

## Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle: Episcopalian Pioneer among the Mormons

*Arnold K. Garr*

During the April 1936 General Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, President Heber J. Grant gave special recognition to Daniel S. Tuttle, bishop of the Episcopal Church. The Mormon Prophet reminisced: “When I was only a young man, I rejoiced in the splendid tributes that were paid to us by the late Bishop Daniel Tuttle. He went east and told the truth about us, that we were ‘a God-fearing, upright, conscientious people, serving God.’ While he did not agree with us he admired our integrity.”<sup>1</sup> President Grant made this statement a full half century after Bishop Tuttle had moved from Utah to become bishop in Missouri—and well over a decade after Tuttle had passed away.

What did the bishop say and do during his many years in Utah that earned him such respect and admiration from President Grant as well as from many other members of the LDS Church? Did Bishop Tuttle have a distinct policy relative to the Church? If so, what factors helped determine that policy, and how did it compare to the methods used by other religious denominations in Utah? Did the Latter-day Saints always hold Bishop Tuttle in high esteem, or were there some occasions when they were also critical of him? What influence did the bishop have on Mormon society, and to what measure was he influenced in return? To what extent have Bishop Tuttle’s successors adhered to his policies through the years, and what have been the results? These questions and others will be the focus of this essay on one of the most important religious pioneers in the history of the state of Utah.

When Bishop Tuttle and his faithful assistants first came to Utah in

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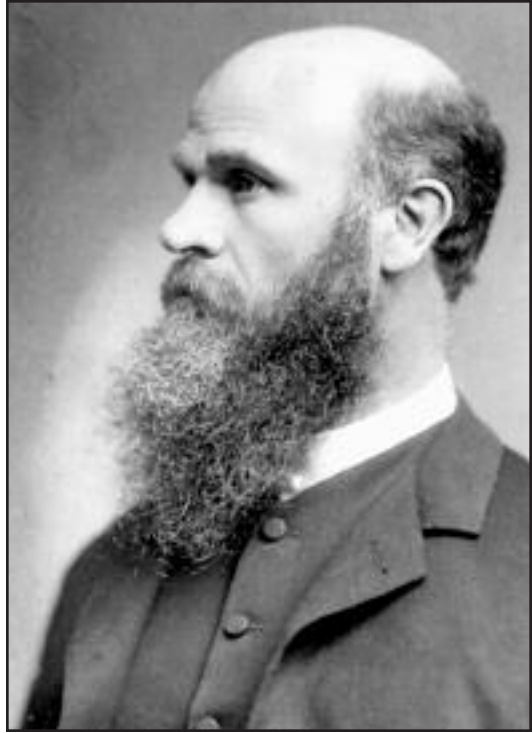
1867, they became the first Christian clergy to establish a permanent non-Mormon congregation in the territory; from 1867 to 1869, the Episcopal Church was the only church in Utah that had ministers of religion besides The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.<sup>2</sup> In 1866, a Roman Catholic priest from Nevada visited Salt Lake City for a short time to purchase a plot of land for a future church building, but he soon returned to his home. There had also been a Congregationalist minister by the name of Norman McLeod who served for a few years as the chaplain at Camp Douglas. McLeod established an interdenominational Sunday school in Salt Lake City; but, unfortunately, he became well known for giving inflammatory anti-Mormon speeches. These speeches obviously made him particularly unpopular with the Latter-day Saints. McLeod moved from Utah in 1866 and left his Sunday school in the charge of a layman by the name of Charles H. Hempstead.<sup>3</sup> Other than these events, there had been very little non-Mormon religious activity in the history of the territory. Therefore, Bishop Tuttle entered into a missionary situation that was relatively unique for a clergyman from a mainstream Christian tradition. Little if any precedent existed to help him determine his policies relative to the Mormons.

### **Policy toward the Mormons**

In his initial report from the field to the Board of Missions, Bishop Tuttle formally articulated for the first time the essence of his policy toward the Latter-day Saints: "My plan for dealing with Mormonism, and for putting down Mormonism, immoral as it is, infidel as it is, heathenish as it is, in God's own time, is by preaching the full truth of the everlasting Gospel, as contained in the Holy Bible and embodied in the Church, and by striving constantly, with His help, to do unto others as I would that others should do unto me."<sup>4</sup>

One cannot help but admire the bishop for choosing to treat the Latter-day Saints consistent with the Golden Rule, even though he obviously detested Mormon doctrine. His statement shows that he was striving, indeed, to be a true disciple of Christ. However, there might also have been some pragmatic factors that helped determine the policy. Apparently, Warren Hussey, a prominent non-Mormon banker in Salt Lake City, is one person who had considerable influence with Bishop Tuttle. On one occasion, the bishop declared that Hussey "more than any other layman resident" was responsible for the "prompt and vigorous upbuilding" of the Episcopal Church in Utah.<sup>5</sup> Early in 1867, before the bishop ever visited Utah, he wrote Hussey about the possibility of establishing their church in the very heart of Mormondom. In Hussey's reply, he first talked about Brigham Young and his attitude toward other religions: "I am quite intimate with Prest.

