too often encouraged to attend Sabbath School, and divine service seemed to be a rather hit-and-miss affair. . . . The atmosphere towards Sabbath observance was much different in Salt Lake City where fifteen boys were arrested and fined \$2.50 apiece for playing baseball on Sunday.” Brigham Madsen, “Frolics and Free Schools for the Youthful Gentiles of Corrine,” Utah Historical Quarterly 48 (Summer 1980): 221-22.

¹⁰² Quinn, 24.

¹⁰³ Tuttle, 7th Annual Report, 4.

¹⁰⁴ Frederick Quinn, email interview by author, 6 June 2006.

presumably experienced the last gasps of the Second Great Awakening.¹⁰⁵ Finally, as a boy he had observed his father and rector, Thomas Judd, live-out their religious callings as denominational holy men.¹⁰⁶ It was thus natural for Tuttle to use the office of bishop to encourage personal religious faith. At the First Annual Convocation on May 27, 1874, for example, Tuttle admonished fellow missionaries gathering in Salt Lake City to embrace a broad view of the Church in order to entice Christian conversion: “The Church is not a mere voluntary society, charged only to give benefit to those who enter but a trustee of the Lord’s holding in stewardship the unsearchable riches of Christ and bound in duty to send out the offer of these blessings into all the earth.”¹⁰⁷ Later, in 1879, Tuttle betrayed his pastoral care for children when writing to parish ministers,

Master their names, brother Minister mine, and get at their hearts, all you can. Speak to them on the streets; show your interest in them; and let them grow to know and like you as an example, a teacher, a friend, and a kind of big brother of their own. . . . Out of your looks, your smiles, your words, your acts, will flow into the children’s lives influences that will beget more natural good than any one thing, probably, that you do.¹⁰⁸

He also sought to involve children in missions work. In an annual message to the Episcopal Church, Tuttle wrote,

There is a spring by the side of big rock. The sweet cool waters burst out and run away in a brooklet. A boy thinks he will put his hand or foot over the spring and keep the waters back. He can’t do it. They will bubble up or flow over and run

¹⁰⁵ In 1858, New York witnessed an outpouring of religious enthusiasm, both in the city and the country. Historians have typically understood this event as result of the long strain of slavery, as well as the Panic of 1857. For more information, see Smith, 63-6.

¹⁰⁶ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 459.

¹⁰⁷ Proceedings of the First Convocation of the Clergy and Laity of the Missionary District Comprising the Territories of Montana, Idaho, and Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., May 27, 1874, 14, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 12 FD 4.

¹⁰⁸ Journal of the Annual Convocation of the Clergy and Laity of the Missionary District of Montana, Idaho, and Utah, Virginia City, Montana, July 13-14, 1879, 15, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 12 FD 4.

down the brook-bed, laughing at him. In doing the Saviour's work of missions, you are like that spring. I believe in you, I thank you. I love you.¹⁰⁹

Tuttle also sought to reach the public at large. As a "low" churchman, his informal and evangelical style allowed him to bring the high-brow, liturgy-based Episcopal religion to unconventional places, and to reach an audience that in the words of Notre Dame historian Nathan Hatch, viewed religion "as a matter of choice instead of custom" and preferred its religious leaders to be "unpretentious, their doctrines self-evident and down-to-earth."¹¹⁰ Recalling Tuttle's ministry in Idaho, an Episcopal missionary in 1904 wrote,

Shall I ever forget that night we spent at Trotter's Hotel, Rock Creek! . . . We were a mixed crowd that night; but the bishop and his coadjutor looked as tough and dirty as the others. Oh, my! I can see those great grizzled men watching each other through their opened fingers as they were kneeling down while you read family prayers. I tell you I admired your nerve. That was work.¹¹¹

A final part of Tuttle's pastoral ministry included proselytizing the LDS community. While Tuttle refrained from direct theological confrontation, he nevertheless encouraged Christian conversion through performing public acts of charity, virtue, and service. He also welcomed ex-LDS converts and accepted their baptisms, believing that religious rites derived their spiritual legitimacy from their eternal, not temporal, source.¹¹² But while his relationship with Young and the LDS Church remained basically peaceful,

¹⁰⁹ Tuttle quoted in Charles Rehkopf, "The Episcopate of Bishop Tuttle," Missouri Historical Society Bulletin (April 1962): 226.

¹¹⁰ Nathan Hatch, Democratization of American Christianity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 117, 9. As indicated, this prize-winning book examines the pronounced democratic character of Christianity and other offshoot religions in the nineteenth century. Joseph Smith and the LDS Church come under scrutiny in chapter three, "Thundering Legions," 67-125.

¹¹¹ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 483. David Holmes has argued that the Episcopal Church suffered in the plebian nineteenth century West because it "generally attracted the more prosperous and educated people. . . . Protestants accustomed to emotional sermons and to extemporaneous worship often found Anglicanism too formal and too worldly." Holmes, 66-7.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 337-8.

it also evidenced moments of tension. In 1874, for example, when a natural spring burst near St. Mark's Cathedral Church and a lightning bolt hit a Roman Catholic steeple, local Mormons cited the events as "marked reproofs to the intrusive entrance of the 'ungodly' into their city."¹¹³ Other instances, however, portray the general sense of respect and co-habitation between the bishop and the LDS community. On November 28, 1877, for instance, the Deseret News reviewed with pleasure Tuttle's public lecture on Mormonism:

Bishop Tuttle's defense of the "Mormons" and attack on their doctrines have made quite a stir among the pious. His denunciations, taken alone, are approved by the cavaliers, but his plain truths about the sobriety, honesty and devoted faith of the Latter-day Saints displease many bigoted people, who know nothing of the facts of the case, but have formed their opinions from newspaper stories and anti-Mormon romances.¹¹⁴

By contrast, the non-LDS Daily Tribune ridiculed Tuttle, expressing the frustration of mainstream denominations devoted to disestablishing the Mormon alternative: "Bishop Tuttle might truthfully have put in a word for the honest followers of the Church. . . . As a Christian minister . . . it was incumbent on him to set forth in clear language the flagitious character of the Mormon priesthood."¹¹⁵ Clearly, part of Tuttle's significance in Utah was his balanced relationship with the Episcopal Communion and the LDS Church. While serving and embracing the standards of one, he respectfully disagreed with the doctrines and converts of the other.

