The first half-century of Utah church leadership produced such seminal figures as bishops Tuttle, Spalding, and Jones, and the missionary district’s history would rival that of any Episcopal diocese for lively interest. After the latter two bishops, Utah sought a less politically controversial leader. Arthur Wheelock Moulton, beloved rector of a large New England congregation, fit the bill as a pastor, but his episcopate coincided with the Depression and World War II, giving a different cast than anyone could have anticipated to the Episcopal Church in Utah. The 1920s and 1930s were two decades of struggle and survival, followed by World War II, when new members poured into Utah for defense industry and military installation jobs, and demands for new churches arose. And in 1951 Moulton made world headlines as one of the first recipients of the Stalin Peace Prize.

Tall and affable, Moulton looked the part of a New England patrician bishop; in reality he came from humble circumstances. His father was a men’s
store clerk and Moulton sold shoe products door to door to work his way through college and seminary. He also took care of his mother, who had been left a widow at an early age. An engaging conversationalist and attentive listener, he was a welcome addition at any gathering. “He attracted attention anywhere he went,” his granddaughter, Jane Moulton Stahl recalled. “He was kind and gentle and funny, able to engage sincerely with bootblacks and hat check girls as well as Salt Lake City’s elite. He really believed in his job. I never heard him say anything negative about it.”

Moulton prided himself on his ability to remember children’s names, and was genuinely solicitous of every member of the missionary district. The Moultons kept a dime box at home, and at the end of a visit children were allowed to reach for a handful of dimes (and sometimes silver dollars). The lanky prelate could pull chalk out of his ear, and his family remember him as an expert Old Maid player, slapping his knee while sitting on the spacious screened in porch of the bishop’s residence. At a civic send-off after his election as fifth missionary bishop of Utah, the mayor of Lawrence, Massachusetts, said, “Bishop Moulton is a man who never asks what another’s creed is when help is asked.”

Moulton was a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Hobart College in 1897, and a member of Sigma Chi fraternity. He attended General Theological Seminary, and graduated from the Episcopal Theological Seminary in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1900. Ordained in 1901, his entire parish ministry was spent at Grace Church, Lawrence, Mass. Moulton was an active community leader, and in 1912, when immigrant laborers struck to protest poor wages and working conditions in Lawrence, Moulton publicly sided with them, despite the owner of one of the major mills being an active member of Grace Church.

It was William Appleton Lawrence, his predecessor as rector at Lawrence, and later bishop of western Massachusetts, who nominated Moulton for the vacant Utah missionary bishop position. When the appointment was offered him in 1919, Moulton took six months before accepting it. He would be leaving a successful parish and Utah was a long distance away. But once he agreed to accept the position, Moulton’s enthusiasm was unrelenting over the next quarter-century. He was consecrated bishop at his own parish church on April 29, 1920, with the ubiquitous Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle as one of the consecrators. The future bishop was chaplain to the First Battery of the Massachusetts Field Artillery from 1905 to 1910, and during World War I was a captain and chaplain of a base hospital in Orleans, France, for which he was named an honorary citizen of the city and a colonel in the French army. During his time in France, Moulton saw the horrors of war first hand, and became a staunch supporter of international organizations and an advocate for world peace.
Mrs. Moulton, Mary Corinne Prentice, of Milford, Massachusetts, was remembered as a woman who kept to herself, and who figured little in church life. She was Moulton’s second cousin, the only daughter of a successful feed and grain dealer. Mrs. Moulton resisted moving to Utah, and when she did, rarely left their house, although she maintained an active interest in her husband’s life and cut out newspaper clippings for him. She subscribed to the Milford, Massachusetts, Daily News until her death in 1968. “She was not an asset to his career,” their granddaughter recalled. “In a passive way she never assumed the role of a bishop’s spouse. She was socially ill at ease and did not turn up for ceremonial events.” Income from her inheritance allowed the Moultons to hire a cook (whom Moulton drove home each night after dinner), and for the family to live more comfortably than on a missionary bishop’s salary, which was $4,200 in 1920. The couple delighted in simple pleasures, and spent much time at the bishop’s residence. “Ahrt” and “Daisy”, as they called each other, enjoyed Sunday afternoon drives around Salt Lake City, and lunch on the roof garden of the Hotel Utah. Moulton was accustomed to treating himself to a cigar and glass of beer at home after dinner. The Moultons had a daughter, Mary Caroline, who stayed in Salt Lake City, wrestled with alcoholism, held several short-term jobs, and took care of her parents in their old age. A son, John, an Episcopal priest, spent two years at Good Shepherd, Ogden, and became chaplain of the Iolani School in Honolulu, and later canon at the Cathedral of St. John the Evangelist, Spokane, Washington.

“Moulton’s gestures reminded me of the actor Walter Hampton,” Betty Dalgliesh, a local priest, said of the bishop, adding, “He personally knew every child. When my husband and I were in New York in 1944 and it was time for our daughter to be confirmed she said, ‘I don’t know the bishop of New Jersey. I want to go home to my own bishop whom I know and love.’” Thelma S. Ellis remembered Moulton from his visits to Good Shepherd, Ogden. “He knew everybody by name and something about them. Once when I was in California he was preaching in a church, so I went. When he saw me coming through the reception line he threw up his hands and said, ‘Here’s Utah!’”