Young and have very frequently heard him express himself concerning other churches coming here; and am very sure that they will meet a hearty welcome from him, *under certain circumstances*. He is not at all prejudiced against other religions.” Hussey continued, “In conversation had with Prest. Young since receipt of your letter he has only reiterated former statements, and assured me no minister, nor any one else, who would come here and mind their own business, need have the slightest fear of being disturbed by Mormons.” Then, in defense of the Latter-day Saints, Hussey declared, “Prest. Young and the Mormon Church are, in my opinion, the worst lied about, if I may use this expression, of any people living.”<sup>6</sup>



Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle  
 Photo courtesy of Utah State Historical Society  
 Salt Lake City, Utah

Warren Hussey was not only a man of words but also one of action. In just one afternoon, he raised a subscription of over \$1,200 for the support of a minister.<sup>7</sup> Hussey then wrote to Bishop Tuttle about the attitude of the locals who were willing to make financial donations to maintain a pastor: “The supporters of your church here will be Gentile business men generally—men who are daily mingling, in business and socially, with Mormons and their leaders, and who are determined to live here in peace and harmony and do just to all.” Then came this very practical, businesslike warning: “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.” Hussey concluded by emphasizing that the new minister should be “a man willing to work for his cause and build up his church on its merits and not expect to tear down an opposing cause to build on.”<sup>8</sup> This counsel from an influential layman no doubt had some impact in molding the bishop’s future course rel-

ative to the Church.

Tuttle's devoted assistants in the ministry had the distinction of first putting this policy to the test nearly two months before the bishop even arrived in Utah. When it was determined to establish an Episcopal mission in Utah, the Reverend George W. Foote, Tuttle's brother-in-law, and Thomas W. Haskins, a young seminarian, volunteered to go first to Utah and pave the way for Bishop Tuttle and his party.

The two adventurous clergymen, arriving separately in Salt Lake City on 3 and 4 May, promptly arranged for the church's first religious service held on Sunday, 5 May, in Independence Hall.<sup>9</sup> Reverend Foote gave the first sermon, which, according to Haskins, "gave the key-note to the position and the policy" of the Episcopal Church relative to the LDS Church. "It was, not to antagonize evil by direct assault, but to plant and maintain a positive good, . . . saying not a single word against the Mormons."<sup>10</sup> Haskins believed that many in attendance likely "went away disappointed" because nothing was said during the service that would excite the Gentiles to hate the Mormons. Yet even though some were disappointed and evidently accused the young ministers of being cowards, the clergymen continued, in general, to adhere to their policy.

Haskins always defended their position, maintaining that, as a result, "the Mormon authorities could get no handle to make war on the Church."<sup>11</sup> George Foote and Thomas Haskins made a courageous stand. Their position was a departure from the vicious anti-Mormon approach taken by Norman McLeod, the Congregational minister who preceded them. More important, they stayed away from the outspoken, quarrelsome stance that many clergymen of other denominations would later take against the LDS Church.<sup>12</sup>

This by no means meant that Bishop Tuttle and his associates intended to befriend or fraternize regularly with the leaders of the Church. A few days after Foote and Haskins arrived in Utah, they paid a formal visit to Brigham Young, to whom they had letters of introduction. Haskins remembered that President Young received them cordially and treated them with "much apparent courtesy." The Mormon Prophet told them he was pleased that they had "come among his people," and he even invited them "to preach in the Tabernacle on the following Sunday." Brigham Young's friendly reception apparently threw the two clergymen off guard, but they "had determined to accept no courtesy from the Mormons" and so respectfully declined the invitation. Haskins wrote, "We saw the fang of the serpent in the leer of his eye and in his sensuous mouth as [Young] watched the effect of his words."<sup>13</sup> Haskins' use of the word "sensual" probably signaled his absolute contempt for the Mormon practice of plural marriage.

Two months later, when Bishop Tuttle arrived in Salt Lake City, his attitude toward Brigham Young and the leadership of the LDS Church seemed similar to that of Foote and Haskins. On 9 July 1867, the bishop, in company with George Foote and Warren Hussey, called on Brigham Young in his office. 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.

Calling Bishop Tuttle by his title, President Young introduced him to several people, including Elder George Q. Cannon, one of the Twelve Apostles. During their visit, they made casual conversation about such diverse topics as the recent Fourth of July celebration, the nation's policy on reconstruction in the Southern states, and foreign affairs in Mexico. When it came time to leave, President Young shook their hands and told them that if they ever heard rumors about himself or the Mormons, to please come and see him personally, as he would always "set things right." The bishop wrote that he and his party "were most civilly and courteously treated" but were "not asked to call again." However, the bishop felt that Brigham Young was "so powerful a man in everything . . . and so unscrupulous a man" that Tuttle feared in most things his policy would be "to have as little as possible to do with him."<sup>14</sup>