¹¹³ Daniel Tuttle, 8th Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 25, 1874, 1, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

¹¹⁴ "Can Good Spring Out of Evil?" Deseret News, 28 November 1877, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 20 FD 1.

¹¹⁵ Daily Tribune, 11 November 1877, USHS.

By the mid-1870s St. Mark's Episcopal Parish represented a formidable religious presence in Utah, numbering 243 communicants and 620 Sunday school participants attending four churches in Logan, Corrine, Ogden, and Salt Lake City. Thus far, every church had demonstrated a pattern of slow, incremental growth except for Corrine, which would close in the following decade. Numerical growth, while not an exclusive goal, nonetheless remained important to Tuttle since he recognized that bodies and buildings were critical to public influence. Following the completion of the transcontinental railroad in May 1869, additional denominations began arriving in the territory. Indicative of the growing religious plurality in Gilded Age Utah, Baptists, Methodists, Roman Catholics, and Presbyterians joined Episcopalians in establishing churches and schools intended to gain converts and assert Christianity in the territory's unorthodox atmosphere.¹¹⁶ Masonic lodges, present in Utah since the mid-1850s, also emerged in greater numbers to assist isolated Gentiles.¹¹⁷ Embracing an ecumenical, or interdenominational, outlook, Tuttle welcomed the united missionary effort, offering on occasion services and buildings to the newly arrived groups.¹¹⁸ But while Tuttle cooperated with other Christian clerics, he focused primarily on his particular Church,

¹¹⁶ Historian T. Edgar Lyon has argued that anti-Mormonism was a key rallying point for mainstream Christian denominations in Utah and the West, generally: "Unable to unite in their Christian endeavors on anything except their distrust of Mormonism . . . [they] announced their determination to arouse American public opinion and thus block any attempt of Utah to acquire statehood. . . . United on these principles, the evangelical churches generated a great amount of anti-Mormon propaganda throughout the country through their constituent churches." Lyon, 298.

¹¹⁷ Quinn, 125.

¹¹⁸ For example, Tuttle recorded loaning Independence Hall, as well as organist Fidelia Hamilton, to the Methodists.

devoting himself to administrative and financial duties supportive of Episcopal advancement in Utah.

Generally, one of the most significant ways that Tuttle facilitated parish operations was by managing church funds—congregational giving, missionary subscriptions, and annual expenses, in particular. Although parish priests recorded individual church finances, Tuttle remained the final authority over all fiscal matters. As such, he assumed this function to perpetuate the material prosperity of St. Mark's Parish. Many of his deeds were for specific churches. In 1873, for example, he secured the \$15,000 building loan on St. Mark's Cathedral, furnished two years earlier by Episcopal banker Warren Hussey. Following the bankruptcy in September of several railroad financiers in Philadelphia and the East—an event triggering the Panic of 1873—Tuttle quickly gathered funds to satisfy the issuing institution. Ultimately, he and others, including New York layman Cortland De Peyster Field, raised \$2,000, with Tuttle mortgaging the remaining \$13,000 on parish school property.¹¹⁹ Other acts were less heroic but no less significant. In January 1876 Tuttle allocated parish donations to purchase two additional lots for St. John's Episcopal mission in Logan. With seventeen communicants and seventy-three Sunday school participants, the mission used the property to build a new, large, centrally located church during the following year.¹²⁰ In Ogden and Corrine, too, Tuttle allocated funds to foster parish growth, appropriating over

¹¹⁹ Tuttle, *Reminiscences*, 392.

¹²⁰ Daniel Tuttle, *11th Annual Report*, Virginia City, Montana, August 18, 1877, 3, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

\$1,500 to the former in 1874 for a spacious new Sunday school, and a portion of his \$15,000 operating budget to stimulate activity in the latter.¹²¹

Other acts were intended for the financial betterment of St. Mark's Parish in general. In addition to rallying subscriptions during his annual visitations to the East, Tuttle also kept track of parish debts and investments. Records from 1877 show, for example, that Tuttle alerted Episcopal readers to the fact that parish debt presently equaled \$9,000 with over half the sum accruing yearly interest.¹²² As the amount had been leftover from previous years, Tuttle exclaimed in 1876 that national giving still remained necessary despite local efforts to make the frontier parish a self-sustaining operation: "If you desert us we are an army in the field, without commissariat, and how can we keep fit for duty?"¹²³ Tuttle also personally managed special financial gifts, such as stocks, long-term funds, and Women's Auxiliary "specials," typically placing them in savings banks or parish trusts. After receiving \$1,000 in railroad stock from a wealthy New York City attorney, for example, Tuttle noted in 1875 that he promptly invested them at a local bank to earn eight percent interest plus the principal on return.¹²⁴

As the chief director of personnel, Tuttle further supported St. Mark's practical stability by assigning parish priests to their appropriate places. For instance, Tuttle's personal register indicates that in September 1875 the bishop responded to personnel shortages at St. Mark's Cathedral by assigning Gordon B. Miller to the position of cathedral assistant, a high-level post suitable to him as a seasoned former missionary in

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 8th Annual Report, 113-4; Daniel Tuttle, 12th Annual Report, Fort Shaw, Montana, August 10, 1878, 2-4, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

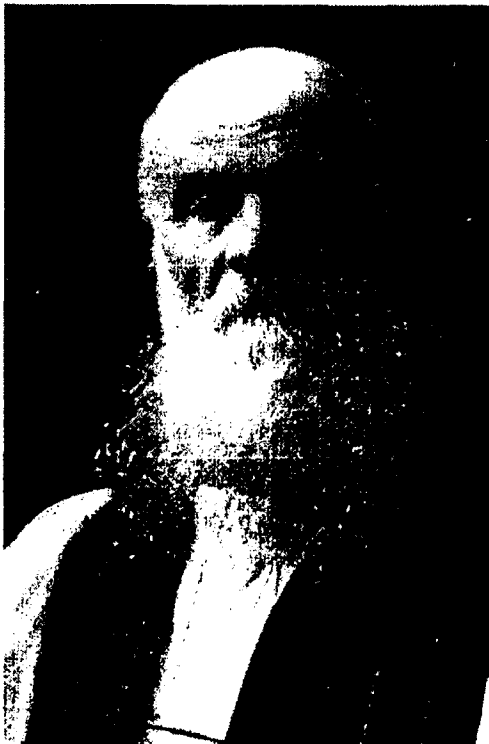
¹²² *Ibid.*, 11th Annual Report, 4.

