Building The Goodly Fellowship Of Faith

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Franklin Spencer Spalding
The Socialist Bishop
(1904–1914)

Indeed I am a socialist. Why not, aren’t you? I am a Marxian Socialist, and I’m a socialist in every sense of the word.
—Bishop Spalding to a reporter

Do not despair the day of small things.
—Zechariah 4:10, Spalding’s suggested motto for the Missionary District of Utah

For fourteen years, from 1904 to 1918, two socialist bishops with national reputations for their outspokenness led the Utah missionary district. The assumption might be that they were somehow otherwise deficient as church leaders, but both Franklin Spencer Spalding and Paul Jones were tireless visitors to isolated communities, skilled pastors, and able administrators when a balance sheet is drawn on the whole of their controversial episcopates.

Socialism held a respected, albeit a minority position, in American political life in the early twentieth century, attracting a broad spectrum of workers, farmers, intellectuals, reformers, and small business people. During that time the Social Gospel made a deep impact on American religious life, its basic arguments being that Christ preached justice and equity for all people, and that the church should not be primarily the church of the rich, but should contend with economic powers and principalities on behalf of the poor and voiceless. Women’s suffrage and better educational and health care possibilities for children were all parts of the package. Socialism was a force in Utah politics as well. More than a hundred Socialists were elected to public office in nineteen different communities between 1900 and the
party’s demise in the 1930s. Socialist support was widespread in the growing mining centers, and from 1911 to 1913, the Utah State Federation of Labor backed the Socialist Party’s political platform and ticket. Contrary to popular myths, most Utah Socialists were native-born. Thus Bishops Spalding and Jones were not Don Quixotes tilting at windmills, but articulate reformers well-positioned within an established strain of American political thought.¹

Franklin Spencer Spalding was born in Erie, Pennsylvania, on March 13, 1865, the first of five children of the Episcopal rector there. Eight years later his father, John F. Spalding, became missionary bishop of Colorado, Wyoming, and New Mexico, and the family moved west, although Franklin returned to Princeton University and General Theological Seminary for his education. Little of Spalding’s deep commitment to the plight of workers was evident in his Princeton–General years. Princeton was a school priding itself in turning out “young Christian gentlemen.” Rote memorization was the preferred way of learning, but Franklin was an avid debater with an analytical, inquiring mind. He was also an amateur athlete, third baseman on his class team, and won nearly thirty medals, most of them in track and field events. Later, when he joined his father in Colorado, the tall, thin, bespectacled Spalding, his penetrating eyes framed by large glasses, played fullback on the Denver Athletic Club’s football team.

At General Seminary Spalding joined the “Western Missionary Club,” a group of students dedicated to the Episcopal Church’s westward expansion, much as other mission groups supported overseas church work in China or South America.² In 1891 Spalding was among seven General graduates to serve in Colorado as missionaries. Ordained a deacon by his father on June 3, 1891, his first parish was All Saints’, in a North Denver suburb. On June 1, 1892, he was ordained a priest and became headmaster of Jarvis Hall, the church’s school for boys. He stayed there until Easter 1897, when his father’s old parish, St. Paul’s in Erie, called him as rector. In 1898 Spalding spent his vacation in Wyoming climbing the Grand Teton, a treacherous 13,770-foot peak surrounded by glaciers, deep chasms, and snowfields. Crawling their way along a slippery ledge with the possibility of a 3,000-foot drop a few inches to their side, the three climbers pulled themselves along a narrow ledge, sometimes hanging over open space. Spalding said, “We had been climbing for eleven hours. It was a grand sight, one of the grandest on earth.”³ A route to the top and a waterfall were later named after Spalding.

Erie was an industrial town, and it was there that the thirty-two-year-old rector developed a lasting interest in social issues. Once, some workers asked their minister if new industrial machines really helped the working class, as management claimed. Spalding concluded the new machinery did not reduce prices, nor did the workers gain better salaries and working
conditions. In fact, many lost jobs when replaced by machines.\textsuperscript{4} “I was forced to realize,” he wrote later in \textit{The Christian Socialist}, “that thousands who had as good a right to the fullness of life as I had, did not have a ghost of a chance.”\textsuperscript{5}

A galvanic event for the young rector was the 1898 visit to Erie of Eugene Debs, the Socialist presidential candidate. Spalding was asked to introduce Debs, but declined, saying this was “out of his sphere.” That fall, Spalding was named the city’s Labor Day speaker.\textsuperscript{6} While expressing sympathy for the plight of workers, he also criticized unions for allowing women and children to work in factories, not to supply the necessities of life, but to “increase their luxuries.”\textsuperscript{7} The trade unionists responded by urging women not to return to work. This in turn produced friction in the parish, since one of the factories belonged to a vestry member, who resigned in protest. By then Spalding’s political loyalties had changed from Republican, to Democrat, to Socialist, although he never joined the Socialist Party, as did his successor, Paul Jones.

Meanwhile, an old family friend, Bishop Boyd Vincent of the Diocese of Southern Ohio, had advanced Spalding’s name for the vacant Utah opening. On October 19, 1904, Spalding wrote his mother (his father had died in 1902), “It is just what I didn’t want as you know, for it is hard being a bishop, so thankless, and Utah is the hardest of them all.” Spalding’s main concern was that he would have to spend much time fundraising, a task for which he had little appetite.\textsuperscript{8} He was consecrated bishop at St. Paul’s, Erie, on December 4, 1904, at age thirty-nine. Daniel Tuttle, now presiding bishop as well as bishop of Missouri, was chief consecrator.

\textbf{Spalding’s Socialism: “Read Karl Marx”}

Spalding backed into socialist and communist theory from his own life experience, not from any special interest in political thought. He was a Christian first and a Socialist second. Spalding’s socialism was grounded in the New Testament. His political theory was derived from biblical teachings, such as the Sermon on the Mount. Moses was the first biblical revolutionary, Spalding believed, followed by an infinitely greater revolutionary, Christ. This was not idle theory, but a call to action. “Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.” There was no turning back.\textsuperscript{9}

“Indeed I am a socialist,” Spalding once told a reporter. “Why not, aren’t you? I am a Marxian Socialist, and I’m a socialist in every sense of the word. . . . Under the present individualistic system of government we reach the wealthy and refined and take care of them but socialism reaches the masses.”\textsuperscript{10} Returning to General Seminary on a recruitment trip, he told
students “read Karl Marx” and The Communist Manifesto, but traditional Marxists or Communists would find his brand of socialism maddeningly deviant.\footnote{11}

Spalding, in a 1905 commencement address, said rhetoric about “masses and classes” was limited and limiting. He pleaded for “a higher appeal than the appeal to self-interest or to class interest; there are nobler rewards than the rewards of material prosperity.”\footnote{12} In a 1908 consecration sermon for the bishop of Western Colorado, he charged the prelate to “go forth as the Bishop of Socialism and Trade Unionism, of Communism and Prohibition, of Ethical Culture and New Thought, of truth held by all men, at all times and in all places, and truth which was only discovered yesterday.” Spalding was not asking his friend and classmate, Bishop Edward J. Knight, to be a Communist or Ethical Culturalist, but to challenge conventional society and its beliefs. His point was, “we are Apostles of Christ, not private chaplains to rich parishioners, not earnest men hampered with small and confining surroundings, not privates required to obey the orders of others whom we are not sure of; but leaders, with no superior save Christ, the King.”\footnote{13}

Could he be both a bishop of the church and an advocate for a controversial political system? Yes, Spalding reasoned.\footnote{14} Careful to separate his sermons from his lectures to workers, he was first of all a pastor, then a preacher, a fundraiser, rural evangelist, and a chief administrator of a demanding missionary district. Spalding held these roles in balance, and his steady record of achievement makes him one of the most remarkable figures in the American church of his era.