Contact between the LDS leadership and the Episcopal bishop was limited but cordial during the Moulton era. Moulton got along well with the LDS leadership, and when the Province of the Pacific met in Salt Lake City in May 1928, it was invited to hold a Friday evening service in the LDS Tabernacle. The Tabernacle Choir sang and President A. W. Ivins of the First Presidency spoke. The other example of such a tabernacle service came when the Archbishop of York visited Salt Lake City in 1949. (The Rt. Rev. Arthur F. W. Ingram, Lord Bishop of London visited Ogden for half
an hour between trains on November 7, 1928, and spoke for ten minutes at Good Shepherd Church before continuing to San Francisco.)\(^{10}\)

A touching anecdote about a Moulton–LDS encounter is contained in the diary of David O. McKay, president of the LDS Church. On McKay’s seventy-eighth birthday, September 8, 1951, Bishop Moulton, also seventy-eight that year, had called to offer birthday greetings. The LDS leader was tired and under doctor’s orders to rest. When he learned of Moulton’s call, he immediately visited Moulton at the latter’s apartment, saying, “It was not right for me to let your gracious, considerate call go unheeded, so I am here to pay my respects to you, and to thank you for your consideration in calling at my home today.” . . . The Reverend [Moulton] was visibly moved and he repeated, ‘Why I have never had anything so nice happen to me before. Won’t you please sit down and visit with me?’ . . . As I picked up my hat to leave the Reverend came over to me, put his hands upon my shoulders, bowed his head, and gave me a blessing. I reciprocated by giving him a blessing.” The head of the LDS Church left “feeling satisfied that I had done the right thing by repaying his visit of this afternoon, and that much good would result from the contact we had with each other this day.”\(^{11}\)

Despite cordial personal relations with its hierarchy, Moulton regarded the institutional LDS as “an enormous religious force, fired with all the fanaticism that goes with ignorance and power . . . this monstrous Mormon incubus.”\(^{12}\) Moulton, like his predecessors, sprinkled his reports to headquarters with “Mormon menace” language hoping to gain additional funds. But by the 1930s the arguments had diminished appeal. Mormonism had become more mainstream American, and Episcopalians looked increasingly to China or Africa as mission fields.

Moulton had few skills as a fundraiser, and the 1920s and 1930s were a difficult time for raising money. Nor was he skilled as an administrator. Notwithstanding, he built a new church, St. Martin’s, in isolated Roosevelt, supported a mission in Dusche, found money for the Uintah Native American programs, supported a mission among the miners, and turned the Helper YMCA building into a chapel–social center for railroad workers. The cathedral sacristy was rebuilt after a 1935 fire, and a parish hall was added. St. Paul’s, Salt Lake City, also moved to a new building. But otherwise the Moulton years were lean times for the Missionary District of Utah. “This is a hard and challenging field,” the bishop wrote in 1928. “It is unique and abnormal.”\(^{13}\) When the Diocese of Western Massachusetts became vacant in 1937, Moulton indicated his willingness to be nominated for it, but it went instead to another candidate.

In 1929, Moulton asked the national church for an emergency grant of $25,000; for three years he had been taking out loans to cover faculty
salaries at Rowland Hall and a bank threatened foreclose. Church properties bought but not developed by Spalding and Jones were sold to raise money. In 1933, the national church sent a representative to survey the district’s financial affairs and found it $58,782 in debt, although Moulton had pledged $10,000 of family money against a $11,465 debt for the Helper mission. Bookkeeping methods were makeshift, large overdrafts by one employee had been allowed, checks bounced, and loans were left unpaid. Bad as conditions were, the national church representative concluded, the District was in better condition financially than when Moulton took charge after a three-year absence of any resident bishop.

Moulton defended his administration against critics. Before he arrived, debts had mounted, properties were run down, and church employees were demoralized, he said. Utah was like a foreign mission field, he concluded. Moulton had erased the $30,000 debt of St. Mark’s Hospital, kept Rowland Hall School functioning during the Depression, and Emery House alive despite dwindling numbers of students. The Helper Mission proved costly, but “it was our opportunity and our duty and I took it and did it.” Although an Episcopal Church presence in southern Utah came later in the twentieth century, Moulton hoped to fund an itinerant missionary and mission car to travel between Cedar City and St. George, hold meetings, and distribute literature. At one point Moulton compared the Episcopal missionaries to David slaying Goliath. In less colorful language, he stated his missionary philosophy: “We must not be shabby or run down, or ungenteel, or dingy, or ragged. We must be a little ahead in architecture and beauty and culture and of all things in Christian character, and in the long run (and that after all is what missions means) we shall win out in a splendid way.”