¹²³ Daniel Tuttle, 10th Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 19, 1876, 6, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

¹²⁴ Daniel Tuttle, 9th Annual Report, Helena, Montana, September 7, 1875, 5, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

Japan.¹²⁵ To facilitate the day-to-day operations at St. John's mission in pro-Mormon Logan, Tuttle in 1874 directed former parish school student and ex-LDS Frederick Cook to the post of resident priest. Finally, in a last ditch effort to jumpstart operations at Corrine's Chapel of the Good Samaritan, Tuttle four years later requested St. Mark's Hospital director and longtime missionary H.H. Prout to take over weekly and Sunday services. Besides making financial and administrative decisions, Tuttle also lent his support to the basic workaday existence of St. Mark's Parish by performing general odds and ends, including gathering religious accoutrements, such as surplices, communion silver, and altar linens, in addition to prayer and instructional books, items typically sent by national church aid associations following Tuttle's personal and written petitions.¹²⁶

Figure 13: Bishop Tuttle, c. 1915



Tuttle's most significant contributions before leaving Utah to assume the bishopric of Missouri in 1886 were the development of two additional churches, one located in Plain City in 1876 and the other in downtown Salt Lake three years later. As with previous institutions, Tuttle played a general oversight role in the development of these parishes, doling out funds, shuffling clergymen, and leading services at inchoate congregations in need of spiritual support, counsel, and

encouragement. Besides these duties, however, the remaining day-to-day issues were left

¹²⁵ Daniel Tuttle, 6th Annual Report, Boise, Idaho, September 21, 1872, 5, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 1.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 5th Annual Report, 31.

to subordinate personnel. But as previously indicated, part of what made Tuttle significant as a church builder was his keen sense of timing, an aspect that proved to be critical to the lasting immaterial impact of his non-LDS religious buildings. Just as with the construction of the transcontinental railroad and various Mormon-subsidized rail lines in 1869, as well as the emergence of the Godbeite schism one year later, the imminent death of LDS leader Brigham Young (d.1877) in the mid-1870s was an additional event that he used to profit his parishes. In his annual reports of 1875-77, for example, Tuttle admonished denominational readers to continue with contributions, especially at this time, writing, "Circumstances with which I am familiar, make the conviction sure that existing processes of disintegration will be quickened at [Young's] departure. And there seems to be no second Brigham Young to come after, like him, in powerful will and personal magnetism. . . . If I forecast aright, we are none too soon on the ground with our schools and churches."¹²⁷ Although Tuttle's prediction that Mormonism would soon collapse proved false, his estimation, which he later recanted, was based on substantial evidence.

In addition to the aforementioned issues within and without the LDS Church, beginning in the late 1850s and continuing until Utah's statehood in 1896, the federal government engaged in a series of efforts designed to undermine the experimental community and bring it into the American mainstream.¹²⁸ In addition to sponsoring the Mormon War in 1857, federal legislators also passed the 1882 Edmunds Act and 1887 Edmund-Tucker Act criminalizing polygamy, and disincorporating and disenfranchising the LDS Church. Vanderbilt University historian Kathleen Flake has argued that in

¹²⁷ Ibid., 9th Annual Report, 4.

¹²⁸ Still, the most comprehensive look at this phase in Mormon/Utah history is, "The Kingdom and the Nation," the sixth chapter in Leonard Arrington's seminal work, The Great Basin Kingdom, 235-353.

consequence of these acts, Utah between 1869 and the mid-1880s underwent a conspicuous “transition” in which the LDS fell from constituting 98 to 63 percent of the territorial population—the latter figure close to today’s percentile—signifying a once-majority community now on a downward trend.¹²⁹

Knowledgeable of current events, Tuttle in 1876 approved the decision to further expand the Episcopal mission, this time in Plain City, a small town situated halfway between Ogden and Logan. While records concerning the mission are sparse, it appears that parish operations first began in early September after several English ex-LDS approached Ogden ministers James and Lucelia Gillogly to request a parish church for their town. On Sunday September 3, James Gillogly traveled to Plain City to hold inaugural services. After learning of the spontaneous mission, Tuttle completed his summer visit to Montana and Idaho, preaching at Plain City on Sunday October 1 in a vacated Mormon meetinghouse.¹³⁰ Throughout the fall Tuttle and Gillogly worked to secure funding, church property, and attendants for the new mission, typically using the Spirit of Missions to gain the former. Just as Tuttle had used literature to finance his parish schools and encourage the ongoing work at St. Mark’s Hospital, he routinely used church media to secure Episcopal parishes. Between the winter and spring of the following year, Tuttle brokered a deal with the Plain City mission, offering \$750 for a lot and building in exchange for its commitment to providing church supplies and furnishings. On April 14, 1877, Tuttle laid the cornerstone of a new brick church and

¹²⁹ Kathleen Flake in Jan Shipps and Mark Silk, eds., Religion and Public Life in the Mountain West: Sacred Landscapes in Transition (New York: Altamira Press, 2004), 92. Flake, however, is not the first to quantify the LDS’ “transition.” Other historians, such as Leonard Arrington, have done the same. The most detailed study, in my opinion, on this apparent shift in Mormon/Utah history is BYU professor of history Thomas Alexander’s, Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1890-1930 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

¹³⁰ Tuttle, “Episcopal Register,” #741.

schoolhouse, ultimately costing more than \$2,000. But while records show that Sunday attendance at the mission rose from approximately forty to over seventy between 1878 and 1882, St. Paul's Episcopal Plain City Church did not always maintain a pattern of consistent growth.¹³¹

At the same time that Tuttle used on-the-ground knowledge of Utah, the federal government, and the LDS Church to benefit his Communion, he also responded to the needs of the Episcopal Church, particularly his parishes in and around Salt Lake City. As a pastor and a bishop, Tuttle recognized that churches were essentially social institutions that depended on people to function properly. While some members were called to lead and organize, others were suited to follow. When clergy-laity proportions became imbalanced, parish operations typically suffered. And although Tuttle recognized that the practical realities of church life were far more complicated than indicated here, he justified decisions throughout his career to add churches, personnel, and funding when circumstances deemed necessary. A prime example is the creation of St. Paul's Episcopal Parish and Chapel in Salt Lake City in 1879. By the late 1870s St. Mark's Cathedral had grown considerably since opening in September 1871, numbering close to two hundred communicants and 475 Sunday school attendants serviced by three full time clergymen.¹³² St. Mark's Episcopal Parish, too, had succeeded, expanding to include five churches and six priests, and offering a steady supply of parish funds. Sensing that present institutions were stable but becoming overgrown, Tuttle approved the decision in 1878 to establish a separate Parish in southwestern Salt Lake City.