Opposition in Salt Lake City, Confrontation in Garfield

His socialism drew increasing opposition in Salt Lake City, although rural clergy, especially those who worked with the miners, were supportive of it. Much of the lay leadership of the small Episcopal churches in Utah’s capital fell to a handful of business entrepreneurs, bankers, and lawyers, self-made successful persons with limited horizons. In Europe, the Pope had condemned socialism, and the Roman Catholic Church in America quickly followed suit. The Latter-day Saints, once proponents for the utopian State of Deseret, by 1914 had become super-patriots. “He has told the rest of the world some things it did not know about socialism,” an editorial in the Inter Mountain Republican stated. “By the fact of this telling—he being a much respected man—the community has a better opinion of it. . . . It hasn’t won the public, but people are not so hostile as they were, for they have been told the truth about it in temperate language, by a temperate man.”\footnote{15}
When the bishop visited the Oregon Shortline office in Salt Lake in 1911 to receive his annual free pass, the manager said his favoring workers over the company meant he would receive no free transportation that year. The bishop calmly replied he could not surrender his right to free speech for a railroad pass. Although he could have confronted the lower-level management figures who took issue with him, Spalding never did so. Many were trying to be Christians, he reasoned, and were themselves but cogs in a machine.

Things came to a head in the mining town of Garfield in 1910. The Utah Copper, Boston Consolidated, and American Smelter companies had large mining operations spread for six miles along the Great Salt Lake. Many workers lived in small shacks on company land. For such a setting Spalding had found an ideal missionary, Maxwell W. Rice, a youth worker, graduate of Williams College and Cambridge Seminary, and a skilled amateur boxer. Although he lived in the bunkhouse and ate with the workers, Rice played tennis with the management staff and circulated easily in both worlds. Working with the laborers until his hands were blistered in the hot sun, he helped them build a small church, roofed with corrugated tin. Soon a Sunday school for fifty children opened, a kindergarten was formed, social clubs for men and women sprang up, and religious services were held on Sundays and Wednesdays. The only problem was the church was built on company land.

The flash point came when some Scotch and Welsh miners asked if they could meet on Wednesday evenings to discuss social issues. Rice readily agreed and management learned that Socialists were meeting on company property. The resident manager said the church could not use the building for such purposes and the workers should be fired. Spalding and Rice met with the local manager who was caught in the middle, carrying out orders from above. Six years later, the manager reflected, “I wouldn’t tell Rice this, but perhaps we had, in our efforts to pay dividends, overlooked the men.” The manager called Spalding “a great man who always did what he thought was right.”

It was 1910, and the missionary bishop looked ahead. “If God gives me strength quietly to live and work and teach the absolute need of Social Revolution, nothing less, ten years from today I’ll have done more good in Utah than if I could stir up a strike at Garfield or bankrupt the Utah Copper Co.” But time was short; Spalding had only four more years to complete his work.

In August 1913, the Episcopal Church met in General Convention at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York. Spalding was a featured speaker. This was his most important national audience, and his topic
Franklin Spencer Spalding was “The Church and Democracy.” War clouds loomed, and by now the church and capitalism issue was nearly as contentious as the Civil War, civil rights or any of the great issues with which the church historically wrestled.

Spalding opened by describing the manager who told him to stay away from social issues in his church, and of the railway official who would not renew his annual pass because he spoke to striking workers. The bishop did not condemn these people, but expressed admiration for them. They were merely doing their jobs, he said. But there was another audience for the church, the working people, and their needs were no less important to organized religion, he concluded. “Surely there can be no doubt on which side the church of Jesus Christ ought to stand, where the issue is between dollars and men. . . . She must take her place on the side of the worker, giving him, from her Master, self-control and courage and hope and faith, so that he may fight his battle and win his victory, which is not his victory alone, but the victory of society; the victory of cooperation, of love over selfishness.” The Church, to be a real power in society, “must cease to be merely the almoner of the rich and become the champion of the poor.”

The heart of Spalding’s address was

we worship in a great church like this, and it makes us forget the slums just over the way; we wear our holy vestments, and we forget the millions who have only rags to wear; we debate our canons and names, and we forget the toiling workers who are pleading for a living wage; we discuss hymns and prayers, and we forget that there are ten-thousands of thousands whose hearts are too heavy to sing and whose faith is too weak to pray.

Reaction was swift, much of it critical. “Why shouldn’t I accept money from the mill owners?” a southern bishop asked. “Never have that man in our parish again,” another listener told her rector. Two wealthy New Yorkers who may have misheard Spalding when he criticized Joseph Smith as a medium and psychic told him, “Bishop, we do not think that we can support you, for we understand that you are a spiritualist.” Others pleaded with Spalding to stop preaching about economic issues, and church leaders, enraged by his position, withheld substantial donations to missions. Friends said his reputation was suffering. A month later he wrote, “I sometimes wonder whether the Protestant Episcopal Church and social service can live together. I did get jumped on so hard for the speech I made at the General Convention from the great lights of the Church, both male and female.” In a letter to his mother he asked “whether the time will ever come when it
will be my duty to resign from the Church for the sake of the Church, for I cannot quite see how I can stop speaking out what I think God’s spirit shows me as the truth.”24

Work among the Utes

Shortly before Spalding’s arrival, the Episcopal Church had begun a ministry to the Ute peoples in the state’s northeast. Bishop Abiel Leonard had supported efforts to “elevate the Red Man” whose land had been taken and who was now placed on restricted farm lands with undesirable soil. Shock waves from the resultant swift change of lifestyles reverberate over a century and a half later. Well-intentioned, prayerful missionaries came to work in Utah, but few spoke the Ute language in more than rudimentary phrases. The Native Americans were considered “pagan” or “uncivilized” and their traditional beliefs were viewed with curiosity at best and as barbarian at worst. Thus the Episcopal Church of that time, like other denominations and the federal government, contributed generously to helping people on one hand while dismantling their culture on the other. The church worked closely with the government. Neither side knew much about Native American work, but the government had more money to spend than the church. Sometimes the Indian agents were principled, competent people, but many represented the dregs of the job seekers of that era. In 1905 the Ute lands were again opened for white settlement, and 6,400 plots of 160 acres each were given to non–Native American applicants.

The gulf between Native American belief and Christian thought was wide. Spalding recalled a lantern show his predecessor, Bishop Leonard, had given on the crucifixion. The Native American response to it was “white man he kill God, we no want his church.” Of his audience, Spalding said, “they are a stolid lot and one can’t tell whether they understand or not.”25

The bishop believed the American military were poor models for the Native Americans. Many of the troops were lazy, often were drunk, and had ready access to Fort Duchesne’s brothels.26 In 1908 he wrote that the work at Whiterocks was seriously handicapped by the inefficiency of the local government school. Two plans were advanced, one to turn the school over to the church, which was rejected on the grounds of separation of church and state. The second was for the church to organize and staff the school, after which the government would assume responsibility for it.27 “It is a very critical time for the Utes,” Spalding wrote in 1911. “Whether they like it or not, they are being forced to adopt the customs of white men.” A trader had told him that during the past year he had sold more white man’s clothing and fewer blankets than ever before, and that laws against liquor sales were
making an impact. “Trade and civil law are thus lifting them out of their savagery.”

Spalding was enthusiastic about the Whiterocks Native American work, and made the arduous journey there twice a year. His 275-mile trip by road and railroads crossed into Colorado as well. The last train stop was in Dragon, fifty-seven miles through the “bad lands” to Ouray. Spalding used the Dragon schoolhouse for a church service in 1908. His was the third public meeting that day. The first, a Republican rally, drew fourteen persons, the second, a Democratic gathering, drew twenty-four members, and “at our service there were fifty!”