All extant records indicate that Tuttle was true to his word. There is no evidence that he ever met personally with the LDS President again. Years later, after Tuttle had moved from Utah, he wrote unequivocally that "as Bishop and missionary [he] asked no favors of the Mormon hierarchy, and gave none."<sup>15</sup> However, his attitude toward the rank-and-file Mormon population was much more positive: "As neighbor and friend I strove to be neighborly and friendly and there does not dwell in my memory to-day the recollection of one unkind personal action from them to me or from me to them."<sup>16</sup>

It is impossible to understand Bishop Tuttle's Mormon policy without a discussion of the mission schools the Episcopal Church established in the Utah territory during the last third of the nineteenth century. On 1 July 1867, George Foote and Thomas Haskins founded St. Mark's School, the first of several day schools the Episcopal Church eventually established in Utah. Presbyterians, Methodists, and other denominations also established schools within the next few years; but from 1867 to 1869, the Episcopal Church was the only non-Mormon religious institution in the territory to sponsor schools.<sup>17</sup>

Haskins believed that "education was the chief handmaid of religion" and that their schools were "perhaps even more potent than the church ser-

vices.”<sup>18</sup> It was the day after St. Mark’s School was established, on 2 July 1867, that Bishop Tuttle arrived in Salt Lake City.<sup>19</sup> The next few days he gave his wholehearted approval of his colleague’s decision “that a day school would be the most efficient instrumentality in doing good missionary work.” Tuttle himself once declared that the “schools were the backbone of missionary work.” Referring to Mormons, he once boldly declared that their “adults were fanatics, and so beyond the reach of our influence, . . . but the plastic minds and wills of the young we could hope to win to better views and mold in nobler ways.”<sup>20</sup> The bishop was even more candid about the influence he hoped the Episcopal education system would one day have on the Mormons. Referring to Brigham Young after his one and only visit with him in 1867, he said, “With his keen-sightedness he must know that . . . by our services and our school, we are putting our clutches to his very throat.”<sup>21</sup>

This, of course, was not the sole reason for establishing mission schools. In 1867, Utah still had no public school system, and the Mormon Church had not yet established its academy system. The Mormons did hold day schools in their meeting houses, but course work was generally quite elementary. In addition, LDS schools were required to teach Mormon doctrine, and much of the non-Mormon community considered these LDS day schools highly unsatisfactory.<sup>22</sup> For this reason, the Episcopal Church sincerely desired to provide a higher quality of education, not only for its own people but also for the people of other faiths in the territory who might be interested. However, without question, one of the motives of the Episcopal mission schools was to “rescue young Mormons from Mormonism.”<sup>23</sup>

### **Controversy over Mission School Policy**

The Episcopal missionaries never intended to announce publicly to the LDS community that one of the purposes of their schools was to win over the minds of young Mormon students. Yet their subtle intentions were soon discovered and exposed. On 8 October 1867, Bishop Tuttle and his associates wrote a circular to their brethren in the East, appealing for financial assistance to buy land and build a schoolhouse for St. Mark’s School in Salt Lake City.<sup>24</sup>

In their zeal to obtain potential donors, they painted a picture of Mormonism they hoped would stimulate contributions, even though it was uncomplimentary of LDS doctrine and society. The circular began: “Out of a strange place we make our appeal to you. . . . A strange social atmosphere environs us. Strange doctrines, Gnostic, Materialistic, Anthropomorphic, Polygamic, are being taught Sunday after Sunday here. Increasing thousands of children are growing up in this territory . . . who know absolutely nothing of any other social system than polygamy.” The letter then pleaded, “If this

land is to be saved . . . to civilization and Christianity, the children must be taught in civilized Christian ways. Remember that, without such teaching and training, the children will of course, accept Mormonism and polygamy.” The missionaries went on to say, “We are the only Christian missionaries in the territory. . . . The great feature of the work is in teaching and training children.” They then pleaded for \$15,000 to build a schoolhouse, even before they asked for contributions to build a chapel.<sup>25</sup>



*St. Mark's School in Salt Lake City, Utah  
Photo courtesy of Utah State Historical Society  
Salt Lake City, Utah*

As fate would have it, somebody other than the authors gave a copy of the letter to the *Deseret News*, which in turn published it in its entirety on 4 December 1867. The editor of the newspaper then wrote a response that expressed considerable resentment toward the missionaries' attitude. In part, the editor wrote, “The writers know well what chords to touch to move the hearts of those to whom they have appealed. ‘Mormonism and polygamy’—‘land to be saved to civilization and christianity’—‘children to be trained in civilized christian ways’—‘only christian missionaries in the Territory’—what pictures do these conjure up in the imagination of the . . . Christian brethren in the east!” The editor then lamented, “When these . . . Christian ministers came here, we understood they disclaimed all intention of seeking to make proselytes among the community. They came, they said, to look after the members of their own persuasion. The circular reveals a different purpose.”<sup>26</sup>



This editorial marks one of the few times during Tuttle's Utah ministry that the Mormons publicly criticized the bishop or the Episcopal Church. On the other hand, Bishop Tuttle and his colleagues wisely chose not to openly retaliate but to stay their course. As a result, with the passing of time, this potentially volatile situation seemed to subside. During the rest of Bishop Tuttle's years in Utah, there are very few instances of his ever openly attacking the LDS Church in the Utah press. Although an activist in working for antipolygamy legislation, he never took part in publicly or viciously attacking individual polygamists.<sup>27</sup>