¹³¹ Tuttle, 12th Annual Report, 4; Daniel Tuttle, 16th Annual Report, Salt Lake City, August 29, 1882, 4, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 2; Quinn, 21.

¹³² Based on Ibid., 11th Annual Report, 4.

Based on Tuttle's annual reports and personal register, it appears that St. Paul's Parish and Chapel first began as a home fellowship on January 1, 1879, in a small rented room providing Sunday services and classes for religious instruction. As the church was located on the edge of town, its weekly attendance was initially small but gradually increased to forty persons by the spring, and to sixty by the summer. In April Tuttle purchased a lot on the corner of 4th and Main Street for \$2,750 to house a future church, built the following year for approximately \$23,000.¹³³ Consecrated on 3 May 1880, St. Paul's Chapel was a commodious semi-gothic structure made of local sandstone and California redwood, and capable of seating a congregation of over two hundred people.¹³⁴ Financial records demonstrate that the majority of the building's funds came from New York City parishioner Jane Mount, an Episcopal laywomen and friend of the bishop's since his days as a graduate student in the 1850s.¹³⁵ In her legacy, she had bequeathed to Tuttle \$10,000, which the bishop later used for St. Paul's seed money; later, in the 1880s, Mount's sisters donated additional funds for church improvements, including a parsonage, an iron fence, and additional interior ornaments. In October 1880 construction ended at St. Paul's Chapel, and by the end of the month the building opened for services. To commemorate the new enterprise, on October 31 the local Mason community appeared in parade. The anti-LDS Salt Lake Tribune, reported,

Another step has been taken in the steady march of civilization and progress in the Territory. Another beacon stands forth to light up the intellectual and moral darkness that pervades our fair Territory. Another Christian church rears its high tower towards heaven, and now stands as the "shadow of a great rock in a weary land". . . . The mountains which environ us on all sides, and out of whose bowels the enduring stone was quarried to rear up these emblems of civilization, can echo

¹³³ Ibid., 6.

¹³⁴ Daniel Tuttle, 14th Annual Report, Fort Shaw, Montana, August 29, 1882, 94, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 2; Quinn, 25.

¹³⁵ Tuttle, Reminiscences, 44.

back the pealing toll of the bells as they summon the worshipper to their devotions.¹³⁶

Demonstrative of the territory's contentious religious atmosphere, the Salt Lake Tribune and the Salt Lake Herald supported Tuttle, his career, and community—as opposed to the LDS-owned Deseret News—by frequently publishing similar laudatory articles until his departure in 1886.

* * * * *

While the summer of 1886 would prove to be a significant turning point in Tuttle's Episcopal career, officially marking the end of his tenure as the resident bishop of Utah, the fall of 1880 appears to be just as critical for understanding the bishop's role as a church builder—the focus of this chapter. On October 18 the Episcopal Church's General Convention gathered in New York City to address church business, part of which included reorganizing its presence in the American West. As mentioned earlier, the Episcopal Church had begun expanding in the western frontier during the 1830s, and later after the Civil War. In this latter wave of settlement, church officials divided and subdivided missionary districts, adding to its growing map of western missions. In 1887 and 1889, Colorado and Oregon, respectively, achieved mission status, with Alaska experiencing for the first time a full-scale Episcopal missionary effort in 1892.¹³⁷ In addition to these developments, in the fall of 1880 Montana became a separate church entity, consequently renaming Tuttle's official title to "Bishop of Idaho and Utah."

¹³⁶ Salt Lake Tribune, 31 October 1880, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 20 FD 1.

¹³⁷ Addison, 235ff.

For the purpose of this paper, the consequences of this event are many. First, Tuttle, beginning in 1881, had more time to devote to church building in Utah (and Idaho). Since 1874 Tuttle recommended that Montana be set apart, petitioning the Church to assemble funds and clergy for the aspiring territory. By 1880 Montana's Episcopal Communion had soared from six to 877 communicants, zero to ten churches, and zero to seventeen clergymen, collectively totaling an operation too big for a non-resident bishop and his priests to administer properly; records show that Tuttle had devoted nearly a third of the past five years in the territory, much of that time in a stagecoach (approximately 40,000 miles).¹³⁸ While confident about this change, Tuttle on December 8 lamented to Montana parishioners his severed tie: "Let me say out of my sadness. The valleys and hillsides, the very nooks and crannies of your territory, are dear to me from association, your clergy and men and women and children and homes more dear from ties of fond affection. . . ." ¹³⁹

Between January 1881 and the summer five years later, Tuttle thus focused his energies increasingly on Utah. In 1882, for example, Tuttle made plans to expand the Ogden mission, particularly its Memorial Church. Records indicate that James Gillogly, prior to his death the previous February, had begun gathering donations in Utah and the East to remodel the building to accommodate its swelling congregation of 71. In the Spirit of Missions, Tuttle, once again, broached eastern patrons with the issue of church construction in Utah: "So, I want to build a rectory for Ogden. . . . We have the land, in the large lot immediately surrounding the church. I know not a more pressing need than

¹³⁸ Daniel Tuttle, 15th Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, August 24, 1881, 1, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 2.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, Reminiscences, 437.

this now, in our Utah work. I can build it for \$3,000. And I ask for this special help.”¹⁴⁰ He also began mission work in Silver Reef and Beaver, Utah, both located in the south, as well as Park City and the territorial penitentiary. Whereas St. Mark’s mission had initially focused its energies in the north, by the early 1880s it had become attracted, along with other newly arrived Christian campaigns, to the South’s start-up mining towns. As chief financier, Tuttle also gathered parish funds, allocating them to dependent churches as well as to aspiring seminarians. Fiscal records demonstrate that in 1880, Utah’s parish churches without exception received more annual funds than they gave, with the ratios at Logan equaling \$47/\$645; at St. Paul’s Chapel \$69.83/\$11,033.54; and at Ogden \$1,803.84/\$4,484.70.¹⁴¹ Tuttle also indicated in 1882 that he devoted \$746 to educate four men—all trained at St. Mark’s parish schools—at General Theological and Union Seminary, New York.

