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## Women In Utah History

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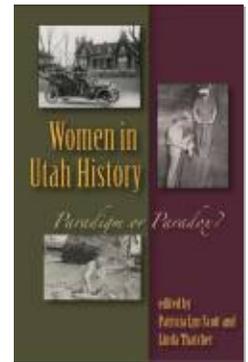
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## Conflict and Contributions

### Women in Churches, 1847–1920

John Sillito

From the very beginning of its existence as a territory, Utah's political, social, and economic life has been characterized by division along religious lines. Both perceived wrongs and real injustices exacerbated tensions between Mormons and Gentiles. Throughout the nineteenth century, the fledgling Mormon Church was targeted by preachers in the pulpit and politicians on the platform for its "un-American and un-Christian" beliefs. While Mormon communalism and theocracy was at the root of the antipathy toward the Saints, the most determined, strident—and public—opposition focused on the doctrine of plural marriage, or polygamy.<sup>1</sup>

For women active in religious denominations, both Mormon and non-Mormon, polygamy was a difficult question that often seemed to pit woman against woman. Although Mormon women may have experienced private pain and doubt, the public position of most was that plural marriage was ordained of God; it was a religious commandment and a necessary step toward eternal exaltation. Their feelings are typified by the fervent "words of faith in the defense of my religion" of Helen Marr Clark Callister, the second wife of Thomas Callister, of Fillmore. As one of the first to enter plural marriage, and after living it for more than thirty years, Callister asserted in this draft of a public address that she knew the principle of plural marriage to be both a truth and a blessing:

I have shared hunger, poverty, and toil with my husband's first wife whom I love as a dear sister; together we trod the trackless wilds to reach these then sterile valleys; together we battled the hardships of the "first year." The remembrance of those days are indelibly stamped upon my mind never to be erased. I have seen my husband stagger for want of food. I have heard my babies cry for bread and had nothing to give them; but with unceasing toil, and by the

blessings of God, our efforts were crowned with success. . . . Through these trying scenes, ties closer than those of sisterhood bound us together and the principle of plural marriage was firmly planted in our souls.<sup>2</sup>

For non-Mormon women, however, polygamy seemed foreign and repellent. As Jana Kathryn Riess observed, no other social practice “so distressed the American evangelical community in the late nineteenth century, when Mormonism had achieved a powerful foothold in the Rocky Mountains and was importing converts by the thousands.”<sup>3</sup> Moreover, as Peggy Pascoe notes, “the very existence of polygamy,” was seen as a threat to all women because Mormon women were “trapped in a marriage system that made a mockery of female authority and virtually enslaved wives.” For these women, polygamy, constituted a “diabolical attempt to reduce the status of women by making women into sacrifices.”<sup>4</sup>

Thus, while they criticized their Mormon sisters for living as plural wives, and often found an explanation for their behavior in gullibility, credulity, or even religious fanaticism, most Gentile women believed that plural wives were unwilling participants who, if given an opportunity, would reject polygamy. Of course turning their backs on plural marriage was a difficult challenge to Mormon women as even the *Salt Lake Tribune* realized when it editorialized: “Does the country expect that these people are going to plead guilty of the fact that they have for thirty years been wronging women and outraging civilization? Does it expect that the poor women who have been caught in these tolls [sic], and who if they break away have nothing but starvation before them, are going to come forward and unaided undertake to denounce this infamy?”<sup>5</sup>

Women’s role in the debate over polygamy is problematic. In the nineteenth century, sizeable numbers of non-Mormon women provided moral and financial impetus for the crusade against this “relic of barbarism,” while some served as foot soldiers in the battle itself as missionaries. Simultaneously, Mormon women fought for their right to practice their religious commitments. Today, many modern Mormon women consider their nineteenth-century foremothers heroines and even feminist role models.<sup>6</sup> Other historians, view nineteenth-century women, both Mormon and Gentile, as pawns of men with personal political and economic agendas, used willingly or unwillingly, wittingly or unwittingly, against their sisters.<sup>7</sup> In any event, the clash between Mormon and Gentile, particularly over polygamy, was the single most important feature of nineteenth-century Utah life.<sup>8</sup>

In assessing these questions, the work of Peggy Pascoe provides some important insights. In her study *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874–1939*, Pascoe asserts that, in the 1870s, middle-class Protestant women “joined together” in an effort to establish “female moral authority.” Influenced by the Victorian belief that women should be “pious moral guardians,” they set out to “‘rescue’ female victims of male

abuse.” Clearly such impulses motivated the Gentile women who came to Utah seeking to save their Mormon sisters from the trap of polygamy. As we will see, these assumptions were also at the root of the efforts of Angie Newman and others to establish Salt Lake’s Industrial Christian Home for Mormon women seeking shelter from plural marriages. Moreover, Pascoe argues that the concept of “female moral authority” provides a better lens from which to view the actions of nineteenth-century Protestant women than either the “timeworn” notion of “female moral superiority,” or the assertion that women were simply the “civilizers” of the American West.<sup>9</sup>

Against this background of conflict, however, between 1847 and 1920, an impressive panorama of constructive activities, spearheaded and carried out by women of many denominations, contributed to the building of the state. Many of these contributions were traditionally those assigned to women: providing for the comfort of husbands and children, heading up charitable efforts, nursing the sick, and educating the unschooled. Their economic contribution, though seldom quantified, was significant: They gardened, harvested, preserved, and prepared food; they raised sheep and flax, manufactured cloth, and sewed clothing and bedding; their flocks of chickens, their milk cows, and their pigs were significant, not only for household consumption, but as items for barter. Charles S. Peterson attributes to women and their children the creation and maintenance of Utah’s cheese industry during the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> In social life, they promoted art, culture, music, literature and theater. In religious life, Mormon women sustained the faith, accepted and defended plural marriage, supported husbands on missions, and simultaneously labored in church auxiliaries including the Relief Society for adult women, the Primary for children, and the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association for young women.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, non-Mormon women worked as teachers, missionaries, nurses, and in other capacities as they built churches, pursued careers, raised families and supported spouses. Yet much less is known about, and little scholarly attention has been paid to, the activities of these women during this crucial period in Utah history. This chapter provides an overview of the contributions of women active in the Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Unitarian, Christian Science, and other faiths. A good starting point, however, is an examination of the activities of LDS women.<sup>12</sup>

## MORMON WOMEN AND THEIR ZION

When the Mormon pioneers entered the Salt Lake Valley in July 1847, nine women and two girls were among the company. Stanley B. Kimball has commented that the “unanticipated inclusion” of three women when the main camp left Winter Quarters “was occasioned by the insistence of Brigham [Young]’s younger brother Lorenzo that he be allowed to take his asthmatic wife, Harriet, and their two children,” in hopes of improving her health. This

decision necessitated taking “one or two other females along” to keep her company.<sup>13</sup>

Other women, traveling with a separate migration of Saints from Mississippi, joined this main party at Laramie, Wyoming. From the record, these women seem to have performed vital tasks on the way. While much of their time was spent on such traditional activities as cooking, sewing, and tending children, several women served as scribes and diary keepers. While Kimball implies that the men did not particularly welcome these women at first, the mood changed. Originally Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball shared a wagon, thus foregoing their “conjugal rights.” But by May 1847, a month after setting out, Heber Kimball had moved into another wagon with “Ellen Sanders, his strong young Norwegian wife,” who gave birth eight months later to Samuel Chase Kimball, one of the “first white children” born in the valley.<sup>14</sup> By then, the female Mormon population in the Salt Lake Valley was roughly equal with that of men.<sup>15</sup>

Despite the last-minute inclusion of these women in the vanguard party of Mormon settlers, it is clear that the Saints, unlike some others in the broader national movement westward, intended for women and children to join them as soon as possible. The Mormons were intent on building a permanent settlement, and their families would be part of that development. Mormon women, drawing on their experiences during successive migrations from New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, arrived in the valley with a body of organizational skills and experiences that would be profitably employed in the initial settlement and later expansion along the Mormon Corridor.

As in other areas of the West, Utah had a moving frontier. Probably it is fair to say that each settlement went through a somewhat similar process of exploration, colonization, settlement, readjustment, and then development. After a decade or two of settlement and pioneering in Salt Lake City, for instance, Mormons had the money and spare time to begin developing their literary, cultural, and social interests, while Bear Lake in the north and St. George in the south were experiencing earlier stages of development, and the process had yet to begin for colonies in Arizona and Wyoming.

The LDS women’s auxiliaries were either reestablished or first created in the late 1860s. The most important of these was the Relief Society, initially established in Nauvoo under the leadership of Emma Smith, wife of the Mormon prophet. The Relief Society had been another casualty of the events of 1844 which saw the martyrdom of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum, the succession crisis, and the eventual forced migration of the Mormons from Illinois. In 1867, Eliza R. Snow, who had served as secretary of the Nauvoo Relief Society, was selected to reestablish Relief Societies in each ward by Brigham Young.

Snow, a plural wife of both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, was one of the most powerful and respected leaders of Mormon women in the nineteenth

century. As “Prophetess” of the Relief Society, Snow was “president of woman’s work of the Church in all the world,” and a major leader of Mormon women’s organizational activities in the years prior to statehood.<sup>16</sup>

The Relief Societies, organized one per ward, performed a variety of functions, perhaps most importantly helping the bishop in assisting the local poor. Women collected and disbursed money and commodities, and also performed such tasks as sewing, cleaning, gleaning, and manufacturing small items collectively. As a part of their efforts, Relief Societies in various wards purchased real estate, built their own meeting halls, and also erected granaries.<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, the Relief Society, at the direction of Brigham Young, began raising silkworms as early as 1855 and storing grain in 1876.<sup>18</sup> Though the silk industry proved to be only marginally successful, the grain storage program continued until World War I when, by action of the Presiding Bishop, the wheat was sold to the federal government for the war effort.<sup>19</sup>

Additionally, the Relief Society played an important part in providing social and cultural activities for Mormon women, reporting these activities through minutes and reports, and encouraging literary or journalistic work which was printed in the pages of the *Woman’s Exponent*, an independent publication which began in 1872 and was subsumed in the newly created *Relief Society Magazine* in 1915.<sup>20</sup> Along with other nineteenth-century periodicals like the *Contributor*, *Juvenile Instructor*, and the *Young Woman’s Journal*, the *Woman’s Exponent*, according to Bruce L. Campbell and Eugene E. Campbell, “carried the principles and programs of purification into Mormon homes, and when the time for reconciliation with the world came, they were vehicles for that enterprise as well.”<sup>21</sup>

The Relief Society aimed its efforts toward the mature women of the church—its mothers and grandmothers. In 1869, the same year that the railroad reached Utah, Brigham Young organized a Young Ladies Retrenchment Society for his daughters, encouraging them to eschew worldly fashions. With his encouragement, the movement spread throughout the state. Six years later, Junius F. Wells organized a parallel organization for young men. In January 1880, both organizations were systematized as the Young Ladies’ Mutual Improvement Association with Elmina Shepherd Taylor as its first president, and the Young Men’s Mutual Improvement Association led by Junius Wells, Heber J. Grant, and others.

In August 1878 in Kaysville, Aurelia Spencer Rogers organized the first local Primary Association, designed to provide instruction and recreation for Mormon children. In the same January 1880 meeting establishing the Mutual Improvement Associations, Louie B. Felt was named first president of the churchwide Primary program.<sup>22</sup>

In assessing the accomplishments of Mormon women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Jill Mulvay Derr has observed:

“Extensive family ties as well as friendships emerging from shared feelings and experiences in the woman’s sphere were the main components of Mormon sisterhood. Overlaid onto this network . . . was the churchwide organization of Mormon women into local Relief Society units that not only provided women with common goals and tasks but aroused the commitment to work publicly for the common good of women.” Moreover, Derr realizes, the fact that “all of these elements of sisterhood” present in this period led to a “culmination of strength and union unique in the history of Mormon women.”<sup>23</sup>

#### PROTESTANT WOMEN IN THE MORMON STRONGHOLD

As historian Gary Topping has noted, few “mission fields challenged the zeal of American Protestantism as the Mormon stronghold in Utah.” Indeed, many of Mormonism’s theological, ecclesiastical, and behavioral tenets were viewed as “direct affronts to the . . . Protestantism of the East and the Midwest.”<sup>24</sup> Protestant missionaries in Utah employed a wide range of tactics in confronting the nineteenth-century “Mormon menace,” and women played an important, if occasionally overlooked or marginalized, part in this effort. During the late 1870s and early 1880s, a number of home missionary societies and women’s missionary societies were organized in the Baptist, Congregational, and Methodist churches, which supported activities in Utah.<sup>25</sup> Most Protestant female activity in Utah centered around teaching, nursing, and, to a lesser degree, missionary work itself, although on a few occasions women also served as clergy.

By providing free education, and generally professional training, Protestant women teachers guaranteed an attractive alternative to the generally inadequate, Mormon-controlled, territorial schools which were woefully characterized even by the *Deseret News* in an 1855 editorial as having teachers who “had no other qualifications excepting they were out of employ,”<sup>26</sup> and also by overcrowding, inadequate facilities, and high tuition. Consequently, some Mormon parents were willing to risk the proselyting against their faith carried on in Protestant schools in exchange for the superior education they offered.<sup>27</sup>

An interesting assessment of this effort from a Mormon’s viewpoint appears in local historian David F. Smith’s memories of Centerville. Smith recalls that, when he was young, there were no publicly funded schools. Instead, parents paid monthly tuition to each teacher instructing a child. In addition to the local Mormon schools, parents had the option of sending children to a Presbyterian teacher named Abbey Benedict, who taught the “free sectarian school” in the community for a number of years. Her school was “maintained by sectarian church contributions from people in the eastern part of the United States,” who believed that if “the Mormon boys and girls could be educated it would be a contribution to humanity. Further education would spell the end of the Mormon church, they argued.”<sup>28</sup> Still, Smith recalls that Benedict was “highly respected,” not only by the non-Mormon population of the community but by the Mormons as well.