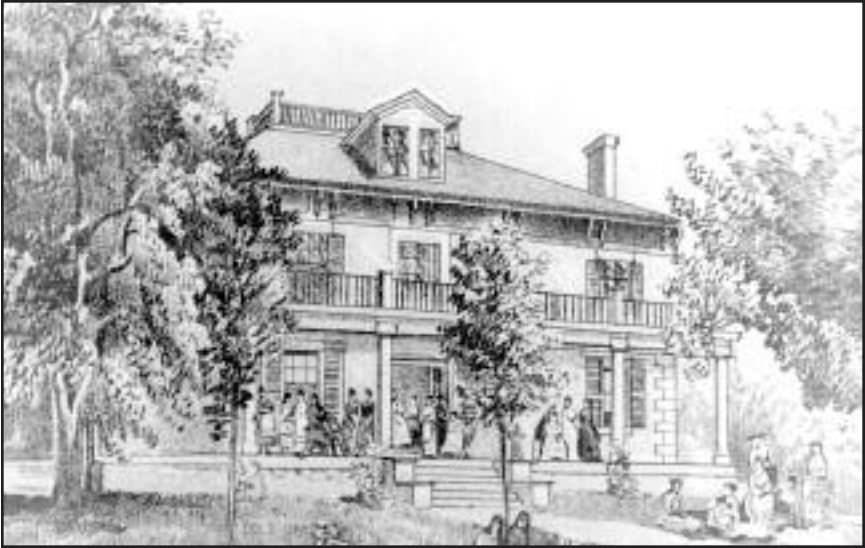
### **Influence of the Mission Schools**

From the beginning, the mission schools were well attended. Non-Mormons flocked to them, of course, but many Mormon families also sent their children to Episcopal schools. This was especially the case before the LDS Church established its own academy system in the 1870s and 1880s—and also before the territory founded its public school system in 1890. When Bishop Tuttle moved from Utah in 1886, the Episcopal Church had five excellent schools operating in the territory. In Salt Lake City, there were St. Mark's Day School and Roland Hall School for Girls.<sup>28</sup> In addition, the Episcopal Church founded schools in Ogden, Logan, and Plain City. Inasmuch as Logan and Plain City had essentially no non-Mormon population at the time, literally all the students attending the Episcopal schools in those two towns were from LDS families.<sup>29</sup>

Without question, Bishop Tuttle and his fellow clergymen were true pioneers in raising the quality of education in Utah. Almost without exception, prominent members of the LDS Church have lavished praise on Tuttle and the achievements of the Episcopal schools. For example, President Levi Edgar Young, a member of the First Council of Seventy, once wrote, "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. Bishop Tuttle . . . left an influence on the educational ideals of the state that will never be forgotten."<sup>30</sup> B. H. Roberts, the venerable LDS historian and General Authority, likewise affirmed: "Bishop Tuttle . . . won the respect and esteem of both church leaders and the Latter-day Saints, . . . for he accorded to them . . . what he intended to be fair treatment. The Episcopal Church, under his direction and those who followed him, flourished in Utah." Roberts then attributed to Tuttle and his associates "the honor of pioneering in Utah . . . the founding of non-'Mormon' Christian educational institutions."<sup>31</sup>

In fact, as the years went by, the mission schools of the Episcopal Church, as well as schools of other denominations, came to be held in such





Rowland Hall, Salt Lake City, Utah  
Photo courtesy of Utah State Historical Society  
Salt Lake City, Utah

high regard that they motivated the leaders of the LDS Church to improve the quality of their own school system. Soon after the Episcopal Church founded St. Mark's School, the *Deseret News* asserted that the time had now come "for greater attention to be paid to scholastic education. The circumstances of the people are easy. They can spare the labor of their young people, . . . and they can also afford to pay school charges."<sup>32</sup>

In 1875, the LDS Church founded Brigham Young Academy in Provo, and in 1877 it established Brigham Young College in Logan. However, these actions were not enough. The Mormons continued to feel competition from the mission schools. In 1884, Franklin D. Richards, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, warned the Mormons: "People of other religious denominations tell us that if we will give them the education of our children for a certain number of years, they will wrest them from us, turn them loose upon the world [and] cause them to depart from the faith of their fathers." Elder Richards then charged: "Seeing this is the design of our enemies, . . . ought we not to sense more deeply the value of that consideration—yes, but in a thousand-fold greater degree—we ought to see that the faith of our children is preserved."<sup>33</sup>

Within the next four years, the LDS Church had established a total of twenty-one academies, not only in Utah but throughout the Intermountain West.<sup>34</sup> In the main, these academies provided an excellent secondary edu-

cation; and several of them even offered college courses, especially in teacher training. Then, in 1890, the territorial legislature finally established a quality public school system. The combination of these two important educational developments led to the demise of many of the mission schools—but not before these facilities helped enrich the quality of education in the territory and stimulate the establishment of high-quality systems of education, both in the LDS Church and in the Mormon-dominated public schools.