But to return to the significance of Tuttle’s renewed focus on Utah beginning in 1880, a second and perhaps more critical consequence is that this development at some level foreshadowed his decision to leave Utah in 1886, as well as the essential reasons for his success as a church builder while there. Previously in June 1868, Tuttle had been offered the bishopric of Missouri but had turned it down believing that his short, though valuable, experience in Zion benefited his missionary efforts. Just as hands-on experience had appeared to be vital to church building in Utah, this same theme runs throughout Tuttle’s rationale for relinquishing Montana in 1880, believing that a younger, full-time resident bishop would be able to devote himself fully to knowing the community and adjusting his strategy to its distinctive cultural and religious conditions.

¹⁴⁰ Daniel Tuttle, “A Letter from Bishop Tuttle,” *Spirit of Missions*, August 29, 1882, EDUR ACCN 426 BOX 24 FD 3.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, *14th Annual Report*, 92-3.

To review, between 1867 and 1869 Tuttle had observed in Montana what many historians of religion in the American West perceive today: a religious frontier in which mainstream churchgoers were relatively few and where a wide variety of spiritual beliefs—orthodox and non—were on a relatively equal footing.¹⁴² Yale-educated historian Laurie Maffly-Kipp has argued that the western frontier, unlike the American East, did not have a religious mainstream but rather was a place of spiritual experimentation “considered both promising and fearful, vast expanses where the millennial destiny of the republic would be decided.”¹⁴³

To succeed in Montana, Tuttle had learned to mold his evangelical strategy to fit the exceptional condition of his locale. In particular, this meant embracing when necessary an ecumenical or interdenominational approach to church building and governance, and by co-existing with his community and ministering to it through extra-church, or publicly visible, ways. Tuttle appears to have accomplished the latter by helping to quell the Helena fire of 1869, and by befriending both the churched and non-churched. “Brother Dan” or “the people’s bishop” also shaped his mission strategy by responding to the special needs of his frontier congregants. With most parishioners wanting—along with other pioneer churchgoers—“simple theology, emotional religion, clergy who spoke the language of the people” and upbeat music, Tuttle used his evangelical, “low” church style to bring the lofty, liturgical Episcopal religion to Virginia City and Helena.¹⁴⁴ In December 1868, for example, Tuttle recorded approving both “ancient and modern” music for church service.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² Hatch, 117.

¹⁴³ Maffly-Kipp, 3.

¹⁴⁴ Holmes, 69. In classic Turnerian fashion, Augustana College historian Myron Fodge has argued that Christian denominations typically failed in nineteenth century Montana because they “confronted the

In the summer of 1886, then, although it was difficult for Tuttle to depart Utah for the bishopric of Missouri, he recognized, as he had with Montana six years before, that it was time to be replaced by a younger, full-time resident bishop dedicated to working with the exceptional conditions of the frontier, of Zion in particular. On August 31, 1886, records show that Tuttle and his family departed for Missouri where the bishop would serve the diocese—numerically the largest in the country—as well as the Protestant Episcopal Church in America as its Presiding Bishop (beg. 1903) until his death in 1923. Records also show that upon leaving Salt Lake City, the bishop enjoyed a brief exchange with an anonymous LDS Church official:

On the morning of the day when I was sadly saying good-by to my Salt Lake home of many years, as I was riding down the street a high official of the Mormon Church halted me. He apologized, and then said, “But I felt that I must speak to you. Bishop Tuttle, we are sorry that you are going away. We know you, and we know where to find you, and we have always found you true. It is with real regret that we see you withdrawing from our midst.”¹⁴⁶

The official clearly seemed to have spoken for the LDS community in general, as the LDS-owned Daily Evening News printed a thoughtful farewell on September 2:

We do not agree with him in religious belief, but we are in accord with that spirit which in any society promotes fairness, friendship and goodwill among men, which encourages morality and right conduct, and which breathes charity and peace. We hope to hear that Bishop Tuttle and his partner in life are enjoying prosperity and contentment and the cordial feelings of a host of friends in his new field of labor in old Missouri.¹⁴⁷

several Montana frontiers . . . on the basis of policies and methods developed on the forested and grassy plains of the East.” Fodge, 2.

¹⁴⁵ Tuttle, “Episcopal Register” #100.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., Reminiscences, 355.

¹⁴⁷ Daily Evening News, 2 September 1886, 2, USHS.

While these statements are anecdotal, they nevertheless provide a genuine glimpse into the nature of Tuttle's success as a church builder in Utah. But before speculating about Tuttle's religious strategy in Zion, it is first important to consider his material accomplishments. According to official Episcopal records, between 1867 and 1886 Tuttle oversaw the development of a minority religious community consisting of seven churches and over one thousand members and personnel. In 1886 there were 131 baptisms, forty-seven confirmations, fifty-one marriages, sixty burials, over eight hundred Sunday school participants, and 484 church communicants. In each of these categories, Tuttle played a critical, sometimes direct, role. Throughout his career he had also personally confirmed 565 Episcopal converts, 316 of whom were former LDS.¹⁴⁸ Based on these numbers and statistics, it appears that Tuttle's legacy as a church builder included performing the official short-term duties of a bishop, in addition to expanding the physical presence of the Episcopal Communion in the American West. Tuttle's churches also seem to have strengthened the growing material link bridging the East with the Utah frontier. At a more human level, though, Tuttle facilitated personal religious faith, and in so doing contributed to Utah's "transition" from cultural isolation and religiously homogeneity to a level of mainstream and plurality—the stated goal of orthodox Christian denominations united against the "Mormon Problem."