Women like Abbey Benedict exhibited considerable devotion and unusual professionalism in their efforts. The twenty-fourth annual report (1901) of the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society, headquartered in Chicago, includes an illuminating account of the various responsibilities of Baptist missionary Emma Parsons, who taught sewing classes for girls and wood carving for boys in Salt Lake City's East Side Baptist Church. Her classes were large, and she was particularly concerned with making a "special effort to save the boys," whom she found "irreverent, immoral and profane." In addition to teaching, Parsons records that her duties

varied with the season and the conditions of the church. I have taught in Sunday school, been church and Sunday school organist, or pianist, regularly or irregularly as the occasion demanded; served on committees in the Christian Endeavor Society, had charge of the Junior Christian Endeavor Society, assisted in the Ladies Aid and Missionary Society, served on committees and helped others to develop their talents, helped to prepare programs for special days and have written papers for special meetings. I am a delegate to the Young People's Christian Union and Chairman of one of its working committees; am superintendent of East Side's Home Department of the Sunday school and represent our church in the Home Founding Association of Utah.<sup>29</sup>

Combining sound curriculum and sound religious principles were, however, an indirect form of proselyting in Utah. By 1901 when Parsons wrote her report, the greatest battle between women in nineteenth-century Utah—the campaign to destroy polygamy—had been virtually ended by Wilford Woodruff's Manifesto, issued in September 1890 and voted on at the church's semi-annual general conference the next month, although skirmishes would continue in the first decade of the twentieth century. During the years after 1852, when the first public acknowledgment and defense of plural marriage was made, the practice of polygamy drew increasing attacks, gradually mobilizing the weight of the United States legislative, judicial, and executive branches of government to suppress it. It was a crusade that united almost all non-Mormons in the state, men and women alike, without regard to creed.

While it can be argued that both the defense of, and the opposition to, polygamy was largely directed by men, they actively enlisted large numbers of women on both sides of the question. Furthermore, the greatest impetus for the removal of polygamy came from women tied to religious denominations, who believed, in the words of historian Robert J. Dwyer, that they had "a holy mission to open the eyes" of deluded Mormon women and help them divest themselves of the "folly and indignity of their way of life." As Dwyer puts it, throughout the country these women

gathered to discuss the salvation of their Mormon sisters. Sober, dignified and purposeful, they sat on horse-hair sofas around tables with green baize

and passed resolutions. But they did more. . . . From their capacious reticules came the dollars that made possible the maintenance of the sectarian missions schools in far-off Utah. It was they who sent out teachers and paid their salaries. And it was to them, as to a rock of refuge and strength that the Gentile women of Utah confidently turned for encouragement and support as they launched their campaign to strike the shackles from the women of Mormondom.<sup>30</sup>

In November 1878, a mass meeting at Salt Lake's Independence Hall—a bastion of Gentile influence located at Third South and Main streets—attracted over two hundred women, who drafted a resolution sent to Lucy Hayes, wife of President Rutherford B. Hayes. After detailing the growth of plural marriage in the territory, the resolution asserted that Congress had “entirely failed to enact efficient or enforce existing laws for the abolition of this great crime.” Moreover, the petition charged that “more of these unlawful and unhallowed alliances have consummated the past year than ever before in the history of the Mormon church.” Asserting that the Mormon-dominated territorial legislature had used “every possible legislative safeguard in their power,” to prevent attacks on polygamy, the women called on Mrs. Hayes “to circulate and publish our appeal in order to arouse public sentiment against an abomination which peculiarly stigmatizes women.”<sup>31</sup>

In the aftermath of that meeting, an Anti-Polygamy Society (APS) was organized, calling upon all Christian women in the country to join the effort to end plural marriage in Utah. The group sponsored lectures, published books and tracts, and sponsored a newspaper, the *Anti-Polygamy Standard* (1880–83). Its pages were filled with articles and editorials calling for an end to the remaining “relic of barbarism.” Its articles linked the goals of the organization with those of the early abolitionists who had mobilized public opinion and eliminated slavery a generation before.

A conspicuous—and successful—effort of the women in the APS in the 1880s was a campaign to take suffrage away from Utah women who had voted since 1870. While such measures would disfranchise them as well, these women believed that Mormon women were “merely puppets of their much married husbands” and were not truly free to vote as they pleased.<sup>31</sup>

As Robert J. Dwyer noted, “pressure politics” by Utah Gentile women found attentive ears in the halls of Congress. Spurred on by the Anti-Polygamy Society, thousands of signatures from all over the country sought Congressional support to “deprive the women in Utah of their voting privilege. Thus, the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, in October, 1884, heard a report of the committee entrusted with securing such signatures. Two hundred and fifty thousand names were stated to have been forwarded to Senator George Frisbie Hoar. . . . These efforts were brought to fruition when, on March 15, 1887 the Edmunds-Tucker bill became law.”<sup>33</sup>

Simultaneously, however, during these polarized and contentious times, Mormon women also sought the support of Gentile women in organizing a branch of the Woman's Suffrage Association in Utah. Despite the feeling of many Gentile women that restoring suffrage was really a tool to "assure the political domination of [Utah] by the Mormon church," several prominent Gentile women—Emma J. McVicker, Isabelle E. Bennett, and Lillie R. Pardee among them—joined with Mormon women in the Utah Suffrage Association. Moreover, as Carol Cornwall Madsen suggests, "Whatever their own antipathy to polygamy, Eastern suffragists deplored this move to disfranchise such a large body of voting women and did not join the anti-polygamy movements."<sup>34</sup>

The state constitution accepted by Congress, which authorized statehood in 1896, granted woman suffrage and outlawed polygamy; but some Gentile women continued to see polygamy linked to Mormon political power. As part of their concern, the Women's Missionary Union of Salt Lake City joined with the Utah Ministerial Association to organize the "Gentile Information Bureau," which sought to educate the non-Mormon populace to "the extent to which the rightfulness of polygamy is taught and the offense of polygamous living is encouraged and practiced."<sup>35</sup> In 1906, Mrs. L. H. Ehlers, superintendent of the Methodist Sunday School in Mercur, Utah, wrote Senator Fred T. Dubois of Idaho, a leading congressional foe of Mormonism, congratulating him for his fight against the "blight of Mormonism." Noting that her own sister had been "stolen from her parents and taken into [the] awful clutch of polygamy," Ehlers asserted that many Gentile women saw Mormon women as being "under the thumb of Joe Smith" but were "tired of being aliens and under alien control and government."<sup>36</sup>

The campaign of Utah's Gentile women against polygamy and the national support for this crusade was important in pressuring the government to take a firmer stance toward the Mormons.<sup>37</sup> As noted, their political clout was partially responsible for the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887.

While women in Utah's various Protestant denominations, pursued many of the activities listed above, each denomination made distinctive contributions as well. A fuller understanding emerges by examining their efforts in more detail.

## BAPTIST WOMEN

Baptist missionary work in Utah began in 1871, when Reverend George W. Dodge, recently appointed Territorial Superintendent of Indian Affairs by President U. S. Grant, arrived in Salt Lake City. Dodge, along with Reverend Sewell Brown who had been appointed to labor in Utah by the American Home Baptist Missionary Society, organized a small Baptist congregation in Salt Lake City in the home of "one Mr. Palmer on third south street."<sup>38</sup> The congregation of twenty had dissolved by 1874 because Dodge left the territory and Brown neglected his missionary work. In 1881, the society appointed the

more energetic Reverend Dwight Spencer to Utah. During his decade of service in the state, Spencer organized churches in a number of towns including Salt Lake City and Ogden. As one observer has noted, Baptist work was primarily undertaken in “the main centers of population, and the churches of these two cities represented the “foundation and backbone” of the denomination’s efforts in Utah.<sup>39</sup>

In May 1881, the Women’s American Baptist Home Mission Society (WABHMS) meeting in Indianapolis, Indiana, devoted much of its deliberations to the “Utah question.” Stating that the Baptist church had a “two fold duty to the people of Utah”—to send them the gospel and the means of Christian education while simultaneously supporting the legal system in its efforts to “overthrow the monstrous system of polygamy”—those in attendance passed a resolution outlining their goals for Utah.<sup>40</sup> Focusing on Salt Lake City and Ogden, the delegates urged that special efforts should be made to “bring the children and youth of the Mormon population under the influence of the Gospel. It is within the knowledge of some . . . that the young people of many of the Mormon families in Utah are not in favor of polygamy, as they have seen it developed in their own early homes. The aim should be to reach the young people with the Gospel so as to lead them away from the paths of temptation before they are hardened in sin.”<sup>41</sup>

In 1881, the WABHMS sent Lydia Paine, a Baptist missionary from Chicago, to Utah. She took over much of the denomination’s proselytizing responsibility and gave valuable service both in Ogden and Salt Lake City by “visiting homes, helping in all phases of church work, and reaching children not otherwise touched in the industrial schools held on Saturday.”<sup>42</sup>

Furthermore, local Baptist women were active in several other ways. A Ladies Aid Society was organized in Salt Lake City in 1884 to “assist the needy whenever found, and while ministering to the needs of the body, to also feed the hungry soul.”<sup>43</sup> In 1890, a Utah chapter of the Woman’s Missionary Society was formed to expand Baptist work. This group focused specifically on the “spiritual rather than the material body.”<sup>44</sup> Additionally Baptist Sunday schools and Christian Endeavor societies were organized in Salt Lake City and Ogden, drawing upon women as teachers and leaders.

One member of the Baptist missionary society in Salt Lake City, Mrs. J. J. Corum, organized a Sunday School on the city’s west side in 1892. Her work was so successful that the school soon enrolled over a hundred pupils, and she organized a women’s aid society as well. Within a few years, Corum’s missionary work led to the establishment of the Rio Grande Baptist Church.<sup>45</sup>

Baptist women also contributed energetically to education. The case of the previously mentioned Lydia Paine is probably typical of the activities of others. In September 1883, she organized the Baptist school of Salt Lake City with the financial support of WABHMS. Fannie Thompson served as principal and Mary Berkeley as her assistant. Before its close in 1889, the school employed

five female teachers.<sup>46</sup> Baptist women made similar efforts at the Mound Fort and Wilson Lane Chapel schools in Ogden. In Provo, in 1890, a “small but efficient band of women,” led by Emma F. Parsons and Mrs. H. W. Coffin, and sponsored by a second national Baptist group, the Women’s Baptist Home Missionary Society, “conducted missionary meetings, and taught both a day and Sunday school,” with eight grades and some 70 students.<sup>47</sup> Coffin and Parsons assisted Reverend H. B. Turner in organizing the Provo Baptist church in 1891.<sup>48</sup> Parsons not only directed the Baptist Sunday School in Provo but also conducted Bible study, gave temperance lectures, provided the school girls with a “regular course in sewing and fancy work,” and functioned as secretary of the Utah Baptist Association’s statewide Sunday School convention in the late 1880s.<sup>49</sup>

Between 1881 and 1920, scores of Baptist women, both Utah residents and outsiders, contributed untold hours as teachers and missionaries. The work was strengthened when the Women’s Missionary Union of the Utah Baptist Association was created in September 1896.<sup>50</sup> Under its auspices, for example, Frieda A. Dressell, a graduate of the women’s missionary society training school in Chicago, came to Provo in 1898 and worked in the state for more than four decades. Other female missionaries taught and proselytized among several ethnic communities. Because of Utah’s large Scandinavian population, Anna E. Nillson and Caroline C. Larson came to Utah in 1885 to make an attempt “to reach their own people.”<sup>51</sup> They undertook efforts among the Danish, Norwegian, Finnish, and Swedish communities. Nillson and Larson soon discovered that many of the women “were poor, especially those who had apostatized from the Mormon Church, and many of the children were unable to read but eager to learn. In their homes they often invited women who called to stay for a meal which was much appreciated.”<sup>52</sup> After her marriage to August Olander, Caroline Larson maintained a small Swedish Sunday School in her home in Murray and later at the Burlington Baptist Church.<sup>53</sup>

Around 1900, Mina B. Maford, a worker sent by Salt Lake’s East Side Baptist church, spent one day per week working among Salt Lake’s small black community. Maford’s efforts led to the creation of a black congregation of approximately fifty communicants under the leadership of Reverend J. W. Washington. Additionally, Lillian Blair and Lillian Plimpton organized a Loyal Temperance Union, as well as working in the usual Sunday School and missionary efforts.<sup>54</sup> In 1901 Blair served as a missionary in Thistle, Utah. Maude Dittmars was active in the fledgling Baptist efforts in Garfield.<sup>55</sup>

## CONGREGATIONAL WOMEN

Congregationalists first held regular services in Utah in 1865 with the arrival of Reverend Norman McLeod, who came to Utah under the auspices of the church’s American Home Missionary Society. McLeod, who organized Salt Lake’s First Congregational Church in February, 1865, has been described as

“bitterly anti-Mormon” but such a “spell-binding, fire-and-brimstone orator” that even some Mormons came to his sermons.<sup>56</sup> He was the main force behind the construction of Independence Hall, which numerous Gentile groups used for a variety of purposes including civic and political rallies as well as religious meetings.<sup>57</sup> Ultimately, McLeod dropped his ministerial career in 1872 and pursued journalism as editor of the *Utah Grant Vedette*, a revival of the defunct *Union Vedette* which had been published at Camp Douglas (1864–67). One early twentieth-century observer, Francis Sherman, concluded that McLeod “made many mistakes that a conservative man would not have made. In his lectures he made many ranting assertions about the Mormons and their faith, [and] used little judgement in attacking it.”<sup>58</sup>

McLeod’s departure from the ministry did not hamper the Congregational Church’s activities. By then it had established itself firmly in Salt Lake City and Ogden, and continued its efforts, including proselyting among the Mormons and working against polygamy. Congregational women were very much a part of this effort. In addition, Congregational women also established ladies’ benevolent societies, sewing schools, and a Young Ladies Missionary Society. Typical was the Ladies Benevolent Society of Phillips Congregational Church in Salt Lake City. Organized in March 1887 “to relieve the wants of the poor and sick in the neighborhood,” the society raised funds through weekly sewing projects, private donations, and fairs.<sup>59</sup>

In Salt Lake City in 1882, Edith McLeod, daughter of Reverend McLeod, opened the Burlington School in Salt Lake City which was primarily financed by the First Congregational Church of Burlington, Vermont. A year later Annie E. Chapman organized a Sunday and evening school for Chinese residents of Salt Lake. Originally located in a room over a Chinese store, the school expanded quickly and relocated to Independence Hall. By 1894, the group, now known as the Chinese Christian Association and Evening School, was meeting at the first Congregational Church every weekday evening to study English and Christianity. Anna Baker established a kindergarten at Salt Lake’s Phillips Congregational church in 1895 with a charge of “a dollar a month” per pupil.