The Indian agent told Spalding the local inhabitants would receive their annual payments the following day, and “I want you to tell them how wrong and foolish it is to get drunk.” Spalding recalled his sermon, speaking slowly, allowing Charley Mack, the interpreter, to adapt the message for local use. Spalding spoke of four kinds of houses, the Native American log house or wickiup. Next came the “Washington House,” where the agent lives and enforces the decrees of the “Great White Father” in Washington. Then there was the schoolhouse, and lastly God’s house, where “we learn what the Great Spirit, our Father in Heaven, wishes us to do,” especially through the “ten great laws.” Spalding then focused on the Seventh Commandment, with special emphasis on keeping “our bodies in temperance, soberness and chastity.” When the government payment money was distributed, “not a single full-blooded Ute Indian was found drunk. . . . The guardhouse was quite empty, except for one poor, foolish half-breed. I wonder whether white people pay any better attention to sermons than that.”

THE BEAR DANCE AND SUN DANCE

Episcopalian and other missionaries and secular workers among Native Americans believed the Bear Dance and Sun Dance, the dominant ritual manifestations of Ute culture, were grossly pagan, and set about dismantling such practices. Missionaries of that era, like others dealing with Native American affairs, did not realize such ritual events helped hold indigenous societies together in times of stress.

“This heathen dance and custom which create such widespread interest and attract such crowds, the Church is rightfully trying to break up,” Hersey stated. The Bear Dance, named for the swaying movement of a bear and carrying the symbolism of a bear emerging from winter hibernation, was an annual spring event among the Utes. It took place just before the spring camps moved out to begin the long hunting season. Ancestors were appeased by the dance, protection was asked against illness and attacks, favor was
invoked for the coming hunt, and courtships as well as divorces took place after a long, cold winter. Hersey wanted to have marriages solemnized in the church. “for even though they have an old love, a more congenial mate they will choose, these children of nature, without a thought involved in the breaking of family ties.”

“One can understand and sympathize, too, with this unhappy minority who long for the wild, roaming freedom of other days, the exciting hunt and the chase for buffalo and deer and game, their clashing bloody encounters with other wandering tribes,” he reflected, adding, “Those days can only be lived again in memory, for the Indian must be civilized and Christianized.”

Hersey’s substitute for the Bear Dance took place on the first Wednesday after Easter. The local Ute population, possibly 250 people, was invited to a barbeque where “dozens and dozens of eggs are hard boiled and oven after oven of bread is baked,” and coffee and pie were served. Potato, sack, and pie races replaced the traditional ceremonies designed to affirm tribal solidarity and recall the Native Americans’s past. “The pie races are most amusing, since they must eat their pie with their hands tied behind them. The winners receive prizes of something useful,” Hersey noted.

Then he told the Resurrection story and urged the Utes to solemnize their weddings through lasting church unions. Someone from the Indian Bureau urged them to establish permanent birth, marriage and death records, and have deeds to their lands.

The Sun Dance, the central rite of the local people, grew out of the social and cultural stresses Utes encountered in the late nineteenth century, when they were driven from their territory, defeated, and forced to switch from being hunters and gatherers to becoming farmers on poor lands. The dance was both an affirmation of traditional culture and values and a distinctively anti-white statement, providing “power to the powerless,” as the title of an anthropological study described it. The Sun Dance was a three-day ceremony, held in July, and included socializing, healing rites, horse racing, card playing, construction of a sweat lodge for a purification ceremony, and extensive gift-giving, closing with an elaborate meal. Shamans, singers, musicians, dancers, and participants all had a role in this complex event. The event was called a Sun Dance, because each morning the dancers prayed with the rising of the sun for health and power. They did not pray to the sun.

The sun symbol represented binary forces; its rays were both hot and cold, and dry and wet forces competed as well. The dance took place around a wooden center pole, a young green tree. As it died, its powers (puwa) were channeled to participants. The rite’s content was not easy to categorize, with additions and deletions depending on locale and practitioners. Sometimes
a Cross and other Christian symbols were added, but as cultural symbols rather than as statements of Christian belief.\textsuperscript{38}

When the Bureau of Indian Affairs outlawed the dance in 1913, the resourceful Utes reintroduced it as a “Thanksgiving Dance” or “Harvest Dance,” to the satisfaction of their overseers.\textsuperscript{39}

\textbf{Bishop Spalding on the Road}

The bishop was often on the road three weeks at a time. Within three months of arriving in the missionary district in 1905, Spalding visited scattered missions, including those in Colorado and Nevada. A period photo shows a downtown signboard in front of an Ogden shop announcing, “Admission Free, Bishop Spalding at the Episcopal Church, Every Night at 7:30 p.m. This Week and Sunday. Come! Come! Come!”\textsuperscript{40} His letters to his mother and others came from places like the Gore-View Hotel, Kremmling, Colorado, “New and Nicely Furnished. . . . Table always supplied with the best” or the Oxford Hotel, Hayden, Colorado, “A hot favorite with commercial men . . . a new hotel newly furnished and kept strictly up to date.”

The National Church had designated $1,500 for Utah work; Spalding had to raise the rest. St. Mark’s Hospital was $35,000 in debt for needed improvements, and Rowland Hall required money for scholarships and salaries. Spalding was a hands-on leader; when he arrived in Vernal and saw the resident missionary filling his icehouse, Spalding joined him in lifting blocks of ice. The bishop was first of all a pastor throughout his ten-year episcopate. He was there to meet the train when clergy arrived in town and was solicitous of them and their families, remembering birthdays and anniversaries with generous letters. He delegated work easily, and often told clergy “We must plan together” or “You’re the bishop here.” He constantly rallied his small band of clergy and laity, saying, “We must not stop to argue about our fitness. Trying is our business. Success is in God’s hands.”\textsuperscript{41}

The missionary district had been realigned again to encompass Utah and parts of Wyoming, Nevada, and Colorado. It was not until 1907 that Utah was established as a separate missionary district. Roads were few, and travel was by stagecoach, train, and automobile, which gradually replaced the horse as the preferred mode of transportation. Sometimes progress was torturously slow. On one rural visit east of Salt Lake, spring floods had washed out the road and one night the bishop’s wagon overturned in a stream. Spalding was soaked, waded across four knee-deep streams, and walked to the nearest town of Bonanza. After drying out, next day he rode on to White River and Dragon. “I arranged for services and had a fine crowd
out at 8 p.m. and the next morning came on to Salt Lake feeling absolutely none the worse in any way.”

In another place, he wrote during winter, “the worst thing about traveling this time of year is the difficulty of keeping clean, for you can’t take a bath in a lard pail of water and that is about as much as you can keep melted.”

Spalding was busy. A bishop’s visit would include calls at the homes or offices of church members, meetings with church bodies, and evening services. If no resident clergy were present, the bishop would baptize as well as confirm, and if it was a town with no church or preaching station, he went from door to door inviting persons to attend services. Sometimes he borrowed a community hall or another denomination’s church. In a letter to his mother, written atop a suitcase while waiting for a train to Park City, Spalding said he had called on twenty-five people that day, held a service and baptisms in a church that had not been visited in a long time, and had not received his salary from the Board of Missions for several months.

The bishop kept his sense of humor throughout. When one mission announced “Bishop Spalding will continue to talk until next Sunday night,” he wrote, “I do seem to keep pretty steady at it.” Later he jokingly said of his fellow socialists, “they are a great deal fonder of hearing anybody else listen than of hearing anybody else talk,” and “it means they are dead in earnest and absolutely sure of their faith, but it also means that a socialist paper is a very doubtful financial venture.”