Nevertheless, the mission schools did meet with considerable frustration in their more subtle policy of trying to “rescue young Mormons from Mormonism.” As early as 1867, Bishop Tuttle seemed to sense that this job would not be easy. At that time, he considered Mormonism “a desperately, hideously, growingly strong institution. . . . In numbers, by immigration and polygamy, the Mormons are multiplying astonishingly.” Speaking of LDS youth, he observed, “Their children are carefully trained and see and know nothing else, as to religion and social life, but Mormonism and polygamy. Their organization is perfect. Their autocrat is terribly crafty and wise. Their tithing system heaps up riches for power.”<sup>35</sup>

As the years passed, the Episcopal clergy seemed to concede that even though they had been extremely successful in building an Episcopal stronghold in the very heart of Mormondom, they had been much less fortunate in breaking the grip of the LDS Church on its own people. For example, *The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Missionary Bishop of Utah and Idaho* declared: “The years come and go, but . . . not much change can be discerned in the aspect of Mormonism by us who live within its stronghold. . . . Its iron discipline—ecclesiastical, political, social—keeps all its people well enranked. . . . To all appearances there is no break as yet in the solidarity of the ranks, no jar in the perfectness of the unity.”<sup>36</sup>

In the year 1886, an Episcopal Minister wrote with similar regret: “Brigham Young has been dead for eight years, and ‘Mormonism has not gone to pieces,’ nor is it in a dying condition; but despite the vast and expensive efforts to ‘smash,’ ‘up-root,’ ‘knock to pieces,’ ‘wipe out,’ ‘christianize,’ and ‘disfranchise’ Mormonism, it still flourishes and ‘holds the fort.’”<sup>37</sup> Thus, despite the fact that Bishop Tuttle and his colleagues were extremely successful in upgrading the quality of education throughout Mormon-dominated Utah, they were much less fortunate in their attempt to win over young Mormon minds to mainstream Christianity.

### **Influence of Mormons on Bishop Tuttle**

Even though Bishop Tuttle would always despise Mormon doctrine and have a particular abhorrence for plural marriage, he nevertheless seemed to

have genuine affection for his Mormon neighbors and a sincere respect for some of the programs and practices of the LDS Church. During his first visit to Utah, he wrote in a letter to his wife that he was very much impressed with the standards and general behavior of LDS youth: "There seems to be less profanity, rowdyism, rampant and noisy wickedness among young Mormons than among the youth of any other town or city where I've been. Drunkenness is a crime almost unknown among them."<sup>38</sup> On other occasions, he complimented the Latter-day Saints on their diligence, hard work, and ingenuity. He once conceded, "In the main the Mormons are industrious. It is accounted an honor to work. Drones and tramps are not tolerated among them."<sup>39</sup>

He thought Salt Lake City was beautiful. He especially had a liking for its straight and wide streets and the irrigation furrows that watered the shade trees of the city.<sup>40</sup> He was also complimentary of the communities outside of Salt Lake City, sometimes speaking of them in almost picturesque terms. Once, after taking a long trip through northern Utah, he wrote the following description of the Mormon towns and countryside: "Their crops looked very fine. Some of their villages were very prepossessing, and everywhere we saw the delightful sight of streams of living water carried about their streets and yards and farms."<sup>41</sup>

Bishop Tuttle admired the way the Mormons took care of their poor and was particularly grateful for the fact that Mormon Bishops were also willing to help Tuttle in caring for the needy of the Episcopal Church. Especially in the early years, when the Episcopal Church was small, Tuttle "more than once went to the [Mormon] ward Bishops for help," and they never refused him. He maintained that "Bishop Wolley of the thirteenth ward was quite a favorite with the Gentiles."<sup>42</sup>

Although Tuttle detested the practice of plural marriage, he spoke with genuine yet paradoxical fondness of two polygamous widows who were his neighbors: "These two women were as good, true, faithful, pure women as I ever knew. They had refined ladylike natures, and they were exceedingly kind to me and my family in times of sickness. My heart warms in tender gratitude as I recall all they were to us." Tuttle was also impressed with the family life of the same two widows: "They lived in different suites of apartments in the same house, and each had several children. The love of the two for each other, and the harmony and affection existing among all the children, were remarkable."<sup>43</sup>

On one occasion, Bishop Tuttle tried to analyze in writing the reasons for the strength and vitality of Mormonism. In so doing, he was quite candid in his admiration for some aspects of the religion. For example, he had high regard for the Church's organizational structure, especially the prolifer-



*Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle*  
*Photo courtesy of Utah State Historical Society*  
*Salt Lake City, Utah*

ation of lay leadership positions and member involvement. Tuttle claimed this organizational philosophy gave much satisfaction “to the self-assertion, ambition, and desire for leadership, natural to man.” He therefore advised the bishops and rectors of the Episcopal Church to give their laymen more authority and responsibility; in so doing he believed the “interest . . . loyalty and devotion of disciples” would increase.<sup>44</sup>

He also thought the Mormons’ devoted belief in the concept of divine revelation was one of the sources of vitality in the Church.<sup>45</sup> He once stated, “These