Ogden’s First Congregational Church was organized in 1876 and two women—Jane Taylor and Aura Thompson—were among its initial ten members. After a difficult period of inactivity between 1877 and 1883, the church was reorganized in 1884 with twelve members. Two years later, Lydia Bailey, wife of Reverend A. J. Bailey “delivered appeals for funds in 12 states and raised \$2550” for a new building. Dedicated in October 1887 at 2464 Adams Avenue, the building and lot cost \$7,000. At that time the church had a membership of twenty-two which more than doubled to forty-eight in 1889 and gradually grew until it reached a high point of 225 in 1915. During those years, women were active in the growing congregation, especially in the Ladies Aid Society, which among other things, carried on missionary work on Ogden’s notorious west Twenty-fifth Street in the 1890s.<sup>60</sup>



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Teachers at the New West Education Commission Utah Annual Conference, 1890.

Other Congregational women were especially active in Provo as well. In 1883, Emily Clapp, a Mount Holyoake Female Seminary graduate from East Hampton, Massachusetts, opened a similar school in Provo. Clapp arrived in Provo on November 12, 1883, and found space in the Daniels home on Second East and Second South. She circulated a number of flyers and began school with six students, but very quickly “her little classroom could no longer accommodate all her students. In March 1884, . . . she moved her school into a larger hall above the Bee Harness and Saddle Shop on the South side of West Center Street.” In addition to the school, Clapp was “expected to set up a Sunday School as well,” which she did on December 9, 1883. Her initial group of thirteen soon doubled. Clapp left for health reasons in 1885, but Mary E. French took her place and, laying for the foundation for expansion, gained the support of Joseph O. Proctor of Gloucester, Massachusetts. She opened the Proctor Academy in September 1857.<sup>61</sup> Alice Isley, who came to Proctor as a teacher in 1895, kept the Congregational work alive during 1897–98 until the arrival of Reverend Samuel H. Goodwin in 1898, accompanied by his wife.<sup>62</sup>

Of all the educational endeavors sponsored by the Congregational Church in Utah, the most important were the activities of the New West Education Committee (NWEC), organized at a Congregational ministers’

meeting in Chicago in 1879. The NWEC saw itself as a temporary agency to “provide free, high quality elementary and secondary education” for three different groups: Native American children, Mexican American children in New Mexico, and the young people of Utah, both Mormon and Gentile. NWEC leaders hoped that, once these schools were established, the Congregational Church itself would take over their operation.<sup>63</sup>

Ambitiously, the NWEC “built the largest educational system in Utah Territory, establishing twenty-six schools by the end of the 1880s, that educated nearly 2,500 children each year.” In the fourteen years of its existence, the NWEC spent about half a million dollars in its work, allotting some \$60,000 annually, and educating more than 7,000 children, “three fourths of them of Mormon parentage.”<sup>64</sup> As Gary Topping has noted, the goal of these schools was to “wean Mormon children away from their Church” and “topple the Latter-day Saints.”<sup>65</sup> According to the commission’s publication, the *New West Gleaner* for August and September 1887, thirty-seven of the forty-two Utah teachers were women. “It was thought that the highly educated Gentile women, most of them unmarried, standing on their own, would serve as worthy examples to Mormon women who allegedly suffered mightily from the horrors of polygamy.”<sup>66</sup>

The NWEC showpiece in Utah was the Ogden Academy, a two-room brick building built in 1882. The school accommodated an initial class of thirteen pupils and two teachers, Hiram Waldo Ring and Virginia W. Ludden. Ludden, described as a “tireless worker” despite frail health, directed the elementary department. By 1889, a colleague reported that Ludden, who was the only teacher to serve the academy during the entire ten years of its existence, “had made a large place for herself in church and school and had the respect of the community.”<sup>67</sup>

A third teacher joined Ludden and Ring in 1883: Beatrice Peaslie Ring, Hiram’s bride. She took over some of her husband’s teaching responsibilities and taught English, anatomy, and music while also taking charge of the intermediate grades. The music, recalled former student Ruth E. Prout Bullock, consisted of gospel hymns, “usually chosen by the students” that Mrs. Ring led and accompanied.<sup>68</sup>

The Ogden Academy continued to grow and moved to a larger, two-story building in 1887, when average attendance reached more than 200. By 1889–90, the school reached “its greatest size and greatest influence,” when five more teachers—Alice B. Hamblin, Mary L. McClelland, Abbie P. Noyes, Florence Blanchard, and Marion S. Copeland—joined the faculty. According to Noyes’s biographer, Gary Topping, her papers at the Utah State Historical Society provide an interesting view of a Protestant missionary teacher’s daily life in pre-statehood Utah. Her letters record her views on parental and student apathy, her personal conflicts with Principal Ring, antagonism between fellow teachers, the difficulty of getting an “Eastern standard of system and order accepted & lived up to,” and many other matters related to the academy.



Abbie Parish Noyes was a teacher with the New West Education Commission located in Ogden Academy, 1889–1890.

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Increasingly Noyes was concerned with the fluctuations of enrollment: “School reopened today. Some of our pupils who came from outlying districts were not there and I presume will not be this term. And yet no cowboys or young ranch men have come in as they often do for the winter term. I rather wish they would to take the place of the half-dozen we have lost. I do not like to see vacant seats having seen all full.”<sup>69</sup>

By 1890, the academy faced a serious financial crisis, in part stemming from the national economic downturn. The school managed to negotiate a \$10,000 donation from Nathaniel Gordon of Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1892, and renamed itself the Gordon Academy in his honor. However, ongoing financial difficulties forced the academy to lease its facilities to the Ogden school district, then relocate in Salt Lake City in 1896. At that point, the academy became a preparatory school. The NWEC also supervised schools in Hooper taught by H. M. Loomis and Abbey E. Parks; in Lynne taught by Stella F. Hutchins; and in South Weber with Miss M. D. Shute as teacher.<sup>70</sup>

By the end of the decade, the Congregational Church cut back on its educational and full-scale evangelical work in Utah, despite frequent pleas from local Congregational leaders for more financial support from the East.

This decision was predicated on a number of factors including the Woodruff Manifesto, statehood, the development of a national party system, creation of an independent school system, and the financial difficulties of the 1890s. Though their efforts to undermine and destroy Mormonism through the influence of the mission-schools failed, Utah Congregationalists “left Utah cultural life richer than they found it . . . [and] its challenge to education undoubtedly hastened the development of the public-school system and it brought to Utah’s pioneer society schooling of a remarkably high quality.”<sup>71</sup>

## METHODIST WOMEN

Methodist missionary work in Utah began in a systematic way in May 1870 when Reverend Gustavus M. Pierce arrived with his wife, Lovina, and family in Salt Lake City. On May 22, Pierce preached to some forty listeners in Faust’s Hall—a loft over a livery stable.<sup>72</sup> Within the next two years, Pierce organized churches and schools in Salt Lake City, Corinne, Tooele, Provo, and Beaver.<sup>73</sup> He also established the Rocky Mountain Seminary, a Methodist school in Salt Lake City, which boasted 200 students in 1872 and was in operation until 1893.

The denomination’s activities expanded six years later when Dr. Thomas C. Iliff became presiding elder of the Utah Conference. During his quarter century of service in Utah, Iliff employed twenty-five women teachers and several women missionaries. Because the wives of Methodist pastors were considered their assistants in pastoral work, the actual total of Methodist women directly involved in furthering their church in Utah likely numbered around a hundred between 1876 and 1900.<sup>74</sup>

One of Utah Methodism’s earliest teachers later played an important role in another religious tradition. Iliff recruited Alma White, then living in Montana in the summer of 1884, to teach in his seminary in Salt Lake City. White arrived in September 1884, accompanied by her sister Nora, who taught in a Methodist school in Tooele. A series of conflicts erupted between the southern-born White and Reverend S. J. Carroll, a New Jersey native and pastor of Salt Lake’s First Methodist Church, who illustrated his sermons “mainly with incidents of the Civil War, which aroused prejudice unnecessarily in the hearts of his . . . congregation . . . composed largely of people from the South.” This dynamic made White’s stay in Utah difficult. Similarly, there were problems between White and the principal of the seminary, Mr. Garvin, and several of her fellow teachers. She left in June 1885, characterizing Mormonism as a “false religious system” which left its adherents “disappointed and sometimes robbed of all they possessed[,] . . . mangled and bleeding at the foot of the oppressor.” Several years later, White became prominent as the founder and first bishop of the Pillar of Fire Church, headquartered first in New Jersey and later in Denver, Colorado.<sup>75</sup>

The Methodist Church’s national Woman’s Home Missionary Society, organized in 1880, took an active role in funding and operating Methodist

schools in Utah. By 1882, it established a “Utah fund” and sought pledges of ten dollars from at least five hundred women to furnish the five thousand dollars deemed necessary to support both educational and missionary efforts.<sup>75</sup> This women’s society continued to play a key role in building Utah Methodism in the next four decades. During this time the society “raised funds through public collections, cake sales, lectures, musicals and other schemes” to support missionary work.<sup>77</sup> Among its interests was Utah’s large Scandinavian population. It supported a Scandinavian mission in Salt Lake City in 1882 and the next year sent Lisa M. Sangstad as its first missionary.<sup>78</sup>

The Methodist Ladies Aid society was also an important presence. Between 1880 and 1920, it employed deaconesses, who were social workers, teachers, and preachers. At the high point of Methodist missionary activity in Utah in the years prior to World War I, more than twenty deaconesses worked in nine cities in the state. The society sponsored two boarding houses for women known as Esther Houses, one in Salt Lake City and one in Ogden, and also established the Ogden Home for Girls.<sup>79</sup>

As one commentator has noted, between 1870 and 1894, Methodist education in Utah “thrived,” establishing forty-two schools. Some were shortlived; but by 1890, the most successful year, more than two dozen schools were operating with 32 teachers and 1,467 pupils. These pupils included 544 Mormons, 673 former Mormons, and 250 Protestants.” Moreover, most of the teachers were “young women representing the Women’s Home Missionary Society.”<sup>80</sup>

Although Methodist missionary and educational efforts were carried on throughout the state, the greatest activity occurred in Salt Lake City. At one point between 1888 and 1892, four separate ladies’ charitable societies were operating in the Methodist churches in the territory’s capital. All four groups undertook to help “any whom we find in need” regardless of creed or denomination. One of the four, the Ladies Aid Society of Liberty Park Methodist Church made constructing a chapel its highest priority and raised several hundred dollars from “membership fees and tea parties held at the homes of members.”<sup>81</sup>

Utah Methodist women, under the direction of the energetic Anna M. Davis, were also active in promoting the Epworth League, a nondenominational organization for young people. During the 1890s, the league ran a successful chapter in Salt Lake City, helped organize and run a series of “gospel tent” revivals sponsored throughout the state in 1898, and joined women of other denominations to coordinate educational, charitable, and missionary efforts.