College ministries were of special interest to Spalding. At Princeton, religious discussion centers had been formative for him, and in two college towns, Logan and Salt Lake City, he pioneered an intellectual Christian presence by building the sort of young men’s center—religious installation common in many eastern universities. Logan was the site of the State Agricultural College and Brigham Young College, an increasingly prosperous commercial town with prospects for reviving an active Episcopal Church. “I’m hoping for great things for Logan,” he wrote in 1906. He raised about $15,000, a substantial sum for that time, to build a church and rectory, and, during one of his trips East, recruited Donald K. Johnson and Paul Jones, recent Yale University and Episcopal Theological School graduates. An attractive new building was erected across from the northeast corner of Tabernacle Square and was consecrated in January 15, 1909. Between 1,500 and 2,000 persons visited St. John’s House each month during its heyday. Johnson accepted a call to a Pennsylvania church in 1911, and Jones moved to Salt Lake City in 1913. After that, activity at the Episcopal church in Logan dwindled and was not fully revived until the 1940s.

At one point Spalding asked a young cleric, Henry Knox Sherrill, later presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church (1947–1957), to take over
the Logan mission. Although Sherrill declined, he vividly recalled meeting Spalding. “There was something about him which aroused my sympathy, stimulated my mind, and stirred my conscience.” Spalding was “tall and spare, with a penetrating mind, skeptical of conventional ways and phrases, and a remarkable combination of personal fearlessness and humility.” The bishop described work in Utah: “This is a small but difficult field. I drove a number of miles last Sunday to hold services in a shack. I was there before anyone else, lighted the fire in the stove, swept out the place. A little group came who thought I ought to thank them for the privilege of speaking to them. I spoke on one’s duty to one’s neighbor. A drunken woman interrupted and said that one should look out for oneself. As I tried to straighten her out, I recalled that two months before I had preached the same sermon in Grace Church in New York, where everything was beautiful. All I can say is God calls some of us to do this work. As for myself, I love it and would not be anywhere else.”

The bishop hoped to duplicate the Logan college mission at the University of Utah and in Provo. When Mrs. Thomas J. Emery of Cincinnati gave him $25,000 in 1913 as a memorial to her son who had died during his second year at Harvard College, Emery Memorial House at the University of Utah became a reality. A resident home for twenty men representing several denominations (few Episcopalians actually lived there), it contained a library, small chapel, meeting rooms, basement swimming pool, tennis court, gymnasium, and dining hall, plus two Japanese servants, allowing residents to discuss Tennyson’s poems unhindered by distracting chores. But as fraternities multiplied and college social life grew, Emery House floundered. During the Depression it became a municipal boy’s club, and in 1948 was sold to the Roman Catholic Church for a Newman Center.

The Provo center never got off the ground, lacking both funds and clergy with the skills to launch it, but an active church was built in Provo. They had purchased a lot for five hundred dollars and St. Mary’s, Provo, was consecrated by Bishop Spalding on September 12, 1907. Spalding called the church “a little box of a place, an old dwelling fixed nicely inside.” At one Sunday service he drew twenty-nine persons in the morning, and the same number at night. Meanwhile, “throngs were coming out of the Mormon tabernacle,” a large building that could hold two thousand persons. Organizing the small church was difficult, he acknowledged. “I tried to encourage the vestry committee but only two came to church and they were hopeless.”

The Rev. George Townsend, a colorful Irish priest and Oxford University graduate, became the first resident Episcopal cleric in Provo, 1904–1909. Townsend had come west with his sister for his health. The congregation at
that time was eleven persons, and the Women’s Guild served lunches to raise funds for a new church while Townsend entertained audiences with poetry recitals in his thick Irish brogue. He reportedly drove each Friday afternoon with his horse and wagon to a brickyard where he gathered rejected bricks, which he and church members then laid in the walls of the new building. Townsend also helped found small Episcopal congregations in nearby Springville and Eureka, voiced support for a public library in Provo, and helped Brigham Young University organize a track team. Spalding called Townsend “a shy, timid Irishman” who told the bishop, who arrived for tea and crackers at 5:30 P.M. and stayed until 7:30, “Really, I must tell you if you don’t go to the hotel you won’t get any supper.” Townsend left for Tennessee in 1909, and eventually returned to Ireland. Three clergy served Provo during the next five years, and church membership grew to twenty-nine.49

Spalding’s episcopacy coincided with the mining industry’s expansion in Utah and neighboring states. Self-sufficient, resilient clergy were needed to minister in such a setting. “A poor, puny ritualist would not be much better than the graduates of the Moody Bible School” in a setting of salons, dance halls, and cheap theatres, he concluded.50 Spalding wanted the church to provide a place of healthful recreation and, “if the men have a chance and real inducements are given, they will come to worship, or to hear a lecture, or to listen to good music any night of the week.”51 Since miners worked in shifts, he spoke both during days or nights. Spalding had a basic “Christian Socialism” lecture, and another on “Spiritualism” in which he exposed “mediums and psychics like J. Smith,” the Latter-day Saints founder whom he believed realized some of his visions from epileptic seizures.52

In a 1905 diocesan address, Spalding candidly laid out the problems he faced in recruiting clergy. His goal was to have all clergy salaries a minimum of a thousand dollars a year, and to find self-reliant, intellectually able clerics. Spalding told his listeners, “We want the best men we can get and when we get them we want to keep them. It takes a better man to succeed in a small western town than in an eastern cathedral. This is not because the people make so many demands upon him, but because they make so few. . . . I have heard more poor preaching in the west than in the east. I fear there are quite as many mental sluggards out here as there are in many parts of the country, and yet if the preacher is to make himself felt in this western country he must study and read and think with all his might.”53

“There is not enough in any Utah community for a strictly technical priest to do,” Spalding told the clergy in 1909. “If I were to choose a motto for the District of Utah I think I should choose the words, ‘Do not despise the day of small things.’ [Zechariah 4:10] We have few clergy, we have few
mission stations, we have few church buildings, we have few confirmations, and we can expect only a very slow growth. There is the temptation to discouragement, and what is still worse, contentment with small effort. . . . We may not breathe a very intellectual atmosphere in the towns in which we live, and yet there is all the more responsibility resting upon us to be constant readers and faithful students.”

The district was large and the clergy few—thirteen priests, including the bishop in 1910, serving 3 parishes, 22 missions, 1,200 communicants, and 975 Sunday school pupils. All but two of the clergy had come within the last five years, which would suggest that ordained persons were hard to come by for Utah, and hard to retain. Salary money was always scarce. Representative figures in 1912 included M. J. Hersey, $1,200 for Native American work, W. W. Rice in Garfield, $500, Paul Jones in Logan, $900, and William F. Bulkley in Provo, $850. Spalding’s salary was $3,000. Sometimes the bishop could supplement these figures with money raised on trips or funds from the Board of Missions, and parishioners contributed goods and some money, but Utah’s clergy were poorly paid, and turnover was high.

The bishop had once complained that the Episcopal residence, a large downtown house, was “so empty and big and ugly.” He never married, he wrote his mother, because “I would be a most unsatisfactory kind of husband for any woman to have, for if I am to do this work well, I shall have to be away so much that to ask a woman to marry me is to ask her to be very lonely.” His life was one of constant movement. In 1911, Spalding took part in 262 church services and attended 195 meetings, preached 120 times and delivered 148 other addresses. The numbers did not vary much in other years.

Spalding was a strong personality and, like his successor Arthur W. Moulton, had some sharp exchanges with the national Board of Missions. Why should he be forced to take risks and borrow money for clergy salaries? Why couldn’t the national church do this instead? He was responsible for a vast missionary district, which, like Tuttle, he often compared to a foreign country, yet the national church wanted him to make periodic long fundraising trips to the East. Some of his strongest language was directed at Bishop Arthur S. Lloyd, president of the Board of Missions. “No, my dear friend, your plan does not appeal to me. It lacks definiteness. . . . It asks me to have all the faith and it does not, I frankly confess, show the Board of Missions to be brave enough or wise enough to justify my having faith in it.”