Mormons . . . honestly believe that Brigham Young is a prophet inspired of heaven. They are ready to obey him implicitly in all things. . . . I feel quite sure that there are thousands and ten thousands in the country ready to do his biddings and almost to worship him.”<sup>46</sup>

Mormon tithe paying made a notable impression on Bishop Tuttle as well. He acknowledged scriptural precedent for the practice and affirmed that tithing contributed “greatly to the practical prosperity of the Church.” Not only did it pay for LDS meeting houses, tabernacles, and temples but also it provided a means for the Mormon poor to be “succored and kept from utter destitution.”<sup>47</sup> Tuttle also respected the fact that Mormon clergy were not paid by their church. He once noted: “The officials of the Church receive no salaries. . . . [They] have their own businesses . . . and pay their own way. There is never such a thing as a collection taken up at a Mormon

meeting.”<sup>48</sup>

Finally, Tuttle was intrigued with the strength and vitality of the Mormon missionary program. He called it “remarkable” and maintained that “all sorts of advantages have accrued from it.”<sup>49</sup> First, the thousands of new LDS converts migrating to Utah strengthened the Mormon stronghold in the Mountain West. Second, “the missionaries go forth at their own expense . . . [while] their families in Utah in the meantime industriously provide for themselves.” Tuttle believed “such acts of self-sacrifice promote loving loyalty to the cause for which the sacrifice is made.”<sup>50</sup>

Bishop Tuttle once summarized the strengths of the LDS Church in the following words: “If one considers the religious earnestness that belief in revelation begets . . . and made deep and strong by self-sacrifice in giving of means in tithes, and of time and strength in missionary work, one will not be surprised to find in Mormonism an amazing vigor.”<sup>51</sup>

Bishop Tuttle’s willingness to make these kinds of charitable statements about the Mormon people and their customs, in spite of numerous doctrinal differences, is probably the main reason why so many Latter-day Saints held him in such high esteem. When Tuttle finally moved from Utah to Missouri, after living among the Mormons for almost two decades, the *Deseret Evening News* printed a highly favorable editorial about the Episcopal bishop. In part, it said that even though Tuttle was “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 oppression and spoliation of Latter-day Saints, but has on many occasions borne testimony to their good qualities, in public and private.” The editorial went on to say, “Bishop Tuttle is not only frank enough to express freely his dissent from the doctrines of the Mormons, while among them, but brave enough to speak in defense of that unpopular people when in the midst of their enemies.” The article concluded with these friendly parting words: “We bid the gentleman farewell, with best wishes for his welfare. 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 good will among men.”<sup>52</sup>

### **Bishop Tuttle’s Successors**

Fortunately, Bishop Tuttle’s policy of friendliness toward Mormon people and his peaceful coexistence with the LDS Church are outcomes that endured, in principle, into the twentieth century. There was some variation in emphasis, but many Episcopal clergy of Utah followed Tuttle’s precedent in dealing with the Latter-day Saints. For example, in 1898, Bishop Abiel Leonard, Tuttle’s immediate successor, made a point of writing in his annu-

al report that relations between the Episcopal Church and the LDS Church were “very kindly.”<sup>53</sup> Again, in 1901, while speaking to a large gathering of Episcopalians in the Salt Lake Theater, Leonard stated that the policy of the Episcopal Church was “never to antagonize our Mormon neighbors. We are simply contending in a kindly way for the faith.”<sup>54</sup>

Franklin S. Spalding, who served as Episcopal bishop from 1904 to 1914, has sometimes been incorrectly portrayed as a rabid anti-Mormon. Spalding wrote a pamphlet entitled *Joseph Smith Jr. as a Translator* wherein he endeavored to discredit the Book of Abraham. However, in reality, Spalding was an honest intellectual who was respectful and tolerant of those who had opposing views. Spalding certainly did not think of himself as a rabid anti-Mormon. He once wrote that the method of the Episcopal Church in dealing with the Mormons was “to avoid politics and polemic, to preach positively the historic gospel and to exert helpful personal influence.”<sup>55</sup> However, on another occasion, he qualified his position by stating, “I cannot help feeling that I must point out to the Mormon what I feel are untruths . . . proclaiming in his hearing as convincingly as I can, the positive truth I hold. . . . Yet surely it is clear that sarcasm and ridicule are not only discourteous but stupid forms of argument.”<sup>56</sup>

One of the most friendly Episcopal bishops toward the Mormon Church was Arthur W. Moulton, who served as bishop in Utah from 1920 to 1946. Early in his ministry, he gave a highly complimentary address on Mormonism while he was traveling in the midwestern United States. Newspapers in Ohio and Indiana gave coverage of his lecture: “In speaking of the Mormons, Bishop Moulton declared that they were not awful nor terrible, as many proposed, but were really a progressive people. ‘They are no different from the rest of us’ he said. . . . Mormons are not a religious nor moral menace. . . . I have no bitter word to say against the Mormons, for their treatment of me has been as a Christian.”<sup>57</sup>