An ambitious, yet ultimately unsuccessful, effort led by Utah Methodist women began in 1881 when Angie F. Newman, described as “a reform-minded evangelistic Methodist,” presented a plan to the Methodist Utah Mission Conference calling for the creation of a “house of refuge for discontented and abandoned plural wives and children.”<sup>82</sup> The conference saw the proposal as a positive step toward ending polygamy and approved the plan. Because Utah

Methodists felt they lacked the ability to undertake this project by themselves, they called a mass meeting in Salt Lake City in November 1882 to organize an interdenominational effort. The next year, Newman persuaded the WHMS to support the project, "securing from it \$660 in initial pledges and appointment as its bureau secretary for Mormon affairs."<sup>83</sup> As Peggy Pascoe has argued, this effort to assert female moral authority was led by Protestant women who "singled out the institution of Mormon polygamy as the most significant symbol of male control over community social order," in a western city "where male domination was actually celebrated."<sup>84</sup>

Between 1883 and 1886, however, support within the Methodist missionary society ebbed in part because Newman was recovering from an accident. In March 1886, the indefatigable Newman broadened her efforts, calling together a core group from the Anti-Polygamy Society to form the interdenominational Industrial Christian Home Association. The U.S. Congress underwrote the project with two appropriations of \$40,000 and later \$74,000. At the same time Congress, wary of turning financial control over to women, appointed an all-male board of control consisting of Utah's territorial governor, its supreme court justices, and the district attorney. Throughout the life of the project, there would be severe disagreement between the women of the association and the board. A \$100,000 building, capable of housing approximately forty people was completed in 1887. Despite high hopes for its success, the project was a failure. In September 1887, the point of highest occupancy, the home sheltered only eleven women and twenty-two children. The failure of the home "exposed the fault lines between Protestant women and men in Salt Lake City." While 154 women and children had applied for admittance to the home, the board kept the number actually admitted low because it "favored a narrow interpretation of the language of the legislation which provided that entrance to the home be limited to 'women who renounce polygamy and [to] their children of tender age.'" The women of the association defined the legislation broadly, arguing that "almost every woman in Utah was a potential victim of polygamy."<sup>85</sup>

Although they had long since given up direct involvement in the project, Utah Methodist women, while recognizing their failure to dissuade polygamous wives, still termed the project as a success because it kept the issue of polygamy before the public at large.<sup>86</sup> The home ceased operations in June 1893 and was sold in 1899 for \$22,500 at a public auction.<sup>87</sup>

## PRESBYTERIAN WOMEN

Of all the Protestant denominations active in Utah probably the most significant in terms of education, missionary activities, and overall impact were the Presbyterians. Initial Presbyterian contacts in Utah apparently began when Reverend John Anderson arrived in Utah as a chaplain under Colonel Patrick Connor. Anderson had only a short stay in the territory, but he did conduct

both non-denominational and Presbyterian services at Camp Douglas. Other early Presbyterian contacts included the visit of Dr. Henry Kendall, secretary of the denomination's Board of Home Missions, in 1864 while on his way to the Pacific Coast. Kendall spent "several days in Salt Lake City investigating the conditions of the city." His stay also included speaking at the Tabernacle at Brigham Young's invitation.<sup>88</sup>

Brigham Young told Kendall that he had no objection to the Presbyterians either establishing churches or sending missionaries. LDS attitudes toward outsiders in the 1860s when contacts were "infrequent and of short duration," changed dramatically after the coming of the railroad, when outsiders "came in increasing numbers."<sup>89</sup>

Permanent Presbyterian work began in Utah in June 1869 when Dr. Sheldon Jackson arrived in Corinne. Appointed by the board of missions to oversee the work in several western states and territories, Jackson brought in a minister to Corinne and supervised construction of the first permanent Presbyterian church building in Utah which opened in July 1870 "with a roster of nine members."<sup>90</sup>

In May 1873, Reverend J. P. Shell arrived in Alta, Utah, "fresh from seminary to organize a church reading room and school." He opened the Alta School, a day school with a Miss Mosby as the teacher. Five years later, the school building was destroyed by fire.

Presbyterian activities in Utah intensified in the 1870s. In response to the denomination's General Assembly call to organize women's societies, the Utah Presbytery meeting in Ogden in February 1877 called on the Board of Home Missions to "commission lady teachers and Bible readers" to be sent to Utah with the stipulation that these individuals must "be supported by money especially raised and designated for that purpose."<sup>91</sup>

As a result of these actions, educational work in Utah expanded rapidly. In 1877, Anna Noble opened a school in a "small one story adobe building with two rooms" in Springville. Noble, "standing in the low doorway and hardly able to stand upright," taught a class of thirty-eight. During the next three years, three other women came to assist Noble; Eugenia Munger replaced Noble when she was called to another field.<sup>92</sup> Similar activities took place in a variety of Utah communities during the late 1870s and early 1880s.

During this same period, Presbyterian schools with predominantly female faculty were organized in Manti, Mount Pleasant, Springville, Payson, Manti, Ogden, St. George, Parowan, Logan, Cedar City, Kaysville, Gunnison, Salina, and other places. In many cases, the teachers were the wives or daughters of the local Presbyterian minister. At the same time, these mission schools brought many single Presbyterian women to Utah Territory. At times life in Utah Territory could be dangerous. Late one October 1884, evening in Mendon in Cache Valley "two inebriated men, apparently intent on rape, broke into the residence of a lone female Presbyterian teacher. After being 'roughed up,'

the woman escaped through a bedroom window clad only in her nightgown. Her cries roused Mormon neighbors who provided refuge and apprehended her attackers.”<sup>93</sup>

The two men were turned over to local civil authorities for trial and punishment, and both men were also excommunicated by Mendon Ward leaders. Moreover, Bishop Henry Hughes of the Mendon Ward publicly condemned the incident, saying that it was a “shame” to think that “a young lady could come to reside in our midst” and be subjected to such “outrages by hoodlums.” Hughes told his congregation that it was the “duty of the saints” to protect the right of all to “worship how, where or what they may.” He further charged members of the priesthood to see to it that the woman “wants for nothing and that she is protected in her rights.”<sup>94</sup>

Like other Protestant denominations, the Presbyterian Church relied on the activities and financial contributions of its church women to support the missionary effort in Utah. In 1875, the church’s General Assembly, headquartered in Philadelphia, directed the Board of Home Missions to organize women’s societies to facilitate communication between the church’s governing board and its women. The outgrowth was the Women’s Board of Home Missions which raised money for Utah missionary work, published tracts and books about Mormonism, emphasized the importance of hiring women teachers in Utah, and helped alter church practices to allow mission schools to be organized prior to establishing a church itself. The women of the home missions board believed that stable mission schools would lay the foundation for on-going ecclesiastical work.<sup>95</sup>

In addition to thirty-three day schools, a part of the Presbyterian work consisted of building academies, which often included all elementary grades and facilities for boarding students. In September 1878, Logan Academy, a Presbyterian day school for girls was organized by Reverend Calvin Parks and his wife. The school was renamed the New Jersey Academy in 1890 when women in that state contributed \$11,000 for a new building. The principal at the time was Susan V. Parks.<sup>96</sup> In 1875, Reverend Josiah Welch of Salt Lake City’s First Presbyterian Church approached John Coyner with an offer of “three rooms in his new [church] building for a mission school.”<sup>97</sup> The Presbyterian Preparatory School, with kindergarten through grade twelve and twenty-seven, students opened in April 1875, with Mary Coyner, wife of the principal, as head of the primary department, and their daughter Emma directing the intermediate department. By the end of the first term, enrollment had reached sixty-three. The school continued to grow and, in August 1875, began its first full year of operation with 142 pupils and a new teacher, Jennie Dennison, who replaced Emma Coyner who was engaged to marry Reverend Welch. Two years later, the school had outgrown space in the church and plans were made to build a new school building. Coyner had “six young women in his advanced class” write three thousand letters to Presbyterian Sunday Schools around the country



*Giovale Library, Westminster College, Salt Lake City.*

A postcard photograph of a group of students and their instructors at the Presbyterian mission school of Panguitch, ca. 1920.

seeking funds. The letters netted \$1,300 to match the \$1,300 raised from local sources. The new school opened in August 1877. Among the early teachers were Sarah J. Irwin McNiece and Mary E. Moore.

In 1880 this school became known as the Salt Lake Collegiate Institute. That same year, the school rented additional space in a building known as the “Octagon,” to house a girls’ boarding school under the direction of Mrs. M. K. Parsons. By 1887 the school had seven departments—high school, grammar, two intermediate, two primary and a kindergarten—with 319 pupils in attendance.<sup>98</sup>

In addition, the school sponsored a Girl’s Home under the direction of Mary E. Moore. Beginning with four girls, Moore was able to obtain private financial support to allow the girls to attend school. The home was eventually moved to the Octagon and was housing twenty girls by 1892. As Emil Nyman has observed, some of the girls

were able to pay the small charge for board, while others were assisted by the Home Mission board and private individuals. The girls, with the assistance of one servant, did all of the work of the house while attending school. As the accommodations were limited, much care was used in the selection of the girls to be admitted, and consequently, these were the most earnest and promising pupils. Under the wise, faithful home training of Miss Moore, the girls made outstanding progress both academically and in domestic areas.<sup>99</sup>

As the public schools strengthened in the 1890s, demand for facilities for private kindergarten through high school facilities had decreased, and so did calls for creating a college. In 1895, Sheldon Jackson pledged \$50,000 with a

commitment to raise an additional \$1,500 annually to organize a college. Space was rented from the Collegiate Institute, and the school was named Sheldon Jackson College. The college and the institute were combined in the 1890s and renamed Westminster College in 1902. The new college attracted eight to ten students per year through the first few years of the twentieth century. Despite periods of economic difficulties, it has remained an educational presence in the state until the present time.

Other Presbyterian academies included Hungerford Academy in Springville and Wasatch Academy in Mount Pleasant. Still in existence today, Wasatch Academy was organized by Reverend Duncan McMillan in April 1875. Beginning with 44 students, the enrollment grew to 109 by the end of the year. The first principal was Delia R. Snow. Preferring female teachers to men, McMillan hired a number of women educators including Alice C. Sowles, Mrs. C. J. Wilcox, Maria Fishback, and Clara Pierce in the early years. Primarily a grade school, Wasatch Academy came under the control of the Board of Home Missions in 1880. In 1887, the curriculum was expanded and the school became a true academy. A new two-story brick school was built in 1891 at a cost of \$10,000 largely provided by the Ladies Missionary Society of New York. Growing steadily through the 1890s and early twentieth century, Wasatch Academy became a college preparatory school in 1912. It remains both a preparatory school and a Presbyterian administered school to the present time.<sup>100</sup>

In Ogden, the First Presbyterian Church maintained a school which was organized in 1878 by Mrs. G. W. Gallagher, wife of the pastor, as principal. She was succeeded in 1879 by a Miss Olmstead and, over the next several years, was succeeded in turn by “Misses Campbell, Scovel, Dickey and Vaughn.” Classes were conducted in Peery’s Hall on Twenty-Fourth Street until 1880 when it was moved to the corner of Twenty-Fourth and Lincoln. The school closed in 1890.<sup>101</sup>

In the first ten years of their existence (1880–90), the thirty-seven Presbyterian schools in Utah enrolled more than two thousand pupils and employed more than fifty teachers, most of them women.<sup>102</sup> These figures remained relatively constant until statehood. Approximately 75 percent of the students in Presbyterian schools were Mormon and, in the words of one Presbyterian writer, “many Mormon parents in spite of prohibitions from church leaders . . . persisted in sending their children to these schools.”<sup>103</sup> By 1905, the same writer estimated that more than 30,000 young people had passed through Utah Presbyterian schools.

Shortly after Utah became a state in 1896, Presbyterian work in Utah declined, and many of the schools were closed. In part, this was a response to the creation of a public school system; but Presbyterian efforts were also affected by the economic dislocations of the 1890s in the United States.<sup>104</sup> At the same time, the denomination was also shifting its emphasis from the

West to the new immigrants in large eastern urban areas. Sherman H. Doyle, in a pamphlet entitled *Presbyterian Home Missions*, lobbied hard for their continuation, arguing that “hundreds of girls who have attended our schools have refused to be polygamous wives [and] a large number have had their faith shaken.”<sup>105</sup>

At the same time, however, even grudging contacts between Mormons and Presbyterians increased their mutual respect. As R. Douglas Brackenridge has noted, letters from the missionaries themselves often present a “contrasting” view from those in denominational publications

Women teachers frequently refer to Mormon kindness, generosity, and acceptance, and to friendships established both with children and adults. In 1880 Ada Kingsbury, missionary in American Fork, described how she held singing, sewing, and reading classes after regular school hours. . . . In the same year, Marcia A. Scovel wrote from Ogden, “In our calls upon Mormon families we are received with the utmost cordiality and they nearly always think to thank us for coming.” Unprepared for such positive receptions, Scovel noted that Ogden must have been an exception “because all the Mormons with whom we have to deal treat us very kindly.”<sup>106</sup>

Brackenridge chronicles similar experiences on the part of Presbyterian missionaries, even among those who had “firmly implanted negative impressions.” One such missionary, Mary Agnes Craig, who came to Fillmore in 1881 “initially expressed revulsion at the primitive, immoral conditions” she encountered in Utah. “We are like lions among dogs,” she wrote to her family in 1882, indicating that she did not plan to return when her two-year contract ended. Over time, however, Craig’s extensive correspondence refers to pleasant social contacts with Mormons and their families. When Craig and a co-teacher needed boarding accommodations for the summer, she informed her family that “you would have thought everybody in town wanted us.”<sup>107</sup>

Another important area of Presbyterian activity in Utah was organizing kindergartens. In 1883, the national Women’s Executive Board sent Elizabeth Dickey to organize kindergartens in the mission schools. Dickey opened a kindergarten in the basement of Salt Lake’s First Presbyterian Church with branches at Westminster College and in a local day nursery. Dickey also “trained a class of young ladies in kindergarten methods” to continue the work. In 1892, Mrs. E. H. Parsons, who had studied under Dickey, spearheaded the formation of the Salt Lake Kindergarten Association. The following January, the group lobbied the legislature who passed a bill giving territorial schools the legal authority to open kindergartens in the public schools themselves.<sup>108</sup>

Besides educational work, Utah Presbyterian women organized clubs and auxiliaries for a variety of purposes. A Home and Foreign Missionary Society, organized in 1878 at Salt Lake’s First Presbyterian Church, met once a week except in the summer, listened to papers presented by members, and

raised more than five hundred dollars for missionary work. A Young Ladies Missionary Society was organized in 1883 among the pupils of the Collegiate Institute. In 1882 a Woman's Aid Society was organized at First Presbyterian Church to spearhead benevolent and charitable work among its own members and the community at large and also assist their pastors in various ways. Similar societies were organized at Westminster Presbyterian Church in Salt Lake City and other congregations around the state.<sup>109</sup>

#### OTHER DENOMINATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN UTAH

In addition to the work of these denominations, several other religious groups afforded Utah women an opportunity for service and leadership. Their story is illuminating as well.