Spalding had little patience for quibbles over church structure and politics. Shortly before his death in 1914, he wrote,
The Church must become Christian, and, therefore, missionary in its real essence. It must realize it can only know the Doctrine by doing the work. The Church’s history, its form of government, its liturgical services offer constant temptation to waste time and thought and dissipate energy. Just as truly as the individual must forget himself in the cause to which he is devoted, if he is to advance the interests of that cause, so the Church must forget herself, her boastings about her Catholic heritage, her efforts to perfect her liturgical forms, her fussing over already too complicated national, Provincial, and Diocesan organization and make it her one and only duty to keep her members to be like Jesus Christ, who lived and died to save men from sin and all the misery which sin creates. She must realize that the only reason there is a Church is that collective action is more efficient than individual action. We in Utah are a feeble folk and we have little or no influence over the Church at large—but we can do our duty in the little sphere of service to which Christ has called us.60

The Cathedral Dean Is Deposed for Molesting Choir Boys, 1905–1908

Spalding had been bishop for only a year and was on an eastern fundraising mission when, shortly before Christmas 1905, James B. Eddie, dean of St. Mark’s Cathedral, wrote the bishop of his immediate resignation, adding, “I ought to have done so a year ago or more when the doctor advised me to leave. I have apparently a nervous collapse. When you return matters will be explained to you.”61 Eddie, his wife, and four children had come from Carson City, Nevada, to St. Mark’s Cathedral in 1900, and were now en route to California, where Eddie found a temporary job as a reporter with the Pasadena Raven. The “matters” the cathedral dean alluded to were multiple accusations of sexual exploitation of young male choir members over several years. This led to a church inquiry, trial, and to Eddie’s deposition from the ministry on January 8, 1908.

At first the cathedral tried to keep the resignation quiet. On December 14, a cathedral vestry member wrote Spalding, “do not show this letter or give the matter any more publicity than you can help or communicate with anyone here asking for details or explanations. We will explain everything by word of mouth.”62 On January 29, 1906, Graham F. Putnam, of the cathedral vestry, wrote Spalding again, asking him to return urgently from New York. “Dean Eddie went away on our advice because a serious charge was made against him. This charge he denies.” The bishop was asked to find a new dean. “There is no disposition on the part of the vestry to call any one until we have
had an opportunity to consult with you in the matter. Under the agreement between the bishop and the vestry made in 1895 by which the office of Dean was created, the vestry’s choice must be confirmed by the bishop.”

Meanwhile, George C. Hunting, superintendent of St. Mark’s Hospital, wrote Spalding on January 30, 1906. When the accusations surfaced, he said, a delegation of vestry members called on the dean, who “did not deny the accusations but instead said, ‘I have a shadow of a recollection that these things are true.’ He asked our advice and we advised his resignation. Mr. Brown told him he ought to get out of town within forty-eight hours. He went in twenty-four and Mrs. Eddie went with him. She later returned and told several people her side of the story and I do not think to this day she knows all the filthy details.” The resignation was accepted, and the vestry agreed to pay Eddie’s salary until that Easter.

Spalding had two choices: to return home immediately, or complete his fundraising tour, which was helping eradicate the hospital’s debt. He had raised $15,000 to build a separate nurses’ building, and nearly $19,000 toward reducing the hospital debt. “Please tell Mrs. Eddie and Dean Eddie that when I know the facts I will try to judge wisely and lovingly. Tell them that I will not come to any hasty conclusion but that when the eastern duties are done I will—by God’s help—see that the right prevails.”

The story broke in the local press on March 7, 1906. The *Utah State Journal*, Ogden, wrote the cathedral dean was accused of “gross depravity with numerous boys” from well-known families. “He affirms the charges are all unfounded. Local papers have been asked to suppress the story.”

“Dean Eddie in Public Disgrace,” the *Deseret Evening News* headlined a May 16, 1906, account announcing the findings of a three-member Commission of Inquiry Spalding had appointed to examine the allegations. The Commission’s report recommended Eddie resign or face trial. “The exact nature of the charges cannot be printed, but as near as can be stated for publication, they involved the gravest charges of immorality against the dean and covered a long period.” The charges were sexual abuse through the genital manipulation of four young men, either at the cathedral or at a church camp over a period of several years.

It took almost a year to complete arrangements for the trial. Church attorneys had to be found, depositions taken, and three out-of-state clerical judges appointed. The trial was held at St. Mark’s Cathedral in December 1906, and on January 25, 1907, the Ecclesiastical Court returned a verdict of guilty against Eddie on five counts of immorality, four specific charges and one general charge covering “several and different occasions within five years last.” It recommended the bishop depose Eddie under canon law. Eddie appealed, but a Church Appeals Court sustained the verdict on October 7, 1907.
Spalding then deposed the former cathedral dean from the ministry on January 8, 1908, in a public church court session in the cathedral undercroft. A newspaper headline read “Salt Lake Minister is Deposed by Bishop, Women Weep and Men of Congregation Hiss When Severe Sentence is Read.” After the sentence was read, Eddie sprang to his feet and said, “Thank you, Bishop, this is in harmony with your injustice of the past.” Eddie attacked the bishop frontally, and thus avoided discussing the trial issues of sexual abuse of the young men. The bishop had appointed the judges, the deposed dean argued, so naturally they would favor his position. (The three judges actually came from Colorado and Nevada.) The trial violated legal norms, Eddie continued, because the testimony of the four boys could not be corroborated by other sources. Besides, “the charges were months and years old and all were stale.”

Finally, the deposed dean compared his trial to that of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, who was burned at the stake in the sixteenth century. Eddie’s statement repeated those of his counsel, principally that he was denied a public trial. Church attorneys replied the judges could keep the proceeding private to protect the four young men. Eddie was invited to have six representatives present at all times, but had refused. “They ought to be called ‘victims’ rather than accomplices,” the church attorneys stated, noting that the Dean had previously admitted having sexual relations with the boys.

Tuttle, as presiding bishop, was apprised of the case by Spalding. “If I were you,” he wrote Spalding on January 16, 1908, “I would write a kindly letter to Mr. Eddie quietly claiming that the canons and your duty to the church have obliged you to act, disclaiming any personal feeling against him, commending him to God’s guidance and help—and if you can afford it [underlining in the original] enclosing a check for $25 to help him along in the terrible days . . . that must now face him in caring for his little family.” Throughout the three-year period, Spalding’s letters to Eddie remained pastoral while stressing his desire to see a fair investigation and trial.

“Dear Brother,” Spalding wrote Eddie on January 24, 1908, shortly after Eddie had been deposed,

I want you to feel that you have my most profound sympathy. . . . I have tried to put myself in your place and think what I would have done. Of this I am sure, that your temptation must have been a mysterious and powerful one which I cannot understand but which God only can estimate and that you must, for years, have put up a fight which makes the moral struggles of a mortal man seem petty. . . . I feel sure that you did not want the church to suffer and that the fear that it might be harmed made your course the harder. Perhaps that is why you made your defense as personal as you did. Please for the sake of Mrs. Eddie,
who need not know where it comes from, let me help you to this little extent, for I know you must need aid in the struggle for those you love more than anything else in the universe. Do not think you must answer this letter.74

Eddie returned Spalding’s check three days later in an impassioned letter, and told the bishop he and his wife “could not accept anything at your hands, even were our children starving.” He accused Spalding of being both prosecutor and judge, and of trampling on “every principle of justice, every instinct of right to secure my condemnation.”75

Sexual matters were not discussed in public forums in the early twentieth century, still less in the church, and once the former dean was deposed, a curtain of silence descended on the cathedral and community, and the case was rarely discussed, or alluded to.

**Spalding on Mormons**

Three basic strategies were employed by churches in dealing with the Latter-day Saints. First, the frontal attack some Protestant groups employed. Second, the studied indifference of the Roman Catholic Church. Third, Bishop Tuttle’s approach was to preach the Gospel, state his differences with the dominant religion, but avoid direct confrontations and concentrate instead on building up mission schools.