If Tuttle's experiences departing Salt Lake City on the 31st of August are any indication of his relationship with the non-Gentile population in Utah, it seems clear that these material accomplishments were attained by means laudatory, if not respectable. As indicated, Montana had served as a training ground for the young bishop's future

¹⁴⁸ Daniel Tuttle, 20th Annual Report, August 14, 1886, 5, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 2; Daniel Tuttle, 19th Annual Report, Challis, Idaho, August 27, 1885, 574, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX FD 2.

experiences in Utah. For brevity's sake, it suffices to say that while Tuttle honed his natural skills as a pastor by learning to respond to his environment's peculiar conditions. In 1904, Tuttle, wrote, "That winter [in Virginia City] . . . was an education to me. To learn to know the miners and to discern the wholesomeness and helpfulness and kindness and goodness hidden under their wildness and wickedness . . . these were experiences and they were indeed nothing less than a most valuable education."¹⁴⁹ That is not to say, however, that the process of Tuttle's maturation commenced in Montana. Tuttle was a minister's son whose own understanding of evangelism and church building had been molded by his dad and hometown pastor. Tuttle had also grown up two hundred miles from LDS founder Joseph Smith's birthplace in Palmyra, New York, and had presumably experienced the final flares of the Second Great Awakening in 1858—an experience that may have influenced him to join the ministry.¹⁵⁰ Later, while en route to Utah in June 1867, Tuttle perceived Illinois Bishop Henry Whitehouse fail to sufficiently adapt to his parish and community.¹⁵¹

Clearly, Tuttle's willingness to respond to environmental conditions facilitated his church building work in Utah. Between 1867 and 1886 Tuttle sought to fulfill his missionary calling by responding to Zion's peculiar religious and political conditions. In his annual report of 1874, in fact, Tuttle admonished his colleagues, "No fixed rigidity

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., "How Our Church Came to Our Country," 3.

¹⁵⁰ It is not clear when Tuttle decided to join the ministry. His father was a preacher and a part time blacksmith farmer. Growing up in canal-era New York, Tuttle may have considered joining his dad and brother at work in the fields. Later, however, after graduating from Columbia in 1858 he tutored kids and then signed on to teach at a plantation in Alabama. The looming of Civil War, however, prevented that from happening. At the same time, New York experienced a massive outpouring of religious revival, perhaps influencing the confused college graduate as to what to do.

¹⁵¹ Concerning Whitehouse's apparent failure to adapt to his community and minister to it in extra-church ways, Tuttle wrote, "Into this restless throng the bishop did not throw himself with any glow of ardor or cordial liking. He was kind, true, courteous, high-minded, always the gentleman. His Western people thoroughly respected him, and were justly proud of him. But they did not take him into their hearts and bury him therein under a warmth of affection, which is a bishop's most precious earthly reward." Ibid., *Reminiscences*, 62-3.

and obstinacy of conservatism are here. The material is warm and plastic. Men, with character and abilities, are everything. Institutions, with however much history and prestige, count for little. Therefore the greater the need that the human moulder shall be skilled and wise.”¹⁵² In a territory with relatively few mainstream churchgoers, Tuttle maintained an ecumenical policy with regard to church governance and attendance, and addressing the “Mormon problem,” often working and worshipping hand in hand with traditionally competitive groups. Tuttle also devoted the majority of his efforts to building the Episcopal Communion rather than attacking the startup Mormon community. Maintaining a policy of co-existence, Tuttle used internal events within the LDS Church, such as the Godbeite schism and railroad construction of the early 1870s, as well as exterior events, such as the increased settlement of Gentiles and the encroaching federal government, to advance St. Mark’s mission in and around Salt Lake City. While Tuttle was privately critical of the LDS Church, he was also recognized for his general sense of fairness to the Mormon community. In 1882, for example, he supplied an objective entry on “Mormonism” for the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge.¹⁵³

In light of Tuttle’s far-reaching material successes as church builder, as well as the means by which he attained these goals, this particular dimension of his Utah career not only supports historian Jan Shipp’s contention that “religion shapes, and is being shaped, by regional culture,” but also lends further credence to Tuttle’s reputation as a significant religious outsider.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 8th Annual Report, 110.

¹⁵³ Daniel Tuttle, “Mormons,” A Religious Encyclopedia eds. D.S. and Phillip Schaff, Samuel M. Jackson (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1891), 1580. “It is a mistake to count the Mormons a mere horde of sensualized barbarians. . . . There were large numbers of God-fearing people among them.”

¹⁵⁴ Shipp and Silk, 11.

Conclusion

“Your Brigham Young . . .”¹

In June 1867, shortly after Tuttle and his colleagues embarked west from Albany, New York, the Spirit of Missions, the Episcopal Church’s denominational magazine, reported the following story about the young bishop and his ensuing mission to Utah and beyond:

Bishop Tuttle goes forth as the fifth Missionary Bishop west of the Mississippi. . . . Six months ago his election created universal surprise; and yet, to-day, none who understand the special requirements of that untrodden, unexplored jurisdiction, question that he will realize the Church’s hope; so rapidly has he drawn to himself the general regard and confidence. Full of youthful vigor and elasticity, and thoroughly wonted to country life, he will bear fatigue, exposure and peril as the natural incidents of his career. . . .²

Nearly two decades later, the LDS-owned Daily Evening News published an article saluting the 49-year-old bishop as he departed for Missouri:

We bid the gentleman a farewell, with the best wishes for his welfare. . . . Although very pronounced in his opposition to the Mormon faith, he has not acted as an enemy to the Mormon people. So far as we are aware he has not, like many of his cloth, used his ecclesiastical influence towards the oppression and spoliation of the Latter-day Saints, but has on many occasions borne testimony to their good qualities, in public and private. . . . Bishop Tuttle, by his consistent course, has gained the esteem of the Mormon people without losing the respect of his own class and denomination.³

¹ Quoted in Frederick Quinn, “Daniel S. Tuttle, Utah’s Pioneer Episcopal Bishop, ‘Your Brigham Young,’” essay in possession of author. Quinn writes that Tuttle’s comparison to Young is “attributed to Professor J. L. Kater, of the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, Berkley, California, in a church history course,” 1ff.

² “Domestic Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church,” Spirit of Missions, June 1867, 413, FQP ACCN BOX 9 FD 1..

³ Daily Evening News, Salt Lake City, 26 August 1886, USHS.