Between 1882 and 1920, seven different Lutheran synods were represented in Utah. The most active was the Augustana (Swedish) Synod reflecting in part an evangelical response to the 10,000 Scandinavian Mormons living in the state. Lutheran clergy—hoping to return Mormon converts to their original religious roots as well as to serve Utah Lutherans themselves—first established Zion Swedish Lutheran Church in Salt Lake City in July 1882. Elim Lutheran Church was organized in Ogden in 1888. Prior to the church's organization, Lutherans met at the home of Hannah Lund in Five Points. By the decade's end, other Lutheran congregations opened in the largely Scandinavian area of Sanpete County, as well as in Provo, Spanish Fork, Eureka, and Park City. Most congregations were started "on the basis of nationality and language, [thus] worship services usually were conducted in the native language or at least alternated with services in English."<sup>110</sup>

Three women were among the five individuals who joined with Pastor John Telleen to organize Zion Swedish Lutheran Church. One, Maria Wahlquist, was a Mormon convert who came to Utah a decade earlier. Ultimately Maria and her husband August were excommunicated from the Mormon church, "he for refusing to take a second wife, and she for joining the Lutheran church."<sup>111</sup>

As Zion Lutheran grew, a Young Girl's Sewing Society was organized in 1885 as well as a Ladies Aid Society. In 1890 the two groups merged, remaining united until 1918, when the Martha Society was formed for young working women and those who could not attend the group's regular meetings on the last Thursday afternoon of the month. As Paul Mogren, author of a history of the church, has noted, it was "the women, through the bad times as well as the good, who carry out the many necessary functions of church life."<sup>112</sup>

In 1912, Lutheran services were held in the Erick Olson home in Riverton to provide a "Lutheran identity" to a group of Scandinavian farmers in the Sandy and Riverton area. Three years later, the Sandy-Riverton-Murray Ladies Aid Society was organized for women in the South Valley.<sup>113</sup>

In assessing the activities of Lutheran women, Ronnie L. Stillhorn, a historian of the group, has noted that, while most of the activities have been



*Giovale Library, Westminster College, Salt Lake City.*

Miss Sarah Louisa Conklin with school children in St. George, ca.1920.

directed to their congregations, at times assistance has been directed at non-Lutheran groups as well. “For instance in 1912, the Ladies Aid of St. John’s Lutheran church in Salt Lake City, not only assisted the congregation, but helped the sick and needy. During World War I, the ladies of Elim Lutheran Church in Ogden organized themselves into a Red Cross chapter, rolled bandages, knit socks for the doughboys, and sent money for Belgian relief.”<sup>114</sup>

Finally, as was the case with so many denominations, Lutheran women were also involved with education and teaching. In 1883 the congregation at Zion’s first petitioned the Augustana synods mission board to send a teacher to Utah. The board responded in 1885 by sending Hilda Carlson, who established a school in the church basement. Known as Augustana Academy, the school had an enrollment of fifty with one full-time teacher and an assistant. Unable to attract sufficient numbers, the school closed in 1890, although Carlson remained in the area teaching in the public schools. The Norwegian Synod organized two separate schools in the Salt Lake Valley to “provide a parochial education for Norwegian Lutheran children.” From 1897 to 1899, Miss G. Gomvich conducted a kindergarten in Sandy; it closed when the Congregationalists also moved their educational efforts into kindergarten.<sup>115</sup> Finally, St. John’s Lutheran Church of the Missouri Synod established a parochial school in Salt Lake City which operated from 1909 to 1918. Women played an important role in all of these endeavors.<sup>116</sup>

During the 1890s, a small group of women assisted in the work of the Disciples of Christ (Christian) Church. Working both in Salt Lake City

and Ogden, these women organized two groups: a “Christian work circle” to raise money to retire church debts and a Ladies Aid Society to raise funds for the church and “aid the pastor in his work of visiting the sick or in such other ways as he may suggest.”<sup>117</sup> As historian, Leslie L. Zook has observed, “While it had social and spiritual aspects, its principal goals and accomplishments were financial. The ‘Aid’ was literally that, and worked to supplement the church budget. . . . Noonday meals were served to businessmen and banquets were prepared for fraternities and other organizations. Ice cream, strawberry, and watermelon socials were served in season. Much painting, cleaning and renovating took place, bringing no monetary return but saving the cost of hiring outside help.”<sup>118</sup>

By 1896 the Salt Lake church had organized the Women’s Missionary Society which averaged between 15 and 35 members. Its outreach work was largely funded by an annual Woman’s Day service held in December where “special offerings were received.”<sup>119</sup>

The roots of Calvary Baptist church—one of Salt Lake’s first two black churches—can be traced to the organization of a women’s Mutual Aid Society in 1898. The society met on West Temple between South Temple and First South until 1911 when the church relocated to 679 E. 300 South.<sup>120</sup>

A Progressive Society of Spiritualists was organized in Salt Lake City in January 1891 with a ladies’ auxiliary following within the month to “help those women whom we found could not help themselves.” The auxiliary, which met every Friday afternoon, raised its operating expenses “from dues, socials and entertainments.”<sup>121</sup> By 1893 the church had a membership of 80.<sup>122</sup>

In addition, communicants of other churches made important contributions. Among these women were members of the Episcopal, Christian Science, Unitarian, Catholic, and Jewish faiths.

## EPISCOPAL WOMEN

When two Episcopal ministers, George W. Foote and T. W. Haskins, arrived in Salt Lake City in May 1867, they attended the Sunday School directed by their Congregationalist colleague, Reverend Norman McLeod, in Independence Hall.<sup>123</sup> Eventually Foote assumed the leadership of this congregation of forty to sixty members. Three members of this congregation were Episcopalians, women identified only as Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Durrant, and Mrs. Tracy. From this small beginning has grown the substantial Episcopal congregation in Utah.

Utah’s first Episcopal bishop, Daniel S. Tuttle, arrived in July 1867. Though he stayed less than two weeks, Tuttle was in Salt Lake City long enough to “approve heartily of Messers Foote and Haskins in deciding that a day school would be a most efficient instrumentality in doing good missionary work.”<sup>124</sup> The trio promptly organized a school in a vacant bowling alley.<sup>125</sup> Beginning with sixteen students on July 1, 1867, the school grew to the point where it had to be relocated in Independence Hall three months later. The school’s faculty

consisted of two women, Sarah Foote and a Miss Wells, “an apostate Mormon who had come across the plains at the age of six.” Wells taught the younger children, while Foote taught the older students rhetoric and composition.<sup>126</sup>

Continued growth, supported by scholarships funded by Eastern individuals and organizations, resulted in a third move to Nicholas Groesbeck’s store on Main Street in 1869. By 1873, St. Mark’s had a studentbody of 118, both a primary and a secondary department, and a building of its own comprising a large chapel, several classrooms, and a small library. The faculty, under the direction of a Miss Davenport, an experienced public school teacher from Brooklyn, New York, consisted of “the clergy and several women volunteers [working] in a free atmosphere that attracted students from the entire community.” The \$22,000 structure was primarily funded by contributions from Episcopalian congregations in the East, though \$4,000 was raised locally.<sup>127</sup> Moreover, Harriet Tuttle, the bishop’s wife, “worked along with her husband advising and helping. Often times she led the singing and played the organ.”<sup>128</sup>

In 1873, J. H. Van Rensselaer became the first woman to teach at St. Mark’s, serving as principal of its high school department. During 1873–74, seven women complete the normal course. All seven remained to teach classes of their own. Two other women, identified only as Mrs. Beauchamp and Mrs. Webster, also served as principals of the high school department, Webster “safely piloting the last class to graduation” in 1891.

After the completion of St. Mark’s Cathedral in 1871, a day school for elementary-age girls was established in the church’s basement and averaged more than fifty pupils per term. Its first director was Charlotte E. Hayden; and over the next decade, three women served as her successors.

In September 1881, the Bishop’s School, named for its founder, Bishop Tuttle, began operations as a boarding school. At that time the day school at St. Mark’s became the primary department. By 1883, there were “seventeen boarders and sixty pupils” on the rolls.<sup>129</sup> That same year the school was renamed Rowland Hall when Virginia L. Rowland, widow of Benjamin Rowland, along with her daughter Josephine, donated \$5,000 toward the \$8,000 needed to purchase a new building.

One boarder, Farnetta (“Nettie”) Alexander of Bozeman, Montana, and thirteen day students received their tutelage from Lucia Mason Marsh and Isabella E. Douglas. By Christmas of the first year, Douglas later recalled, several new boarders had arrived and Bishop Tuttle hired two new teachers, Emma Chandler and Abby Marsh. An interesting reminiscence of these years comes from Theresa Godbe, whose father, William, led the Mormon schism that bears his name. She remembered that the school “grew rapidly,” and included “Miss Fidelia Hamilton, vocal music, and Madame Fitzgerald, a Parisian married to an Irishman, [who taught] French.” By 1882, there were “seventeen boarders and sixty pupils” on the rolls.<sup>130</sup>

The first principal was Lucia Marsh, succeeded by a Mrs. Beauchamp when ill health forced Marsh to move to California. After several years of direction from Beauchamp and Van Rensselaer, the principalship went to a third woman, Addie Coleman, in 1890. Four years later a fourth woman, Clara Colburne, became principal. She headed the school until well into the next decade.<sup>131</sup> In 1904, all of the school's faculty were women.<sup>132</sup>

In addition to the schools in Salt Lake City, the Episcopal Church organized schools in Ogden (1870), Logan (1873), and Plain City (1873). Bishop Tuttle estimated that, between 1870 and 1900, an average of a thousand students attended the Utah Episcopal schools annually.<sup>133</sup>

Besides educational activities, women's social and charitable work was promoted at an early date. In the 1870s, the Episcopal Church sponsored sewing classes. By 1880, the women organized a sewing guild with the two-fold goal of raising money for the poor and generating additional income for church work. Other Anglican organizations included the Guild of St. Agnes for single women, the Guild of the Good Shepherd for younger girls, and the Guild of St. Mary and St. Martha and the Altar Guild, both of which sought to involve young women in the pastoral work of the diocese. By the early twentieth century, the church had also organized a woman's auxiliary and a Girl's Friendly Society.

In 1870, Tuttle recruited Emily Pearsall of Bainbridge, New York, to come to Utah and "help in our pastoral work, especially among the sick and the poor and the children and the ignorant and the stranger." Pearsall worked in Utah for two years, then died in 1872. Tuttle paid tribute to Pearsall, remarking that "the efficiency of the pastoral work of a clergyman can be more than doubled by the aid of a devoted Christian woman of intelligence and refinement."<sup>134</sup> Over the next fifty years, a number of women served as Episcopal missionaries in Utah.<sup>135</sup>

Typical of this number was Sara Napper, a missionary in the first decade of the twentieth century. In quarterly reports kept between 1902 and 1905, Napper provides a glimpse of her activities in the Salt Lake City area. In December 1902, Napper recorded that, in the previous quarter, she had made 300 calls and taken charge of the Sunday School at St. Peter's Mission. Napper was particularly interested in working with girls and young women:

In place of the former local sewing class I have organized a . . . class of the Girl's Friendly Society, and have 21 names in the roll. The GFS with its central rule of 'purity of life' seems especially suitable to the needs of St. Peter's mission—and its neighborhood as it is in the midst of a Mormon population. We have Mormon girls in each class who seem much interested in the society and its aims and rules, and sing with fervor the candidates hymn, and are learning to say the prayer and recite the creed at weekly meetings.<sup>136</sup>

Similar activities and concerns for the young Mormon women appear in Napper's reports for the next two years. By March 1904, she was "starting

a sewing class in St. John's mission which, if successful, may lead to a branch being established there." Serving as secretary of the local board of missions, Napper "assisted the Dean [of St. Mark's] in answering the correspondence and sending out circular letters to the various missions."<sup>137</sup>

Most of her work tended to be routine—visiting "the sick and strangers," assisting with correspondence, and keeping mission records. Still Napper's efforts did not lack challenges: "About the middle of October," she reported, "I boarded a street car to go to the Girl's Friendly Society meeting at St. Peter's. When near the railway track, the brake refused to act and the car ran at full speed into a train. All the passengers were injured and I was taken to St. Mark's Hospital. I have been home for a time now and hope to be able to resume my work this week. I have kept in touch with the people and my sister has taken my place on several occasions."<sup>138</sup>

Another important effort of the Utah Episcopal community was the above-mentioned St. Mark's Hospital, which opened in a small adobe building on the corner of Fourth South and Fifth East in Salt Lake City in April 1872, moved three times, and then in 1890 found a more permanent home in the northwest part of the city. The hospital involved a number of women on its staff, first as matrons and later as nurses. A nursing training school was organized in 1894 when rapid hospital growth generated the need for trained professionals. Mary Edith Newitt, an 1893 graduate of St. Luke's School for Nurses in New York, was appointed superintendent by Bishop Abiel Leonard. The twenty-three-year-old Newitt found the hospital in poor shape when she arrived and spent the first few days cleaning and establishing sanitation standards. Eventually, Newitt reorganized the hospital staff, raising the necessary money to make needed improvements through a benefit performance.

As W. H. Behle, son and biographer of Dr. Augustus C. Behle, one of St. Mark's early surgeons, wrote: "The first thing done with the money was to have the windows screened since the flies were terrible in the daytime and the mosquitoes were bad at night. She also had the first instrument case made. The private rooms, she said, were nice, but the wards were deplorable, being crowded with miners and railroad patients. The nurses slept in the basement with no private quarters. . . . The outside of the hospital was forlorn. No trees or lawn had been planted yet and [Newitt] insisted that this be done."<sup>139</sup>

Newitt also improved procedures for sterilizing instruments, required physicians to wear masks (previously they had simply tied back their hair), and insisted they wear surgical gloves while operating.

Nursing training, originally a two-year program, was extended to three in 1898. Student nurses, known as probationers, spent their first year assisting in general cleaning, food preparation, and other tasks as well as nursing. Each nurse was assigned to a particular ward on regular rotations. Between 1896 and 1920, more than 200 nurses graduated from St. Mark's. Many married doctors and stayed on the Wasatch Front where they worked in hospitals, established



*Giovale Library, Westminster College, Salt Lake City.*

St. Mark's Hospital School of Nursing, Salt Lake City, Utah, ca. 1919.

the Utah Nurses Association, and developed public health nursing in the state. Episcopal women also organized auxiliary units like the St. Mark's Guild and the Nurses Alumnae Association, which sponsored charitable projects and helped raise money for the Bishop Leonard Memorial Nurses' home which was built in 1906. The home was enlarged and a new story added in 1916 and 1917.