Spalding tried a different approach. He sought a religious dialogue with the Latter-day Saints, and would raise differences in a non-threatening way, and hope to thus speed the evolution of the LDS along. Shortly after arriving in Utah, he wrote his mother, “I am patiently reading the Book of Mormon. It is terrible rot, but I suppose I ought to know it if I am to represent the district adequately.”76

The heart of Spalding’s approach to the Latter-day Saints was a carefully reasoned pamphlet widely distributed across the state. It took Spalding four years to write *Joseph Smith, Jr., as a Translator* (1912). Its basic argument was simple—all the texts from which the *Book of Mormon* had been translated by Joseph Smith, Jr., were unavailable; an angel had kept them. But Smith had translated and published another ancient book in 1842, *The Book of Abraham*, from an original Egyptian manuscript. How accurate was Smith as a translator? If the *Book of Abraham* was a faithful translation, most likely the *Book of Mormon* would be as well. If the *Book of Abraham* was spurious, then other basic LDS texts were questionable as well.

To settle the matter, Spalding sought the opinions of twelve leading world Egyptologists. “If,” he wrote, “in the judgment of competent
scholars, this translation is correct, then the probabilities are all in favor of
the correctness of the *Book of Mormon*. If, however, the translation of the
Book of Abraham is incorrect, then no thoughtful man can be asked to
accept the *Book of Mormon*, but on the other hand honesty will require him,
with whatever personal regret, to repudiate it and the whole body of belief
which has been built upon it.”

From Oxford, London, Munich, Chicago, Berlin, New York, and
Philadelphia came the replies, and the results were devastating. The verdict:
the text was a widely-used burial document commonly placed in ancient
Egyptian tombs and no *Book of Abraham* at all. “The *Book of Abraham*,”
wrote Dr. Arthur C. Mace of the Department of Egyptian Art of the
Metropolitan Museum of New York, “is pure fabrication. Five minutes’
study in an Egyptian gallery of any museum should be enough to convince
any educated man of the clumsiness of the imposture.” He called Joseph
Smith’s interpretation of some of the illustrations in the document “a
farrago of nonsense from beginning to end.” Other responses were similar
in content.

“This pamphlet was not published to tell the Gentiles about the
Mormons, but rather to tell Mormons about themselves,” Spalding wrote
when *Joseph Smith, Jr.*, was issued. Though it became hotly controversial
in the Mormon press, Spalding never sought to provoke the controversy,
just open a thoughtful debate. He sent copies to high school and college
teachers throughout Utah, newspaper editors, presidents of Stakes, and
the LDS Church leadership. The Mormon’s Deseret Book Store sold two
hundred copies.

Latter-day Saints’ reaction to Spalding’s publication was swift. The
*Deseret Evening News* devoted several full pages to it. Thirty answers from
LDS apologists were printed in the church press and reprinted in the
*Improvement Era*. Responses were essentially “there’s nothing new here, these
objections have been raised before,” and “the basic issue is one of faith, not
the content of documents.” Brigham Young’s daughter, Susan Young Gates,
a leading LDS journalist–novelist, combined both positions in a letter to the
editor. “I know by the spirit of revelation that the *Book of Abraham* is true,
and that its contents from cover to cover, are revelations. . . . Build up your
own church, Dr. Spalding; we shall applaud all your efforts along that line;
but keep your hands off the Church of Christ.”

“On the whole, I think the venture was worthwhile,” Spalding later
recalled. “The Mormon controversialists have acknowledged the fairness of
the spirit in which the pamphlet was written, although they all seem to be
writing for their co-religionists rather than for the larger world of scientific
discussion.” “Historical development of Christianity has no interest to the
Mormon,” he concluded, adding, “Surely many members of the Church of the Latter-day Saints must feel uncomfortable as they use the confident final tone of certainty involved in the claim they possess the only religion which is not an abomination to God.” Spalding added his own view: “A God who has still many more things to reveal to His People did not keep silent for hundreds of years and does not now limit Himself in inspiring prophets for His children to the hierarchy residing in Salt Lake City.”

A WIDER AWARENESS OF WOMEN

The district’s annual report listed nine women missionaries in 1909: six of them at work among the Utes; plus Deaconess Frances Knepper in Provo, where she stayed for two years. One of the most remarkable early twentieth century Utah women missionaries was Sara Napper, who worked for many years in the bishop’s office in Salt Lake City, and was a diocesan registrar and social worker in several parishes. Born in London in 1845, Napper had come to Utah in 1892, and had been both a schoolteacher and a missionary. Since the bishop was absent for several weeks at a time, she kept the diocesan office running and answered correspondence on her own. Her salary in 1904 was $250 a year, a quarter of that of most male clergy. Her stipend met only half her expenses, and Spalding worked to raise it. A 1908 quarterly check for $100 from Church Mission House noted, “Those receiving stipends from the Society are expected to take offerings for its works and to aid in the circulation of its Stated Publications.” Salary checks were not sent from New York until reports were received from missionaries in the field. “The Treasurer will await this report at the close of the quarter before sending stipend,” the form stated.

Hospitalized at one point as a result of a streetcar accident, Napper sent her sister, Emily, to take her place at meetings. Napper’s reports reflect the quality of her interaction with others; a typical entry, “I was particularly touched by the request of four girls in one family that they might be allowed to keep their mite boxes a week or two longer, as their father had but little work and they had not been able to put anything in. The following Sunday they brought with them a quarter of a dollar in each, and said father had some work this week and he said he was so glad to help the work of the Sunday school.”

In 1905 she was busy as the layperson in charge of St. Peter’s Chapel, a mission in the city’s northwest on St. Mark’s Hospital grounds founded in 1891. In her organizational efforts at St. Peter’s, she made more than three hundred calls between September and November 1902. Napper prepared a confirmation class, and organized a guild that sewed weekly for St. Mark’s...
Hospital. “Very busy happy times we had,” she concluded. In 1910 she moved to St. John’s, a Salt Lake City mission chapel at 900 East and Logan Avenue, founded in 1890 at a cost of one hundred dollars for a frame building that seated forty persons, where she continued the same busy activities. The Utah United Thank Offering, which she organized, sent money to a church hospital in China, collected funds for Armenia and Near East Relief, and prepared an “Alaskan box” for a mission there. One of her most enthusiastic activities was organizing children’s pageants. Of one, The Builders of the City, she wrote,

I know our dresses and properties did not reach a high ideal, but the children’s delivery of the words, the way in which they entered into the spirit of the thing, was deeply interesting and when the “Child” asked in earnest, pleading tones, “What can I do?” tears came into many eyes, and I am sure we all determined to help more faithfully in the building.

During her spare time, Napper also assembled a history of the missionary district, drawn largely from convocation addresses and similar documents. Moulton later remembered Napper as a “little lady walking spiritedly down the street with her books and her papers as if she might have stepped out of one of Charles Dickens’s novels.” Napper did not retire until 1927, at age eighty-two, and died four years later.

In 1909 Spalding wrote, “Our women workers have helped so greatly that we look forward eagerly to others who are coming.” “[They] have not had an easy year,” he noted, “and yet they have done such good work that in spite of difficulties the Indian children have made unusual progress, and they have all decided to carry on the work another year at least.” He welcomed several additional women workers—including Cornelia L. Edwards, a trained nurse, stenographer, Sunday school superintendent, and Girls’ Friendly Branch Secretary—to join the Herseys at Vernal. Emma L. Gale took on the demanding work of Parish Visitor in Salt Lake City four days a week, then traveled to the mining community of East Garfield to organize a Sunday school and mothers’s group.