On August 14, 1886, Tuttle produced his 20th and final Annual Report, assessing his mission's collective accomplishments in Utah: "Through my own hands gifts from the east . . . have been made to this district amounting to \$368, 102.94." In addition, seven churches had been established with six clergymen serving an estimated Episcopal community of several thousand parishioners. Six curriculum-based parish schools existed in Salt Lake City and adjacent settlements with a student enrollment of 749 and thirty teachers. Finally, he reported that St. Mark's Hospital in 1886 accommodated 925 resident and out-patients on an annual, locally raised budget of \$12,414.55. While Tuttle avowed that these "facts and figures [are] to be, indeed, thankful for," he thoughtfully acknowledged that "even these do not tell the full story. . . ."⁴

As different points of entry for understanding Tuttle's career in frontier Utah, these selections collectively provide a panoramic means for assessing the bishop's historical consequence, both as representative of a religious minority in frontier Utah as well as a lightly examined figure in church and western history. While at first glance these publications may appear incidental and with little enduring significance, by examining critically the themes present in each they reveal several important ideas examined in this thesis. Working backwards, the material successes enumerated in Tuttle's official report were many, extending to both his time and place in post-Civil War Utah, as well as the present. Publicly, the institutions most vital to the civic development of frontier Utah were the Episcopal-sponsored formal schools and hospital. Recalling chapter one, the essential importance of Tuttle's parish schools stemmed from the fact

⁴ Daniel Tuttle, 20th Annual Report, Salt Lake City, Utah, August 14, 1884, 1-3, FQP ACCN 2136 BOX 9 FD 2.

that formal education did not exist in Salt Lake City or its surrounding environs until the development of state schools in 1896. Historian Leonard Arrington demonstrated that for many years after the Mormon immigration in 1847, Brigham Young and the priestly hierarchy paid little attention to curricular education since they were more interested in developing a sustainable religious refuge, or a “Great Basin Kingdom.” In the first twenty years of “Zion’s” existence, Arrington suggested that developing food stores and an organized, doctrinally unified community remained the top priorities. By working to establish territorial schools, Tuttle assumed the role of a pioneer educator, helping to fill a scholastic lacuna on the Utah frontier.

In addition to providing unprecedented academic opportunities, Tuttle’s formal schools also provided low-income territorial students with a formal education. According to official church records, Tuttle and his colleagues raised approximately five hundred \$40 per year annual scholarships, the vast majority going towards cash-needy LDS families. In the transitional financial atmosphere of post-Civil War Utah, currency was scarce and periodically handicapped parish schools. The territorial economy was based on a system of barter and trade, and lacked monetary specie particularly after the failure of transcontinental railroad contracts in 1869 and the simultaneous introduction of Mormon-based trading cooperatives countering Gentile businessmen. As a result, the means for supporting schools (as well as all Episcopal enterprises) came largely from the East through the fundraising efforts of Tuttle. By 1885, seven hundred students attended Episcopal formal schools, five hundred of whom were LDS receiving annual scholarships. With close to three thousand students having received parish training by 1886, Tuttle’s

educational efforts also provided a firm scholastic foundation for Utah and later institutions, such as Brigham Young University (1875) and Utah State University (1888).

Belonging to the nineteenth century generation of American clergymen embracing the “Social Gospel,” Tuttle set his sights not only on supporting frontier education, but also on improving the medical and moral landscape of Gilded Age Utah. Chapter two examined Tuttle’s efforts to establish St. Mark’s Hospital, the first modern, standardized medical institution in the American West. Although he did not propose the idea, he nonetheless played a vital role in the institution, at first by gathering needed supplies, medical and otherwise, and by developing a health insurance strategy for territorial patrons. Later, following the opening of St. Mark’s in April 1872, Tuttle assumed a more distant albeit still important role as an overseer and supporter. In addition to providing financial and administrative counsel, Tuttle offered intangible encouragement to the hospital’s staff and patients. Tuttle also personally embodied the essential ideals of the Social Gospel—the application of biblical social themes to society—and thereby existed as the real and actual leader of his Episcopal mission in Utah. With this standing, the bishop facilitated the work of various satellite ministries connected to St. Mark’s Hospital designed to address the emotional and material needs of territorial citizens. Just as Utah’s Episcopal parish schools set a scholastic precedent for subsequent institutions, St. Mark’s Hospital, too, appears to have paved the way for other similar enterprises, namely Holy Cross Hospital (1875) and Deseret Hospital and School of Nursing (1879).

The overall purpose of Tuttle’s Episcopal mission in Utah, however, was to expand the continental reach of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. As

such, all of his endeavors as a missionary bishop were supportive either directly or implicitly of church building and evangelism. Beginning with his arrival to Salt Lake City in July 1867, Tuttle set to work establishing Episcopal churches, the first located at the local Gentile establishment, Independence Hall. While religious services remained there for only four years, St. Mark's Episcopal Mission would eventually become the first permanent non-LDS institution in the territory. From 1867 until 1886, Tuttle oversaw the development of seven churches in and around Zion, mostly of them in up-and-coming Mormon settlements. The bishop also administered over a dozen clergymen, parish funds totaling \$350,000, and the religious livelihoods of an alternative religious community numbering twelve hundred men, women, and children. The Episcopal Communion in Salt Lake City added significantly to the small number of non-LDS already present in Utah, and contributed to the territory's growing religious plurality, bolstered in the 1870s by emigrant mainstream denominations united by the "Mormon Problem."



Figure 14: Bishop Tuttle, n.d.

Whereas the material accomplishments enumerated here were important for Utah's civic development, specifically its growing material and financial link with the East, they also had a longstanding impact on the

cultural and religious conditions of Zion in the post-Civil War period. Although Tuttle's

career was intended to disrupt the LDS experiment and assimilate territorial citizens into the religious and cultural mainstream, he employed pacifistic means to accomplish his goal. Unlike most of Utah's evangelical denominations during the 1870s, the Episcopal mission, under Tuttle's guidance, attempted to proselytize its rivals through public influence. Parish-sponsored institutions such as formal schools and St. Mark's Hospital catered broadly to the educational and medical needs of Zion's citizens. As demonstrated, these enterprises were powerful symbols of a benign, helpful non-LDS presence. Approximately a tenth (300/3,000) of those who attended Tuttle's schools became Episcopalian communicants, and many sought medical treatment at St. Mark's Hospital in the years before a comparable LDS institution. In addition, Tuttle was a natural pastor who tailored his religious strategy to Utah's peculiar religious and political conditions. Instead of pursuing public theological confrontation, Tuttle vied with the LDS by placing Episcopal churches in aspiring railroad towns, using the frenzy of Mormon expansion to increase the territory's non-LDS presence. He also capitalized on problems within the LDS Church to benefit the numerical growth of his communion. While Tuttle's religious strategy was influenced by events in Utah, earlier experiences in Montana between 1867-69 and his young adult years in upper New York also shaped his thoughts about evangelism and public ministry. Balancing his desire to reach the LDS community, Tuttle addressed the religious needs of his parishioners, giving time and counsel to Episcopal churches in addition to funding and personnel when needed. He also included a wide assortment of Gentiles in his mission work, occasionally using non-Eiscopalians and even non-Christians to build and administer Episcopal churches in Utah.