#### CHRISTIAN SCIENCE WOMEN

In July 1891, eleven Christian Scientists—eight men and three women—met at the residence of Mary Ann Bagley to organize “a more systematic work as Christian Scientists” in Utah. Most of those present were newcomers to the state, but two women were closely tied to Utah and Mormon culture. One was Henrietta Young, the thirty-seven-year-old daughter of Joseph Young, one of the First Council of the Seventy and a brother of Brigham Young. The other, Lucretia Heywood Kimball, was daughter of Mormon bishop Joseph L. Heywood and the daughter-in-law of Sarah M. Kimball, a prominent Mormon suffrage worker and president of the Nineteenth Ward Relief Society.

Henrietta Young became a Christian Science practitioner in 1895, serving as librarian of the Salt Lake church and as a worker in the local reading room. Lucretia Kimball was a member of the board of directors and a worker

in the reading room. In the mid-1890s, Kimball studied with Mary Baker Eddy in Boston and received a bachelor's degree from Massachusetts Metaphysical College, returning to Utah in 1896 where she worked as a practitioner and reader.

Both of these women from two important Mormon families "helped build a strong foundation for Christian Science work" not only in Salt Lake City but in Ogden, Provo, Vernal, and a number of other Utah cities from Logan to Green River.<sup>140</sup>

### UNITARIAN WOMEN

Mormon roots are also found among the Utahns who helped found the Unitarian Church in the state.<sup>141</sup> November 30, 1890, Reverend Samuel Eliot, a Unitarian minister from Denver, preached in Salt Lake City on the need for a "broad, non-sectarian" People's Church. After his address, some 30 of those in attendance remained to discuss such an organization. In December 1890, another meeting was held to elect a seven-member organizing committee with two women members—Emily M. Almy and Leonora Trent. In February 1891, the First Unitarian society was established and the Reverend David Utter selected as the first minister. Though an all-male Board of Trustees was selected, among the 186 signers of the original charter, almost half—eighty-two—were women. Approximately one-fourth were single, and most of the rest were married to men also in the movement. These women played a key role in Utah Unitarianism, and it was largely through their efforts that "the society was able to survive financially through many difficult years."<sup>142</sup>

In September 1891, the Salt Lake City branch of the Ladies Unitarian Society, with Emily Almy as President and Rebecca Utter, the minister's wife, as vice president, was organized. These women sought not only to strengthen their local church but also to exchange ideas and discuss current events. The alliance met twice a month and sponsored dances, teas, dinner parties, and card parties to raise money for charitable relief. In addition, women were active as superintendents of religious education in the church.

Like most denominations, the Unitarians were adversely affected by the economic difficulties of the 1890s. To supplement his income, Utter took a job as principal of Sumner School. After the Salt Lake City Board of Education ruled that he could not hold the position while also serving as a minister, Utter resigned as minister in 1894, though his wife continued as president of the women's group which had been renamed Unity Circle. The next year he taught at West High before the couple moved to Denver.

The Unitarian Church in Utah was one of the few to have female clergy as regular ministers. In December 1897, Reverend R. A. Maynard and his wife, Mila Tupper Maynard, arrived in Salt Lake City to begin their dual ministry. Of the two, Mila was more experienced in pastoral duties. She had graduated from Cornell University in 1889 and served as the minister of the

First Unitarian Church of La Porte, Indiana. R. A. Maynard had practiced law from 1880 to 1893, the year they were married in Chicago, and turned to the ministry. They lived briefly in Hull House before establishing a joint pastorate in Reno, Nevada, and later in Santa Monica, California.

During their two-year ministry in Utah, the Maynards gave the sermons on alternate Sundays and worked to advance Unitarianism services in other areas of the state as well. Mila, a talented public speaker, was in great demand for lectures and club talks and was particularly active in the mining communities of Park City and Mercur.<sup>143</sup> They invigorated the local Unitarian congregation, saw church membership and attendance rise to its highest level up to that point, and sponsored the *Unitarian*, a four-page newspaper for the congregation funded through local advertising. The departure of the Maynards in 1899 to serve as ministers in Denver was “felt keenly” by local Unitarians.<sup>144</sup>

For two years, the Unitarian society was all but dormant. In 1901, however, it was reinvigorated with the arrival of a new minister. In May 1901, the Unity Circle was reestablished and the twenty women in attendance elected Estelle G. Cowan as president. During the next few years, the group was active in raising funds for needy widows and the local kindergarten association. It also solicited funds for victims of the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. In October of that year, the group was renamed the Lloyd Alliance, in honor of eighty-five-year-old Mary Lloyd, one of the society’s original members.<sup>145</sup>

During the first fifteen years of troubled existence for the Salt Lake Unitarian community, it was women who “were able to raise the necessary funds to pay not only the debts but [who] . . . ultimately assumed all major [financial] needs of the church.” As Linda Thatcher has pointed out, the “continued existence of the Unitarian church in Salt Lake City” was largely due to the efforts of its women.<sup>146</sup>

Between 1906 and 1920, the Unitarians expanded their presence in Salt Lake City, again with an important role played by women. This was particularly true during World War I when Unitarian women were active with “all day sewing sessions to provide funds for the Red Cross, soliciting canned fruit and jellies for convalescents at Fort Douglas and conducting rummage sales and dinners.”<sup>147</sup>

## CATHOLIC WOMEN

The Catholic Church has long been a part of the Utah experience. The first European explorers into Utah were led by two priests, Francisco Atanazio Dominquez and Silvestre Velez de Escalante. Their missionary efforts, particularly among the Ute Indians, was still evident when trappers and explorers began to enter Utah in the early nineteenth-century. Contacts during the first half of the century were sporadic. In the 1860s, however, the combination of mining and the railroads brought increasing numbers of Catholics and Catholic priests to Utah. Moved from one diocese to another, Utah was finally placed

in the Diocese of San Francisco in 1870. Three years later, Archbishop Joseph S. Alemany appointed Father Lawrence Scanlan to oversee “the approximately 800 Catholics among Utah’s 87,000 residents.”<sup>148</sup> Scanlan, who arrived in August 1873, cemented the Catholic presence in the state, serving first as a priest and later as bishop (1873–1915). A commitment to education, health, and charitable service has characterized the activities of Catholic women in Utah for more than a hundred years.

In the spring of 1874, Scanlan wrote to the Sisters of the Holy Cross in Indiana, asking for their help in organizing a day school in Salt Lake City. Two sisters, M. Augusta Anderson and M. Raymond Sullivan, arrived in June 1875, toured the state in the summer, and raised funds for the school. Five other sisters of Holy Cross arrived from Notre Dame, Indiana, in August and established the first Catholic convent in Utah. Beginning with some ten sisters, the order had grown to forty by 1880 and sixty by 1890.

Local Catholic officials broke ground in June, and St. Mary’s Academy opened that fall, even though the building was not completed. The school was located on Second West between First and Second South. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, more than 2,600 day students and 1,500 boarding students attended St. Mary’s. In addition to the academy, the sisters opened St. Joseph’s School for Boys on the academy grounds in 1875, and it was in operation until 1903. An interesting view of St. Mary’s Academy during the late 1890s is captured in a memoir by Ann Basset, a student whose father believed she should be educated in a convent: “I was met at the station by the Sisters (and later) tabulated and turned out among 400 girls of every age and size, from tots to twenties. . . . Our clothing was beautifully pressed and placed ready to wear. . . . And what thrilling sensations I experienced listening to those innumerable bells to ring! At the slightest symptoms of illness or fatigue we were gently whisked away to another part of this endless building, to the infirmary.”<sup>149</sup>

The success of the Salt Lake school prompted Scanlan to organize Sacred Heart Academy in 1878 and a second St. Joseph’s School for Boys in 1882, both in Ogden and both under the direction of the Sisters of Holy Cross. Other important Catholic schools established during this period included All Hallow’s College in 1885 in Salt Lake City. Both a day and boarding school, it attracted more than 100 students. Maria Gorlinski taught at the school in 1887–88. The Marist Fathers assumed responsibility for it from 1889 to 1919, when it closed. In addition, parochial schools primarily staffed by women were established in several other Utah cities including Park City, Silver Reef, Eureka, and Price.

The sisters’ talents soon expanded beyond education. In 1875, Bishop Scanlan and a group of prominent Utah Catholics asked the Sisters of Holy Cross to organize a hospital. Sister M. Holy Cross Walsh and Sister M. Bartholomew Darnell arrived in Salt Lake City in October and rented a building for \$50 at 50 South Fifth East, close to the Catholic Cathedral of the Madeleine. Utah’s



*Courtesy of the Archives of the Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City (Utah).*

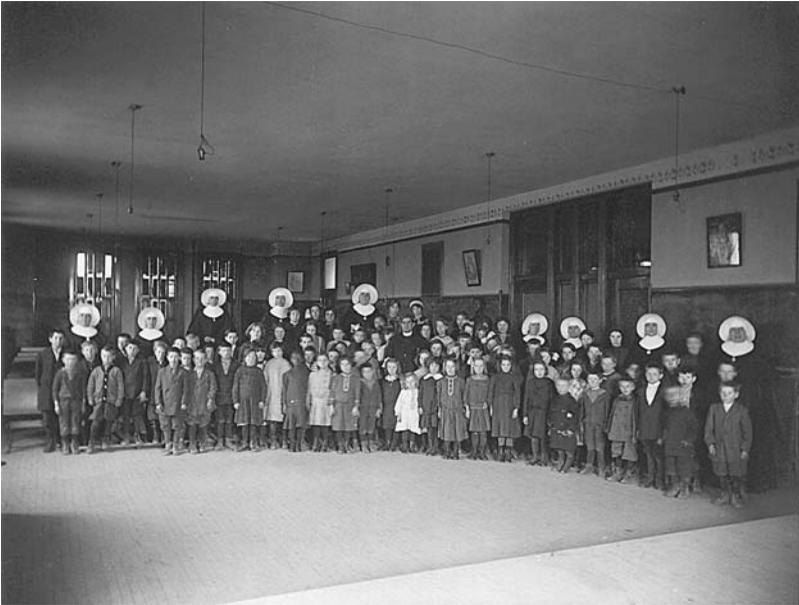
Holy Cross Sister at St. Mary's Academy founded at Salt Lake City, Utah in 1875.

hospital was the first that Sisters of Holy Cross founded in the United States. Originally housing only thirteen patients, the hospital, despite being damaged by a violent storm in 1877, thrived and moved to a new location on east First South in 1881 where it eventually had a staff of nineteen sisters and room for 200 patients. At one point, it served as the Salt Lake County Hospital. During its first twenty years, it provided medical services for more than fifteen thousand people.

Between 1875 and 1920, three women—Sisters M. Holy Cross Walsh, M. Lidwina Butler, and M. Beniti O'Connor—served as administrators. Three years after Holy Cross Hospital was organized, Bishop Scanlan opened another hospital in the mining community of Eureka, and still another in Ogden, also under the direction of the Sisters of Holy Cross.<sup>150</sup>

In 1901 the Holy Cross School of Nursing was established. Housed initially in the sisters' community room, the school was relocated to the basement of a newly created west wing in 1907 which also includes the nursing students' dormitories. An alumni association was organized in 1914 to support state and national efforts to promote nursing professionalism. In 1917, after the passage of a Utah law providing for registration of nurses, the school was accredited.<sup>151</sup>

The same year the nursing school was organized, Mary Judge, widow of John Judge, told Scanlan she wanted to fund a home for aged and infirm miners



*Courtesy of the Archives of the Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City (Utah).*

Holy Cross Sisters with children at Kearns-St. Ann's Orphanage, Salt Lake City, Utah, ca. 1910.

with a hospital where they could receive proper medical treatment. Known as the Judge Mercy Hospital and Home and staffed by the Sisters of Mercy, the home—located on Eleventh East between Sixth and Seventh South—opened in 1909 and closed in 1916. In part its success was hindered by the existence of St. Mark's. During its years of operation, the Judge Mercy Hospital League was a woman's organization that helped secure additional funding for the home. In 1918, the Red Cross used the unoccupied building during the influenza epidemic. Two years later it became the home of a Catholic elementary school.<sup>152</sup>

The Sisters of Holy Cross also urged Scanlan to open a much-needed orphanage, and in October 1891, St. Ann's was opened on First South and Third East in Salt Lake. Scanlan obtained a large plot of land in the south part of the city, funded in large measure by a \$55,000 donation from Thomas and Jennie Kearns.<sup>153</sup> The orphanage, with a staff of twelve sisters and room for 200 children was located on Twenty-first South and Fifth East where it still occupies a handsome red brick building. It provided care and education for both boys and girls and helped "graduates" find good jobs. "Special attention was given to teaching the girls to sew, cook and perform . . . household duties intelligently and skillfully." They also learned shorthand and typing.<sup>154</sup> Another important contribution was \$76,000 from Patrick Phelan's estate in 1902.<sup>155</sup>

Catholic lay women organized a large number of social, business, and charitable groups. St. Ann's Sewing Society helped raise funds for the

orphanage. The Catholic Business Women's organization, formed in 1917, assisted unmarried Catholic working women in their spiritual and social needs. It was renamed the Meynell Club in 1922. The better-known Catholic Woman's League was first organized in Salt Lake City in March 1916, with 382 original members. Other chapters followed in Ogden, Park City, and Eureka. Its purpose was both to do charity work and to "advance the culture [and] education" of Catholic women in the state on secular issues and in matters of faith. It also successfully promoted good fellowship within the state's Catholic community.<sup>156</sup>

The Young Ladies Sodality was an early Catholic youth association. It had its own meeting hall and library, sponsored socials, and organized an annual project to supply needy families on Salt Lake's west side with Christmas trees.<sup>157</sup>

By the 1920s, the large and diverse Catholic population of Utah had achieved a fair amount of acceptance. That success was at least partially the result of the Catholic women, both religious and laity, who had worked to meet the temporal and spiritual needs, not only of their denomination, but of the state as a whole.<sup>158</sup>

## JEWISH WOMEN

Utah's first Jewish settlers arrived about 1849, only two years after the Mormon vanguard. As Hynda Rudd, a historian of the Utah Jewish experience, notes, Jewish settlement in the West was "mobile and fluid in nature" though two communities—Denver and Salt Lake City—"developed in the mid 19th century and have continued to remain stable."<sup>159</sup> Rudd suggests that because Salt Lake City was already an established community, it was attractive to Jewish settlers who preferred urban areas with a sense of commerce, culture, and relative sophistication. Moreover, Jews and Mormons had a unique relationship because both were "pariah groups" and because early Mormon leaders, particularly Joseph Smith, held Judaism in deep respect.<sup>160</sup>

By the 1860s, according to historian Leon L. Watters, there were "not more than fifty Jewish adults in Salt Lake City, with a few more in other parts of the state."<sup>161</sup> An undated letter from A. Kutner published in the *San Francisco Hebrew* reported that the Jewish residents of Salt Lake City "number about seventy, and are constantly increasing." Kutner also reported that several young Jewish men had married Mormon women, some of whom had embraced Judaism "and others are expected to follow."<sup>162</sup>

That same year, a Jewish Ladies Benevolent Society was organized in Salt Lake. For several years, the society was particularly active in charitable work, reaching across religious boundaries to supervise the annual Christmas charitable balls sponsored by the local Masonic Lodge.