Women raised much of the money for the missionary district. In 1910 Spalding needed $10,450 to pay his staff of missionaries. The national church provided $3,969, and the second highest contribution came from the diocesan Women's Auxiliary, $1,900, while combined parishes raised a similar sum. By 1910 there were ten women workers and ten active male clergy. Dr. Mary C. James, a Bryn Mawr College graduate and medical doctor, spent two years working among the Utes, where tuberculosis was rampant, trachoma widespread, and the filth triggered diseases of the skin and eyes.
In his 1914 annual address to the church, Spalding noted, “These are days in which women are demanding for themselves a larger share in the world’s work and we are glad that we have in Utah so many women who find that larger sphere of influence and service in the work of Christ and His Church.” The presence of such women is recorded in annual reports, sometimes with the same names for several years. But only with their death or departures is more learned about them, usually a brief obituary in a local paper or mention in an annual report. Yet they held the church together, and the historian’s hope is that somewhere the letters Lucy Clark wrote from the reservation or those Frances Knepper or Sara Napper sent to relatives will appear, allowing a fuller description of their activity.

Mission Priorities, Moving beyond Salt Lake City

Spalding was determined to expand missionary activities beyond the Utah state capitol. The bishop knew many smaller communities well from his travels. He described one trip to Cedar City, then 242 miles by train to Lund, a small town on the route to Los Angeles, and then by auto or stage forty miles to his destination. Motor vehicles were new to Utah in 1910. This time Spalding made the last segment by stage, with the strong wind whining steadily for at least six hours. “But the wind went down with the sun. The moon and the stars came out with a brilliance known only to the desert, and the still evening air was fragrant with the perfume of fruit blossoms and lilacs.”

In Cedar City to deliver a commencement address, Spalding was invited by the local LDS bishop to speak in the tabernacle, whose chief visual adornment was an engraving of Joseph Smith, Jr. dressed in a general’s uniform. Communion of bread and water was distributed, and Spalding spoke in the morning on how to raise children, then in the afternoon on the difference between true religion and superstition, probably excerpted from one of his talks on Joseph Smith, Jr. After the service, he encountered the town’s eighty-four-year-old patriarch, who had come from Wales many years earlier and converted to Mormonism. “I haven’t heard those prayers for many a long year,” he said, recalling his Anglican upbringing. “Then you still belong to my flock, and I will have to look after you,” Spalding said. “Yes, I guess they’ve never disfellowshipped me,” was the reply.

On the following day, the bishop visited his counterpart in the Mormon bishop’s flourmill, where the latter read from the Book of Nephi about the coming of Jesus Christ to America. Spalding and his LDS counterpart disagreed about ways of dating the earth’s evolution and about plural marriages.
Spalding was also an early advocate of inter-faith cooperation, as shown by his comments on the foreign missionaries’s presentation at the 1908 Pan-Anglican Congress in London.

The religions of India, China and Japan have contributions even to Christendom which we must not despise. The watchword of the missionary today must be “Christ came not to destroy but to fulfill.” If it be true that the truth only can bind men together, then in every religious system held by multitudes, there must be truth, and if the men who held the partial truth are ever to be brought to fuller light, it will be by the recognition of the truth they already hold, not by emphasizing their errors.88

While at General Seminary, Spalding developed a lifelong aversion to church ritual, a staple in the curriculum of that school, which had been deeply influenced by the Oxford Movement a generation earlier.99 When he was named a bishop in 1904, Spalding said, “The chief thing about being a bishop seems to be getting a ring and a pectoral cross. Of course they are all kind but somehow the thing seems so small and petty when you take in all those frills. . . . I positively declined to accept the pectoral cross. The whole thing is rapidly making me sick.”100 Later, while in London for a Lambeth Conference of all Anglican bishops, Spalding was asked to preach at All Saints’, Margaret Street, among the highest of the high churches in its liturgical practice. An acolyte in red slippers greeted him and ushered Spalding into an antechamber that looked like it contained “a bier with heavily embroidered coverlets spread over it.” Spalding was told he should wear these articles and “pontificate.” “I looked at them aghast,” the bishop recalled. “All my Puritan blood rose up in me. Though the service was about to begin I said, ‘I can’t wear these things.’” A compromise was reached; Spalding remained outside the chancel until the sermon, then entered the pulpit to preach.101

The bishop also held strong views on church music. “There are certain hymns in the hymnal to this day I intensely dislike, simply because I had to sing them under a careless Sunday school superintendent Sunday after Sunday until I was heartily sick of them,” he recalled. Spalding urged a year’s embargo on “Onward, Christian Soldiers,” “Stand Up, Stand Up for Jesus,” “Work, for the Night is Coming,” “Golden Harps are Sounding,” “and that singularly lugubrious hymn, ‘There is a Friend for Little Children,’ which suggests that all the good children are dead.”102

Spalding wrote different words for several of the church’s more militant hymns, for example:
Onward, Christian workers,
Laboring for peace,
By the love of Jesus
Making strife to cease.
Christ, the lowly toiler,
Tells us what to seek,
Wretched are the mighty,
Blessed are the meek.

Chorus
Onward, Christian workers,
Marching on to peace,
By the love of Jesus
Making strife to cease.¹⁰³

For the hymn, “Go Forward, Christian soldier,” another of the church’s “fight songs,” he wrote:

“Go forward, Christ’s explorer,
Seek honest men and strong
Who love the ways of honor
And hate the deeds of wrong;
Make them the valiant leaders,
Support them in their search
For every hidden weakness
In Nation and in Church.”¹⁰⁴

Fundraising for St. Mark’s Hospital, Rowland Hall

Fundraising was a major part of a missionary bishop’s responsibilities. The church was poor, most missions were relatively new, and there was no assured income beyond a meager subsidy from the national church. Additionally, Utah had a cathedral to support, its schools, and St. Mark’s Hospital, which was always requiring modern equipment. A new wing had been added in 1903, with a much-needed operating room and kitchen.¹⁰⁵ The hospital increased its daily room charge to $1.50 in 1907. Much of the money came from mining and steel companies that had contracts with the hospital to treat injured employees. The hospital administrator, T. S. Pendergrass, said the hospital should both increase its fees and expand its base so that new physicians arriving in Salt Lake City would refer patients to St. Mark’s.¹⁰⁶ Spalding raised the $53,000 to pay the hospital’s debt and build
a nursing school named for Bishop Leonard. It featured a living room and single rooms for older nurses, while probationers were assigned two or three to a room. By September 1914, the hospital had cared for 2,853 patients that year, and revenues were $84,000. The medical staff was thirty-two full- or part-time physicians, and almost fifty nurses. During one month, the patients included Americans, Irish, Greeks, Finns, Austrians, Swedes, Japanese, Italians, Scots, and Germans.

Rowland Hall School was also an interest of Spalding’s. He insisted that the flagship school not become an elitist institution whose main purpose was sending students to eastern colleges and universities, but educate young women to live in Utah’s smaller communities. He resisted raising tuition to $500 in 1905, because many of the most deserving girls could not afford it. The sort of student Spalding had in mind was the “girl who in all probability would, after graduation, go back to her home and become influential, either as a teacher in the school or as mother of a family. The students usually became churchwomen before graduation, and thus through them the high standards of Christian womanhood were carried into the valleys and mountains.”

In 1909, Spalding told local Episcopalians it was necessary for him to leave on an extended fundraising mission. The numbers were bleak, and the Board of Missions provided only a small portion of the missionary district’s budget. There were 1,233 communicants, a hundred more than in the previous year. Some of the diocesan assessments were $350 for St. Mark’s Cathedral, $100 for Ogden, $30 for Logan, $15 for Vernal, $5 for Eureka, and $2.50 for the Theodore mission. Dances, rummage sales, and bridge–whist parties, Spalding cautioned church members, were a poor substitute for planned giving.

Although until now the Utah bishops had sought their funds in the East, in 1909 Spalding journeyed to California, Washington, and Oregon, visiting potential donors and giving talks there. The hard work of Bishop Tuttle brought three parishes to self-sufficiency, Spalding reflected, adding, “The churchmen in St. Mark’s Cathedral, St. Paul’s Parish, the Church of the Good Shepherd, hold their property under false pretenses if they do not exhibit missionary enthusiasm and render earnest missionary service.”