In 1921, while Moulton was bishop, the Utah Diocese hosted the annual meeting of the Fourth Synod of the Province of the Pacific of the Episcopal Church. During the Thursday morning session, the Reverend W. F. Bulkley of Provo presented an important paper on Mormonism that did much to soften the hearts of his fellow clergy toward the LDS Church. “He expressed a high regard for the Mormon people.” By the 1920s, the practice of solemnizing plural marriages had long since come to an end, and Bulkley made a point of complimenting Mormons in a way that most of these clergy had probably never heard before. He commended the Latter-day Saints for the “sanctity of the marriage relation, honesty, virtue and sincerity in all their dealings.” He even asserted that “the Episcopal Church could, with very slight revision, very easily adopt the Mormon Sunday school lessons

and the Mormon system of bringing religious thought into the daily life of every individual.” The paper created so much favorable comment that a number of bishops and clergymen requested that Bulkley conduct a special conference on Mormonism “to set aright some misconceptions they had entertained as a result of hearing anti-Mormon speakers. The consensus of opinion was that the Mormon People [had] been grossly misrepresented by many so called lecturers.”<sup>58</sup>

### Conclusion

It seems only fitting that in the year 1922, at a time when friendship between the LDS Church and the Episcopal Church was at a very high level, none other than Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle made a brief visit to Salt Lake City. It had been fifty-five years since Tuttle first came to Utah as a young missionary bishop. Many of his contemporaries in both churches had since passed away. Brigham Young had been dead for almost a half century. The Mormon Church no longer authorized the performing of plural marriages, and most of the contention associated with that controversial practice was a thing of the past. It was a new era. The President of the LDS Church was now Heber J. Grant, a second-generation Mormon. President Grant was only a ten-year-old boy when Bishop Tuttle established the first Episcopal Church in Salt Lake City.

However, at least one LDS Church leader could share memories of those early years with Bishop Tuttle. That person was Charles W. Penrose, the ninety-year-old counselor to President Grant in the First Presidency of the LDS Church. In fact, Penrose and Tuttle had become quite fond of each other through the decades. Their friendship evidently had crystallized in those early years when both leaders were in London, England, on business for their respective churches. When Penrose discovered that his fellow citizen of Utah was also in London, he searched Tuttle out and paid him a visit. Bishop Tuttle was lonely at the time and appreciated the gesture. This experience had a bonding effect on their relationship; and even after Tuttle moved from Utah, the two men corresponded with each other. On 20 January 1922, the bishop sent a letter to President Penrose congratulating him on his ninetieth birthday.<sup>59</sup> Then, in September of that same year, the *Deseret News* announced that Tuttle was coming to Salt Lake City and that the two venerable leaders would once again visit with each other.<sup>60</sup> The local newspapers gave considerable coverage to the upcoming meeting. After all, by this time, these two men had risen to the highest levels of leadership in their respective churches: Tuttle had become the Presiding Bishop of Episcopal Church in the United States, and Penrose had been called as first counselor in the presidency of the LDS Church.



On the Monday evening after Bishop Tuttle arrived in Salt Lake City, President Penrose drove to the St. Mark's Rectory and left his card for his old friend. The next morning the bishop paid a visit to President Penrose at the office of the First Presidency. "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."<sup>61</sup> President Penrose said they "were not eye to eye in religion but [they] never quarreled over it."<sup>62</sup>

This would be the last time these two great men would ever visit with each other. Bishop Tuttle would pass away during the next year. Yet the bishop lived long enough to see his policy of kindness toward Mormon people perpetuated for over a half century. It was a deliberate, well-thought-out policy, founded on the Christian ideal of the Golden Rule. As a result, Daniel S. Tuttle distinguished himself as a sterling example of how people of different faiths and persuasions should interact with each other.

### Notes

1. Conference Report, April 1936, 10.
2. Report of Bishop Tuttle, 1867, 49. Episcopal Diocese of Utah, Acquisition 426, Box 4, Fd. 1, Manuscripts Division, Special Collections, University of Utah Marriott Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. Hereafter, only box and folder numbers will be given for materials from this collection; B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church*, 6 vols. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 5:490–98; Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 103–5. Tuttle claimed the Presbyterians came to Utah in 1870, but Roberts documents the fact that the Presbyterians actually arrived in 1869.
3. Daniel S. Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West: Reminiscences of Episcopal Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, 1866–1886* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 103–4; hereafter referred to as *Missionary*; B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 5:490–92.
4. Report of Bishop Tuttle, 1867, 50, Box 4, Fd. 1.
5. Tuttle, *Missionary*, 57.
6. Warren Hussey to Daniel S. Tuttle, 13 March 1867, in Tuttle, *Missionary*, 58–59.
7. *Ibid.*, 58.
8. *Ibid.*, 60.
9. Report of Bishop Tuttle, 1867, 49, Box 4, Fd. 1.
10. Thomas Haskins to Mrs. Hamilton, 10 December 1891, in Tuttle, *Missionary*, 365, 368.
11. *Ibid.*, 368–69.
12. Roberts, 5: 494–96.
13. Thomas Haskins to Mrs. Hamilton, 10 December 1891, in Tuttle, *Missionary*, 370–71.
14. Daniel S. Tuttle to Harriet Tuttle, 10 July 1867, in Tuttle, *Missionary*, 111–14.
15. Tuttle, *Missionary*, 251.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Report of Bishop Tuttle, 1867, 49; Thomas Haskins to Mrs. Hamilton, 10

December 1891, in Tuttle, *Missionary*, 369–70.