Another organization, the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society, was organized in 1888. By 1893, membership had grown from twenty-one to

fifty-three women. The society devoted its membership dues to charitable work and undertook many fund-raising events for the same purpose. Before statehood in 1896, this society assisted approximately thirty people per year with an annual budget of less than a thousand dollars.<sup>163</sup>

Additionally, Utah Jewish women took an active part in raising funds with which to operate and maintain the synagogues. In Congregation B’Nai Israel, for example, women not only raised the necessary funds for the building’s stained-glass windows, but also “embroidered the curtains in Hebrew designs.” In April 1895, Israel Kaiser established a sabbath Hebrew school attended by some sixty pupils and taught by several local Jewish women.

## CONCLUSION

In the fifty years between the arrival of the Mormon pioneers in Salt Lake Valley and the granting of statehood, antagonism between the Latter-day Saints and their Gentile neighbors, particularly those who came to proselytize, was an important fact of life. Toward the end of the century, much of this antagonism diminished as the Mormon hierarchy made a conscious effort to make an accommodation with the outside world, principally by abandoning the practice of plural marriage, its cooperative economic institutions and attitudes, and its all-Mormon political party in favor of two-party politics. After 1900, it was much more likely for Mormons and Gentiles to work together in social, civic and political organizations, and various causes. As Jan Shippy has noted, in the years “after the demise of plural marriage and the Mormon political kingdom,” Mormons and secular Gentiles were “far less concerned about Mormon religious beliefs than about the willingness of the Saints to permit Gentiles to participate fully in the creation of a modern society in the Intermountain West.” Relations between Mormons and Gentiles in the first two decades of the twentieth century was thus not a story of “unending conflict” but rather one of “surprising cooperation” with “healthy rather than destructive challenges.”<sup>164</sup>

For Utah women, both Mormon and Gentile alike, a similar softening of attitudes occurred. As part of the Utah observances of the World’s Fair of 1893, Emmeline B. Wells conducted a survey of women’s charitable work. She was assisted by several Mormon women, but also by several non-Mormons including Emma J. McVicker, who shared Wells’s fervent suffrage convictions. Indeed McVicker seems to be a key player in the Mormon non-Mormon cooperation. Mormon and Gentile women were associated with the work of the Orphans Home and Day Nursery Association, and the Salt Lake Kindergarten Association. Similarly Mormon and non-Mormon women were involved with the non-sectarian Ladies General Aid Society and Young Ladies Aid Society organized in 1886. Social and service organizations like the Ladies Literary Club also brought women from various religious backgrounds together in support of mutual interests and causes. World War I seems to have been a watershed event,

motivating women to put aside religious differences and unite behind the war effort. And yet, a measure of distance continued and remains today.

On balance, however, though there is a heritage of conflict between women active in the Mormon and non-Mormon faiths, there is also a record of joint activity and mutual respect which, combined with the accomplishments of individual denominations and other religious traditions, constitutes an important aspect of the Utah experience.

## NOTES

1. For a good overview of this period, see James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), chaps. 12–13. See also chaps. 1 and 11, this volume. Through much of this period, Mormons referred to those of other faiths collectively as “Gentiles.”
2. She further notes: “And now that peaceful homes and smiling plenty have succeeded those bitter hardships, these invaders come seeking to spread destruction through our fair Eden by sundering those sacred family ties and may God mete out to them even the measure they are seeking to mete out to us.” Helen Marr Clark Callister, untitled draft of speech, ca. 1878, Thomas Callister Collection, Ms 5112, Box 1, fd. 12, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).
3. Jana Kathryn Riess, “‘Heathen in Our Fair Land’: Presbyterian Women Missionaries in Utah, 1870–90,” *Journal of Mormon History* 26 (Spring 2000): 165.
4. Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874–1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 21. Another valuable resource is Joan Smyth Iversen, *The Anti-Polygamy Controversy in United States Women’s Movements, 1880–1925* (New York: Garland, 1997).
5. “Polygamy,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 4, 1884, 2.
6. See Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, “‘The Leading Sisters’: A Female Hierarchy in Nineteenth-Century Mormon Society,” *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 25–39.
7. See Marilyn Warenski, *Patriarchs and Politics: The Plight of the Mormon Woman* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978), 179–80.
8. For a description of polygamy’s place in Mormon theology and society of the nineteenth century, see Jessie L. Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987); Richard Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989); B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: Mormonism’s Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840–1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Jeffrey Nichols, *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power: Salt Lake City, 1847–1918* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002); Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). Davis Bitton’s “Mormon Polygamy: A Review Article,” *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 101–18 provides

- a valuable historiographical overview. Another valuable perspective is contained in Jessie L. Embry and Martha Sonntag Bradley, "Mothers and Daughters in Polygamy," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Fall 1985): 98–107.
9. Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue*, xvi-xxiii.
  10. Charles S. Peterson, "New Mormon/New Western History," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Mormon History Association, May 1992, St. George, Utah; photocopy in my possession.
  11. Although no full history of nineteenth-century Mormon women has yet been written, the following collections of essays provide both biography and analysis: Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Eliza and Her Sisters* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1991), Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Vicky Burgess-Olson, ed., *Sister Saints* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978); and Claudia L. Bushman, ed., *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah* (1976; reprinted with an introduction by Anne Firor Scott, Logan: Utah State University, 1997). Edited writings by nineteenth-century Mormon women appear in Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, eds., *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982). Two institutional histories are Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992) and Carol Cornwall Madsen and Susan Staker Oman, *Sisters and Little Saints: One Hundred Years of Primary* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1979).
  12. I have chosen these dates because they encompass the period from the initial Mormon settlement through the end of World War I. While there is nothing magical about dates generally, or even these years specifically, most historians believe that the Utah of pre-1920 is considerably different than in the years since then. As Thomas G. Alexander has noted, the "most important characteristic of twentieth century Utah has been the decline of ecclesiastical domination of politics, society, and the economy," with a corresponding "integration into the national economic, political and social framework." Thomas G. Alexander, "Twentieth-Century Utah: Introduction," in *Utah's History*, edited by Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene E. Campbell, and David E. Miller (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 405.
  13. Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 150.
  14. *Ibid.*
  15. Ann Vest Lobb and Jill Mulvay Derr, "Women in Early Utah," in Poll et al., *Utah's History*, 337.
  16. A good overview of her life is found in Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Eliza Roxcy Snow," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 509–10; and Beecher, ed., *The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995).

17. Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, chap. 3. Another valuable perspective comes from Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Creating Female Community: Relief Society in Cache Valley, Utah, 1868–1900," *Journal of Mormon History* 21 (Fall 1995): 126–54.
18. Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 105. See also Jennifer Lynn Hyde, "Sericulture's Heroines in Utah Economics: Silk Production as a Home Industry, 1875–1902," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Mormon History Association, May 1992, St. George, Utah; photocopy in my possession.
19. Money from the sale was kept in the Presiding Bishop's Office, earned interest and was used for a variety of projects including maternal and child health care during the 1920s and the construction of a commercial-style grain elevator for wheat storage as part of the church's welfare project during the 1940s. In 1978 the Relief Society general president turned over to the church president control of this fund, then amounting to more than \$2 million dollars, as part of the correlation movement that greatly reduced the autonomy of all Mormon auxiliaries, including the Relief Society. Derr, Cannon, and Beecher, *Women of Covenant*, 103–4, 210–13, 231, 291, 355. See also Jessie L. Embry, "Relief Society Grain Storage Program, 1876–1940" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974); and Embry, "Grain Storage: The Balance of Power between Priesthood Authority and Relief Society Autonomy," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Winter 1982): 59–66.
20. Sherilyn Cox Bennion, *Equal to the Occasion: Women Editors of the Nineteenth-Century West* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1990), 75–77.
21. Bruce L. Campbell and Eugene E. Campbell, "Early Culture and Intellectual Development," in Poll et al., *Utah's History*, 305–6.
22. For a good overview of Mormon women's activities during this period, see Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 220–42.
23. Jill Mulvay Derr, "'Strength in Our Union': The Making of Mormon Sisterhood," in *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective*, edited by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 171, 180.
24. Gary Topping, "The Ogden Academy: A Gentile Assault on Mormon Country," *Journal of the West* 24 (January 1984): 37.
25. Joseph B. Clark, *Leavening the Nation: The Story of American Home Missions* (New York: Baker and Taylor, 1903), 309.
26. "Education," *Deseret News*, December 26, 1855, 5.
27. Ward Platt, *The Frontier* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1908), 134. Platt quotes an unnamed but influential Mormon woman as saying that, while she disliked sending her children to a Protestant school, she did so "as that school was the best."
28. David F. Smith, *My Native Village: A History of Centerville* (N.p.: privately published, 1943), 34–35. Smith asserts, but does not document, that in Centerville "those who attended these free schools did not carry on into higher education to the extent that

children from other schools did. The survey shows that few of the boys and girls who attended these free schools obtained a college education.”

29. Women's Baptist Home Mission Society, *Twenty Fourth Annual Report of the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society* (New York: Women's Baptist Home Mission Society, 1902), 40.
30. Robert J. Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), 194–95.
31. Ibid.
32. Lobb and Derr, “Women in Early Utah,” 351. See also Thomas G. Alexander, “An Experiment in Progressive Legislation: The Granting of Woman Suffrage in Utah in 1870,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1970): 20–30; Lola Van Wagenen, “In Their Own Behalf; The Politicization of Mormon Women and the 1870 Franchise,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 24 (Winter 1991): 31–43; and Lola Van Wagenen, *Sister-Wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and the Politics of Woman Suffrage* (Ph. D. diss., New York University, 1994; printed, Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and BYU Studies, Dissertations in LDS History Series, 2003).
33. Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*, 201–2.
34. Carol Cornwall Madsen, “Schism in the Sisterhood: Mormon Women and Partisan Politics, 1890–1900,” in *New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington*, edited by Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 213.
35. Photocopy of prospectus in my possession.
36. Mrs. L. H. Ehlers to Fred T. Dubois, June 27, 1906, Fred T. Dubois Papers, Oebler Library, Idaho State University, Pocatello, Idaho.
37. Madsen, “Schism in the Sisterhood,” 213.
38. Herbert W. Reherd, “An Outline History of the Protestant Churches of Utah, in *Utah: A Centennial History*, edited by Wain Sutton (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1949), 651. See also David L. Schirer, “Baptists in Utah,” in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 31–32.
39. Reherd, “Outline History,” 651.
40. R. Maude Dittmars, “A History of Baptist Missions in Utah, 1871–1931,” (M.A. thesis, University of Colorado, 1931), 20.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., 44.
43. Mrs. M. R. Warner, “Report on Charities and Philanthropies of the Baptist Church,” *Charities and Philanthropies: Woman's Work in Utah*, edited by Emmeline B. Wells for the World's Fair (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1893), 39.
44. Ibid.
45. Florence Crosby Parsons, “The Baptist Church,” in *World's Fair: Ecclesiastical History of Utah*, compiled by Representatives of the Religious Denominations (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1893), 281.