BISHOP SPALDING AND THE NEW VICAR IN PARK CITY

Spalding had difficulty finding a clergy person for the small, struggling mission in Park City. Somehow Frederick A. Jefferd, a rolling stone English cleric who rarely stayed in a parish more than two years, appeared as a candidate for an opening there. Jefferd arrived on June 12, 1912, and was
gone by winter. Park City was a rough silver and lead mining town at that time, filled with bars and brothels. The Spalding–Jefferd exchange was pathetic yet funny in places. Jefferd was hired for $900, but immediately after arriving wanted the sum raised to $1,500 plus a house. Spalding replied that $900 was on the high end of missionary district salaries.

Days after the new vicar arrived he wrote the bishop, complaining about his quarters, a single room in the rear of the church. “The neighbor’s water closet, over a hole in the ground, is but three yards off the bed in this room, and moreover there is a running stream but a foot off the back of the house, so that the ground underneath this room is saturated with sewerage, and over this of course the clergy have been sleeping.” Spalding replied, “I did not ask you to go to Park City and send me a report on the conditions of the Church and the inadequacy of the salary and other matters you write of. I know conditions in Park City better than you could possibly learn them in less than one week. . . . If you think the room in the rear of the Church unsanitary and inconvenient there is no compulsion for you to live there.”

Jefferd struck back, “It appears of little use to me writing you, as your mind seems to be made up, therefore wait till you come here, and we will enlighten you, that is if you are teachable on that point. . . . You yourself [underlining in the original] live in a nice house and have all you wish. Why am I to be denied even necessary things? I intend having a social meeting next week. Please let me know what date (for certain) you are coming and I will call the friends together to meet you. We can have a nice social evening together.”

Meanwhile, Jefferd planned an outdoor rally, and sent Spalding the bills. He hired three large (400 candle-power each) electric lights, hung two from poles in the road, and another over the bandstand for effect. “Of course you understand nothing like this has ever been attempted here,” he reminded the bishop. The central attraction was a lantern slide show on “The Prodigal Son,” projected onto a cloth sheet hung on one side of the road. Jefferd asked Spalding to find the lantern and slides and pay for them, adding, “If you care to come, of course you must go out with us in your robes.”

Later, when Spalding arrived in Park City on July 17 for an agreed-upon meeting, Jefferd had left town, leaving no word of his whereabouts. Spalding left a note: “Of course I am greatly disappointed not to see you. I confess I cannot understand your failing to remain in town when I wrote that I would come today.”

Back in town the next day, Jefferd fired off a response that he had been too busy to open his incoming mail and, “Don’t forget that if you come only twenty or thirty miles and received a disappointment, that I came 3,000 miles and then only to get a far worse [underlining in the original] one on
arrival here. Your suggestion for me to go to Salt Lake City to see you on Saturday was made in ignorance of how the trains run. Judging from the tone of your letter I'd not think any useful purpose will be served by my seeing you.”

Meanwhile, church attendance in the growing town of 4,000 persons declined. A member wrote Spalding that Jefferd was in Salt Lake City every week, and expressed surprise he did not visit the bishop, adding, “Our congregation decreases every Sunday. There were six in the morning and twelve in the evening last Sunday. It seems too bad to keep a minister here, there are so few.”

On November 20, 1912, Spalding wrote a final pastoral missive to the sulking English cleric. “It is indeed sadly humiliating for a man who has entire confidence in himself and his ability to do a large and important work and receive fuller compensation, to find himself unappreciated and in a small and limited field. I know you will not care for sympathy and I will not irritate you by offering it. . . . In the western part of the United States, especially in the Intermountain region, there are other clergymen, able and cultured, who are struggling with the same handicap of uncongenial surroundings and unresponsive fellow citizens. Perhaps they get comfort in trying to realize that Nazareth was much the same sort of a town as that in which they live.”

Jefferd soon left. He returned to England and the Diocese of Canterbury in 1913 as a licensed preacher, a nonparochial position, and within a year disappeared from church rolls. In one of his letters to his mother, Spalding described the situation in Park City. “Mr. X, the clergyman here, is the oddest man I have ever known. When I first wrote him that I was coming up he replied that it was a free country and that if I wanted to come I could, but that since he didn't care to see me he should certainly leave the town. . . . He thinks he is capable of being Archbishop of Canterbury and he isn't captivating Park City! But it was funny to hear him urge on the people in his sermon on the grace of humility!”

In August 1913, H. E. Henriques, active as a priest in Utah and Nevada from 1907 to 1953, came to Park City to revive work there on a part-time basis. He journeyed weekly to Salt Lake City as chaplain at St. Mark’s Hospital and at Emery House, and in 1915 became vicar of St. John’s Chapel, Salt Lake City.

Death Comes to the Bishop

A voluminous letter writer, Spalding often worked at his desk at home in the evening. On September 25, 1914, he finished some letters that would be his last. “I’m on my way to Eureka and Provo,” he wrote, “to see how the Rices
were getting on at Eureka,” and then to check on a mining cave-in where four of the dead men belonged to the church. Of the person who would soon be his successor, he wrote, “Jones is certainly taking hold splendidly in Salt Lake.”

It was about 9 p.m. when the bishop left his house at 444 East First South Street, headed for the mailbox at the corner of South Temple and E Street. There was not much traffic at night in Salt Lake City, but as he stepped into the street an automobile sped down South Temple, a wide avenue with a downward grade. Spalding saw the two-and-one-half ton Lozier touring car coming and moved aside, expecting it to pass him, but the driver, Adrienne King, the seventeen-year-old daughter of a local judge, turned the vehicle toward him instead. Spalding “was thrown to the pavement with terrific force, was dragged fully fifty feet, and died within five minutes of the accident, without regaining consciousness,” a newspaper account reported, adding the vehicle “dashed with terrific impact against a steel tower used as a support for the electric and trolley wires. . . . So heavy was this impact that the uprights of this steel tower were bent, and one was snapped.”

The next day an editorial asked for “something to prevent huge machines, with their throbbing engines driving them on as agents of death.” No charges were ever brought against the judge’s daughter, whose ribs were bruised and front teeth knocked out. In a public statement delivered the day after Spalding’s death, the judge expressed regrets but said his daughter was within the fifteen-mile-an-hour speed limit. This is difficult to believe considering the long distance Spalding was dragged, the impact of the car on the steel pole, and the bruises and other injuries sustained by the driver in the crash.

Two days later, St. Mark’s Cathedral was filled for a memorial service, after which the coffin was carried to the railway station by an honor guard of Sons of the American Revolution, to which Spalding belonged. The railroad officials who once denied Spalding a courtesy pass made a private car available to carry his remains to Denver. At the railroad terminal, “employees in overalls, officials in broadcloth, runners in red uniforms, and yardmen on duty near the scene” stood with bared heads as the cortège passed. After a service in the cathedral there, he was buried beside his father in Riverside Cemetery. Except for a family house in Denver, his estate was a $5,25 bank account in Salt Lake City.

The Church had grown in Spalding’s time to a total of three parishes and twenty-one missions with approximately fourteen hundred communicants. Friends and foes praised the forty-nine-year-old bishop’s courage, lively intellect, advocacy of workers’s causes, and his outspokenness. But when the tears were shed and the eulogies shelved, the question is, what would have happened had Spalding lived? Despite his pastoral skills, Spalding’s
socialism alienated him from many mainstream Episcopalians. Numerous establishment figures in the East and in Salt Lake City kept their checkbooks closed during Spalding’s last years, and those, like Spalding, who questioned the war effort were on a collision course with a broad segment of church membership, as Spalding’s successor soon discovered.