18. Thomas Haskins to Mrs. Hamilton, 10 December 1891, in Tuttle, *Missionary*, 369.

19. *The Episcopal Register*, 7. A photocopy of the handwritten register held in the archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Utah, Salt Lake City. Hereafter noted as Diocesan Archives; Thomas Haskins to Mrs. Hamilton, 10 December 1891, in Tuttle, *Missionary*, 372.

20. Tuttle, *Missionary*, 363.

21. Daniel S. Tuttle to Harriet Tuttle, 10 July 1867, in Tuttle, *Missionary*, 114.

22. Tuttle, *Missionary*, 373.

23. William E. Berrett and Alma Burton, *Readings in LDS Church History*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book company, 1958), 3:340.

24. The Diocesan archives contains a photocopy of the circular. The salutation is “Dear Christian Brethren.”

25. *Ibid.*

26. *The Deseret News*, Salt Lake City, Utah, 4 December 1867.

27. The Diocesan archives contains a photocopy of an antipolygamy circular dated November 1881 and signed by ten ministers from various Christian denominations in Salt Lake City with Bishop Tuttle’s name at the top of the list of signees. The salutation is “To the Ministers of the ..... Church in the United States.” The letter suggested ways in which the “anti-Polygamy law of Congress” could be amended and strengthened. The circular asked the ministers throughout the nation to make the information available to the Members of Congress in their various districts. See also Roberts, 6:141.

28. In 1881, St. Mark’s School for Girls merged with Roland Hall. Tuttle, *Missionary*, 373. See also Paul La Mar Martin, “A Historical Study of the Religious Education Program of the Episcopal Church in Utah,” (Master’s Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1967), 47.

29. Tuttle, *Missionary*, 377.

30. Levi Edgar Young, *The Founding of Utah*, (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1923), 432.

31. Roberts, 5:492.

32. “Education—Change of Taste,” *The Deseret News*, Salt Lake City, 4 December 1867.

33. *Journal of Discourses* (London: John Henry Smith, 1884), 25:374.

34. Berrett and Burton, 3:337.

35. Daniel S. Tuttle to Harriet Tuttle, 15 October 1867, in Tuttle, *Missionary*, 343.

36. *The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Missionary Bishop of Utah and Idaho*, in Martin, 37.

37. *Salt Lake Herald*, 14 January 1886, in *Journal History*, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

38. Daniel S. Tuttle to Harriet Tuttle, 10 July 1867, in Tuttle, *Missionary*, 110.

39. Tuttle, *Missionary*, 353.

40. Daniel S. Tuttle to Harriet Tuttle, 5 July 1867, in Tuttle, *Missionary*, 107.

41. Daniel S. Tuttle to Harriet Tuttle, 19 July 1867, in Tuttle, *Missionary*, 125.

42. Tuttle, *Missionary*, 314.

43. *Ibid.*, 313.

44. *Ibid.*, 307.

45. *Ibid.*, 335.

46. Daniel S. Tuttle to Harriet Tuttle, 19 July 1867, in Tuttle, *Missionary*, 125.

47. Tuttle, *Missionary*, 340.

48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., 341.
50. Ibid., 342.
51. Ibid.
52. "Speak of a Man as You Find Him," *Deseret Evening News*, 26 August 1886.
53. *Eleventh Annual Report of the Missionary Bishop of Nevada and Utah*, Diocesan Archives.
54. "Large Meeting at the Theater," *Deseret News*, 29 September 1901, in *Journal History*, LDS Church Archives.
55. *The Missionary District of Utah*, 1909, Diocesan Archives.
56. *The Utah Survey*, February 1914, 16–17, Diocesan Archives.
57. "Mormons Law Abiding, Episcopal Bishop Says," *Star*, Marion, Ohio, 8 February 1921, in *Journal History*, LDS Church Archives; also "Episcopal Bishop Gives Opinions on Mormons," *Courier*, Jasper, Indiana, 6 May 1921, in *Journal History*, LDS Church Archives.
58. "Episcopal Clergy May Combat Opposition to Utah Mormon Church," *Salt Lake Telegram*, 10 September 1921, in *Journal History*, LDS Church Archives.
59. Daniel S. Tuttle to President C. W. Penrose, 20 January 1922, photocopy in LDS Church Archives.
60. "Venerable Leaders of Different Churches to Meet Again in Utah," *Deseret News*, 14 September 1922, in *Manuscript History*, LDS Church Archives.
61. "Episcopal Bishop Visits Offices of First Presidency," *Deseret News*, 26 September 1922, in *Manuscript History*, LDS Church Archives.
62. "Venerable Leaders of Different Churches to Meet Again in Utah," *Deseret News*, 14 September 1922, in *Manuscript History*, LDS Church Archives.