The Mormon community, as represented by its official church publications, the Deseret News and Daily Evening News, observed Tuttle and his mission, and recognized their combined significance for Utah's frontier existence. LDS parents sent their children to Episcopal schools while county authorities, all members of Brigham Young's priestly hierarchy, sent Zion's sick and poor to St. Mark's Hospital. Tuttle's churches, too, numbered many former LDS desiring Episcopal and religious orthodoxy. While Tuttle and Brigham Young met only once and the latter's impression of the bishop remains unknown, Tuttle and his colleagues succeeded between 1867 and 1886 in establishing cordial relations with their religious rivals. In particular, Tuttle became good friends with Charles Penrose (d.1925), a counselor in the First Presidency of the LDS Church. While in respective church business in London, England, in 1920, Penrose purportedly searched out the bishop for a brief visit. Later, in September 1922, Tuttle visited Salt Lake City, meeting with Penrose at his personal office. The Deseret News covered the story, writing, "The talk of the veterans hinged about early days . . . when both were working earnestly in the interest of their own creed yet each respecting the work of the other." BYU historian Arnold Garr reported that after the meeting, Penrose mentioned that although he and Tuttle "were not eye to eye in religion, they never quarreled about it."⁵

Tuttle's personal legacy of religious co-habitation was just as important then as it is today. Equally important was his direct support of the territory's growing Gentile population. After the Civil War, and continuing until statehood in 1896, Zion underwent a conspicuous transition from an isolated, frontier agrarian locale playing host to an alternative religious community, to an increasingly connected western settlement

⁵ Arnold Garr, "Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle: Episcopalian Pioneer among the Mormons," Mormon Historical Studies 1 (2000): 78.

accommodating national industry and a stratified non-LDS religious community. At the anecdotal level, Tuttle appears to have personally facilitated this shift by supporting scholastic, medical, and religious institutions familiar to emigrating Gentiles, and to the federal government. While it remains unclear to what extent federal legislators sought mainstream religious help to gain control over Utah, it seems likely that they viewed Tuttle as a helpful contact in the territory. The bishop established schools encouraging scholastic and religious assimilation. Furthermore, he oversaw the development of St. Mark's Hospital, an institution designed to assist the Gentile mining community. Apparently, the mine industry had been initiated by Colonel Patrick Connor and his subordinates at Fort Douglas to usher Gentiles to the territory.⁶ The population balance between the LDS and Utah Gentiles began to radically realign following the completion of the transcontinental railroad and the advent of commercial mining and banking in the early 1870s. Modern demographic studies have demonstrated that the percentage of Utah LDS at the time of Tuttle's career is close to that of today.⁷

The experiences of Episcopal women, too, while a minor topic in this study, nevertheless figure critically into Tuttle's cultural legacy in frontier Utah. The bishop supported women's education, both as students and teachers, in his parish schools. Additionally, women played critical public roles as hospital nurses and staff at St. Mark's Hospital. Tuttle and the Episcopal Church encouraged the religious ministry of women and their unofficial, though still sacred, acts, of performing baptisms and burials in lieu of clergymen, and ministering to Zion's sick and suffering. While pragmatism seems to

⁶ Robert Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict, 1862-90* 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), 22-28.

⁷ Jan Shippo and Mark Silk, eds., *Religion in Public Life in the Mountain West: Sacred Landscapes in Transition* (New York: Altamira Press, 2004), 92.

have influenced Tuttle and his frontier colleagues to approve women's work, evidence indicates that the bishop's personal perception of laywomen, their work, and their gender persuaded him to support visible opportunities for women missionaries throughout his career.

When Tuttle set out for Utah in June 1867, the Protestant Episcopal Church heralded the young bishop's departure, promising a successful career in the rough and rugged frontier West. Not only was the bishop young and familiar with a country setting, having grown up in the farming regions of canal-era New York, he was also physically dexterous and personally self-reliant, qualities that the Spirit of Missions assured would bring personal and professional success. To be sure, Tuttle accomplished many of the goals of his western religious calling. Establishing a variety of civic institutions, he contributed to the continental expansion of his church denomination. Co-existing, and even befriending, members of the Mormon community, the bishop left a lasting impact on the cultural and religious ideals of the territory and state. Tuttle's material successes were not accomplished by individual or local efforts alone. He was aided always by the financial patronage of fellow parish churches and aid societies in the American East. Individuals working for the denomination's national headquarters in New York also offered critical moral support. Still, it is clear that the frontier had an impact on Tuttle, influencing him to embrace regionally-specific religious strategies in Utah, as well as in Montana and Idaho. The fact that Tuttle was simultaneously dependent on eastern society while also significantly influenced by the West complicates our understanding of

western history. Whereas historian Frederick Jackson Turner suggested that America's nineteenth century western pioneers settled the frontier through personal efforts—and in the process came to embrace values of democracy and self-reliance—the reality is that Tuttle and clerics like him had more complex experiences. The Mormons, to be sure, in addition to other communitarian religious experiments in the frontier, did not fit into Turner's mold. Tuttle's support of increased women's work, in addition to his essential attitude of co-existence rather than conquest, also refines our understanding of frontier history by calling into question the conquest emphasis in "new western" history.

This thesis has demonstrated that Daniel Tuttle was Utah's first significant religious outsider. In addition to his material and cultural legacies, his personal experiences on the western frontier add complexity to our understanding of church, western, and Utah history and their correlative literature. In light of his historical and historiographical significance, Tuttle should in the future warrant further scholastic study.

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