46. Ibid., 282. The other women were Maggie Taylor, Mary Pearce, and Helen Mann.
47. Ibid., 287
48. David H. Streets, "American Baptist Church," in *Protestant and Catholic Churches of Provo: A Study of the Non-LDS Christian Congregations*, edited by David M. Walden (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, Center for Family and Community History, 1986), 46.
49. Parsons, "The Baptist Church," 287; WPA, Historical Records Survey, *Inventory of the Church Archives of Utah*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Records Survey, 1940), 2:48.
50. Ibid., 25.
51. Dittmars, "A History of Baptist Missions," 53.
52. Ibid., 54.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., 55.
55. WPA, *Inventory of Church Archives*, 2:48.
56. Gordon K. Harrington, "The Lonely Pilgrim in Zion," *Bulletin of the Congregational Library* 30 (Winter 1970): 5. See also Gordon K. Harrington and Mary Paulson Harrington, "Congregationalism in Utah," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 111–12. Originally organized as the First Church of Jesus Christ (Congregational), it was renamed First Congregational Church in 1893.
57. Mildred Stockman, an early member of the Congregational church described Independence Hall in some detail based on her childhood memories: "Independence Hall . . . was located between Main and West Temple, on the south side of Third South. Really not on the street, but about 20 rods south in the block, the space between the Hall and the street, being used for wagons and horses and buggies. There was a long board walk leading from Third South to the entrance of Independence Hall which was on the Northwest corner of the building. You entered a vestibule, where over-shoes and rubbers were often deposited. Then into the rear of the main hall where stood a great potbelly stove with quite a gathering space around it before you came to the benches or pews. The pulpit was on a platform at the east end of the hall, with the organ just below on the right and a door on the left leading to the Primary Department, then presided over by Mrs. Sprague, mother of our late Sale Lake City librarian. In this department there was a group called the Pansy Mission Society, which was led by Miss Alice Stevens, a New West teacher. This group saved their pennies in little earthen jugs with only one slit, and these were presented annually at the Christmas celebration." Mildred Stockman, "This I Remember," January 18, 1967, typescript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.
58. Francis Sherman, "Chronological Development of Missions in Utah" (B.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1910), 10.
59. "Report of the Phillips Benevolent Society," in *Charities and Philanthropies*, edited by Emmeline B. Wells for the World's Fair (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons,

- 1803), 49. Despite the close resemblance of title, publisher, date and editor, this work should not be confused with that cited in note 45.
60. Hugh F. O'Neil, "Records Show A. W. Stafford First Pastor; Congregationalists Began Services in Ogden in Year of 1876," (*Ogden Standard-Examiner*, January 22, 1939, A-10.
  61. Streets, "American Baptist Church," 27–28.
  62. *Ibid.*
  63. In fact, it did in 1893 when the Congregational Educational Society was created. Harrington, *Lonely Pilgrim*, 10.
  64. J. Duncan Brite, "Non-Mormon Schools and Churches," in *The History of a Valley: Cache Valley Utah-Idaho*, edited by Joel E. Ricks and Everett L. Cooley (Logan: Cache Valley Centennial Commission, 1956), 30. See also Milford Randall Rathjen, "The Distribution of Major Non-Mormon Denominations in Utah" (M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1966), 24–53.
  65. Topping, "The Ogden Academy," 38.
  66. *Ibid.*, 37–38.
  67. *Ibid.*, 39.
  68. *Ibid.*, 41.
  69. Abbie P. Noyes to her father, 6 January 1890, quoted in Topping, "The Ogden Academy," 42.
  70. Neil, "Records Show A. W. Stafford First Pastor," A-10.
  71. Topping, "The Ogden Academy," 46.
  72. Emory S. Burke, ed., *History of American Methodism* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1968), 442.
  73. Henry P. Merkel, *History of Methodism in Utah* (Colorado Springs: Dentan Printing, 1938), 153.
  74. *Ibid.*, 73–74.
  75. Alma White, *Looking Back from Beulah* (Zarephath, N.J.: Pillar of Fire Church, 1902), 74–94. See also Susie Cunningham Stanley, *Feminist Pillar of Fire: The Life of Alma White* (Cleveland, Ohio: Pilgrim Press, 1993), 15–16. A good biographical overview can be found in Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer eds., *Notable American Women, 1607–1950*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971), 3:581–83.
  76. Merkel, *History of Methodism in Utah*, 198.
  77. Thomas E. Lyon, "Evangelical Protestant Missionary Activities in Mormon Dominated Areas, 1865–1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1962), 161.
  78. (no author), "The Methodist Episcopal Church," in *World's Fair: Ecclesiastical History of Utah*, 273.
  79. *Ibid.*, 199–202.
  80. Connie Fife, "Methodists," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 362.
  81. Mrs. J. Post, "Methodist Episcopal," in *Charities and Philanthropies*, edited by Wells, 50.

82. For information on Newman, see Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue*, 23–24.
83. *Ibid.*, 24.
84. *Ibid.*, 21.
85. *Ibid.*, 24–27.
86. Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*, 214.
87. After its sale, the building was operated as the Fifth East Hotel, then the Ambassador Hotel. In 1945 it became the home of the recently organized Ambassador Athletic Club and maintained that identity until it was razed in 1986. See “History of a Utopian Failure,” *Deseret News*, July 29, 1899, 9; and Twila Van Leer, “Ambassador Club’s Next Big Ball May Be the Wrecker’s,” *Deseret News*, November 26, 1985, C-1.
88. Carl Wankier, “History of Presbyterian Schools in Utah” (M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1968), 2. See also H. Jeffrey Silliman, “The Presbyterian Church in Utah,” in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 442–43.
89. R. Douglas Brackenridge, “Mormons and ‘Outsiders’ in Utah, 1870–1890,” paper delivered at the Sunstone Symposium, Salt Lake City, August 1995; photocopy in my possession.
90. *Ibid.*, 3.
91. Wankier, “History of Presbyterian Schools,” 19.
92. *Ibid.*, 22. The other women were Mattie Voris, R. A. Wray, and Fannie Perley.
93. Brackenridge, “Mormons and ‘Outsiders,’” 3–4, 12.
94. *Ibid.*
95. For a fuller discussion, see Riess, “Heathen in Our Fair Land,” 165–95. See also Sandra Dawn Brimhall and David A. Hales, “Frances R. Burke: Toquerville Presbyterian Missionary,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 72 (Spring 2004): 156–66; and R. Douglas Brackenridge, “Presbyterians and Latter-day Saints in Utah: A Century of Conflict and Compromise, 1830–1930,” *Journal of Presbyterian History* 80 (Winter 2002): 205–24.
96. Brite, “Non-Mormon Schools,” 312–13.
97. Emil Nyman, *A Short History of Westminster College* (Salt Lake City: Westminster College, 1975), 2. See also R. Douglas Brackenridge, *Westminster College of Salt Lake City: From Presbyterian Mission School to Independent College* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1998).
98. Nyman, *A Short History of Westminster College*, 5.
99. *Ibid.*, 6.
100. James B. Crosby, “Wasatch Academy,” in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 618–19.
101. Milton R. Hunter, *Beneath Ben Lomand’s Peak: A History of Weber County, 1840–1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1944), 462–63, 552–53.
102. For a list of the schools, see Wankier, “Presbyterian Schools in Utah,” 40. Another essential source for understanding the Presbyterian efforts in the West generally and Utah specifically is Mark T. Banker, *Presbyterian Missionaries and Cultural Interaction in the Far Southwest, 1850–1890* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

103. Sherman H. Doyle, *Presbyterian Home Missions* (New York: Board of Home Missions, 1905), 161.
104. The amount of money spent on school work in Utah by the denomination fluctuated considerably from 1895 through 1900. After declining from \$44,000 in 1895 to \$40,000 in 1900, expenditures rose again until 1911 when they began a marked decline. See Wankier, "Presbyterian Schools in Utah," 34.
105. *Ibid.*, 164.
106. Brackenridge, "Mormons and Outsiders," 14.
107. *Ibid.*, 15.
108. *Ibid.*, 38.
109. Mrs. J. [Emma J.] McVicker, "Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the First Presbyterian Church of Salt Lake," in *Charities and Philanthropies: Woman's Work in Utah*, edited by Wells. McVicker's name is misspelled as "McVickor" on the committee list on the title page.
110. Mary Peach, "Lutherans in Utah," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 339.
111. Paul A. Mogren, *Zion Lutheran Church, Salt Lake City: A Centennial History, 1882–1982* (Salt Lake City: Zion Lutheran Church, 1982), 4.
112. *Ibid.*
113. *Ibid.*, 6.
114. Ronnie L. Stillhorn, "A History of the Lutheran Church in Utah" (M.S. thesis, Utah State University, 1975), 153.
115. In the nineteenth century, non-Mormon churches endorsed the principle of comity. Under this arrangement, "It was agreed that where a community had one or more churches a third would not enter; that a feeble church should be revived rather than a new one started; and that the preferences of the Protestants in the area should always be respected. In nineteen places in Utah, adjustment between the five denominations [Congregational, Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian] was agreed upon with the smaller churches consolidating with the stronger." Brite, "Non-Mormon Schools and Churches," 31.
116. Stillborn, "A History of the Lutheran Church in Utah," 155–57.
117. *Ibid.*, 54.
118. Leslie L. Zook, *A History of Central Christian Church, Salt Lake City, 1890–1969* (Salt Lake City: Central Christian Church, 1970), 76.
119. *Ibid.*, 77.
120. "Calvary Baptist Church Marks 86th Anniversary," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 9, 1985, A-11. See also Rev. France Davis, *Light in the Midst of Zion: A History of Black Baptists in Utah, 1892–1996* (Salt Lake City: Empire Publishing, 1997), 13–15.
121. E. J. Peabody, "Spiritualists," in *Charities and Philanthropies*, edited by Wells, 57.
122. H. K. Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States* (New York: Christian Literature Co., 1896), 352.
123. A good overview can be found in Mary Peach and Kathryn L. Miller, "Episcopalians in Utah," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City:

- University of Utah Press, 1994), 171–74. See also Frederick Quinn, *Building the "Goodly Fellowship of Faith": A History of the Episcopal Church in Utah, 1867–1996* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2004).
124. Daniel S. Tuttle, *Reminiscences of a Missionary Bishop* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1906), 363.
  125. Tuttle was elected missionary bishop of the territories of Utah, Idaho, and Montana at a meeting of the House of Bishops in New York City in October 1866 and was consecrated in May 1867.
  126. Mary R. Clark, "Rowland Hall-St. Mark's School: Alternative Education for More than a Century," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Summer 1980): 273.
  127. Paul L. Martin, "A Historical Study of the Religious Education Programs of the Episcopal Church in Utah" (MRE thesis, Brigham Young University, 1967), 35.
  128. Sherman, "Development of Missions," 20.
  129. Daniel S. Tuttle, "History of the Missionary District of Utah and Idaho," Archives of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas; photocopy in my possession.
  130. Quoted in Clark, "Rowland Hall-St. Mark's School," 281.
  131. Colburne's obituary called her "widely known in local educational and social circles." "Pioneer of Rowland Hall Dies in East," *Deseret News*, September 6, 1933, 8.
  132. They were Martha K. Humphrey, mathematics and science; Annie Starling, English; Katherine Russell, Latin and history; Henrietta English, languages; Sarah J. Simpson, preparatory departments, grades 1–4; Marian Starling, preparatory department, grades 5–7; and, Gratia Flanders, music and piano. See S. A. Kenner, *Utah As It Is* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1904), 307–8.
  133. Tuttle, *Reminiscences of a Missionary Bishop*, 377.
  134. *Ibid.*, 272.
  135. Mary S. Donovan, "Women Missionaries in Utah," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 66 (June 1997): 154–74.
  136. Sara Napper, Quarterly Report to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, December 1, 1902, Record Group 52, Box 57, Episcopal Church Archives, Austin, Texas.
  137. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1904.
  138. *Ibid.*, December 1, 1903.
  139. William Harroun Behle, *Biography of Augustus C. Behle, M.D., with an Account of the Early History of St. Mark's Hospital, Salt Lake City, Utah* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, 1948), 34–36, quoted in Lottie Felkner, ed., *The St. Mark's Hospital School of Nursing Story* (Salt Lake City: St. Mark's Hospital Nurses Alumni Association, 1970), 9.
  140. Jeffery O. Johnson, "The Kimballs and the Youngs in Utah's Early Christian Science Movement," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Utah Historical Society, August 1984, Salt Lake City.
  141. The best source is Stan Larson and Lorille Miller, *Unitarianism in Utah: A Gentile Religion in Salt Lake City, 1891–1991* (Salt Lake City: Freethinker Press, 1991). Also important is Irma Watson Hance and Virginia Hendrickson Picht, *In Commemoration*

- of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the First Unitarian Church, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1891–1966* (n.p., 1966).
142. Linda Thatcher, “Women in the Early Unitarian Church in Salt Lake City,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the Utah Historical Society, August 1984, Salt Lake City; photocopy in my possession.
  143. For a representative sermon by Mila Tupper Maynard, see Larson and Miller, *Unitarianism in Utah*, 189–201.
  144. Hance and Picht, *Commemoration*, 74.
  145. Larson and Miller, *Unitarianism in Utah*, 68.
  146. Thatcher, “Women in the Early Unitarian Church,” 11.
  147. Larson and Miller, *Unitarianism in Utah*, 84.
  148. Bernice Maher Mooney, “The Catholic Church in Utah,” in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 78.
  149. Quoted in Bernice Maher Mooney, *Salt of the Earth: The History of the Catholic Diocese in Utah, 1776–1887* (Salt Lake City: Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, 1987), 67.
  150. Mrs. W. S. [Hannah] McCornick, “Catholic Charities of Utah,” in *Charities and Philanthropies*, edited by Wells, 30–35.
  151. Mooney, *Salt of the Earth*, 86.
  152. *Ibid.*, 115.
  153. Louis J. Fries, *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Catholicity in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Intermountain Catholic Press, 1926), 126.
  154. Wells, *World’s Fair History*, 34.
  155. W. R. Harris, *The Catholic Church in Utah, 1776–1909* (Salt Lake City: Intermountain Catholic Press, 1909), 304.
  156. Duane G. Hunt, “History of the Roman Catholic Church in Utah,” in Sutton, *Utah: A Centennial History*, 736.
  157. Fries, *History of Catholicity*, 139.
  158. For an overview of Catholic women’s activities in Utah, see Mooney, *Salt of the Earth*.
  159. Hynda Rudd, “The Jews of the Mountain West: A Guide to Historical Sources” (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1979), 68.
  160. Steven Epperson, *Mormons and Jews: Early Mormon Theologies of Israel* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992).
  161. Leon L. Watters, *The Pioneer Jews of Utah* (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1952), 162.
  162. Quoted in Juanita Brooks, *History of the Jews in Idaho and Utah* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1973), 53.
  163. Mrs. Louis Hyams, “Hebrew Benevolent Society,” in *Charities and Philanthropies*, edited by Wells, 52.
  164. Shippo, “Beyond the Stereotypes: Mormon and Non-Mormon Communities in Twentieth Century Mormondom,” in Bitton and Beecher, *New Views in Mormon History*, 342–60.