Rowland Hall was a success story against all odds. Enrollment shrank during the lean years, and to survive after the cut in church funding, the school incorporated as an independent, nonprofit institution with a self-perpetuating board of trustees. Despite financial difficulties, it maintained a strong academic program and placement record. Each student took two years of Latin and three years of French, plus English, mathematics, history, and science. At the same time, athletics had moved from lawn croquet and gentle walks to more rigorous basketball, swimming, tennis, ice skating, and field hockey. Boarders could only leave campus with a chaperone, but were allowed to visit day students on weekends, and attend one movie a week with other boarders.

Though not as outspoken as Spalding or Jones, Moulton took clear stands on domestic and international issues. His was a simple, unvarnished patriotism. “Americans never give up,” he was fond of saying. An internationalist, during World War II Moulton was active in the Save the
Children Federation, the English-Speaking Union, Russian War Relief, and British War Relief. After the war he became Chair of the United Nations Association of Utah. Obert C. Tanner, a local business and community leader, worked with Moulton in the organization, and noted the “Cold War antagonism made grass roots support for the U. N. very difficult to obtain.” Utah’s governor led local opposition to the international body in the 1950s. “We had to dig deep to find within ourselves the strength that could support the U. N.,” Tanner recalled, echoing a sentiment similar to Moulton’s.18

In his first report to the missionary district, the bishop announced he would list the names of those who had died during the past year at the beginning of each annual address, and in some years that was the speech’s most memorable section. Otherwise, a sameness pervades his reports over a quarter-century. Affable and rambling like the man himself, they lack focus, and the reader’s tendency is to comment “Moulton meant to say . . . .” Here is Moulton, in 1923, on the church and society: “You can account for socialism, Sovietism, the Ku Klux [sic], syndicalism, communism by the fact that men have believed in sufficient numbers that real and intolerable abuses have existed which could only be wiped out and away by some form of direct organization and direct action. If now there be allowed to grow up within this country—to go no further—a generation denied the privileges and safeguards of a sane and efficient religious education. I tell you that the times ahead when you and I are grandfathers will be very trying to the souls of men.”19

Moulton’s public statements bear examination, because he attracted national attention in the late 1940s and early 1950s as a leading member of a Communist-front organization. Moulton was no Communist; what he said was mainstream American, but would be considered extreme in Utah. Moulton wrote in 1937: “I decline to be stampeded by the alarmists who are having so much to say about Communism. I think there is no doubt that Communism is on the way. So is Social Security on the way. So is the ‘Mormon’ Church on the way. . . . Communism is a theory of social life and living and as such will probably grow. . . . While Communism cannot be stopped it can be directed and that is where you and I fit in, that is where the Christian Church comes into play.”20 Elsewhere, he added, it may not be the business of America “whether the French get their coal or the Germans refuse it, whether this or that Sultan remains in power and the size of his harem regulated. But it most certainly is our business, if we can trace any part of the suffering, poverty, perplexity, burden, and the threatening menace of a new and more terrible world war to the absence from boards of deliberations, and councils of advice, and assemblies of nations, of the richest, mightiest, and I think most seriously religious of all the countries of the earth.”21
The Bartlett Report: “A Real Salary for a Real Man with a Real Job”

During the late 1920s and 1930s, the national church experienced declining revenues, and cut its subsidies to Utah. Should it continue to support a missionary district that showed so little progress? “With but 1,500 communicants after fifty years of effort it would seem to an observer that the Church had not received adequate returns on its investment,” a 1928 national report stated. At that time Frank B. Bartlett, Executive Secretary of the national church, visited Utah and made a frank analysis of church conditions there. Bartlett’s report and Bishop Clark’s 1946 survey are the two most comprehensive appraisals of the Episcopal Church in Utah in their time. Bartlett, who became bishop of Idaho, 1935–1941, found widespread incompetence among the clergy, poor morale, and little appetite for mission. Bartlett wrote, “The District needs a new plan and a new spirit . . . to divert the attention of the clergy, in particular, from their own local difficulties and jealousies towards a common cause to which all may give their best.”

The key to an active missionary district was effective clergy, without which Utah would continue to flounder. Bartlett wrote,

Begin at once the elimination of the men who are not effective. I am giving the bishop the names of the men who, in my opinion, should be sent elsewhere. Also the reasons why they are no longer useful to Utah. . . . Get the best possible men on the new salary, honor them for their devotion to the Cause of Christ as they serve in the hard and lonely places; put away forever the heresy that the town and country work of the church is the place for failures or for those who are on trial, or for those who have outworn their usefulness elsewhere. Let your whole policy resolve about the idea—‘A real salary for a real man with a real job.’

Many of the Utah clergy were lazy and of low intellectual and emotional caliber, the report found. Bartlett was blunt:

I found a lack of a whole-hearted loyalty; a tendency to be hyper-critical; a willingness to seize upon any alibi for the lack of achievement. Here and there men appeared to be absolutely incompetent and ready to accept subsidies as if the church owed them a living. There is no place for such men in the church. They should be eliminated as soon as possible. On the other hand I found men who are devoted to their work but without the personality or equipment to do their work successfully. Such men cannot be permitted to block the way of progress. Furthermore,
funds allocated to the District, given in trust, cannot be used to pay the salaries of such men, if we are to be faithful to our trust. I feel that individuals must be sacrificed if they stand in the way of the extension of the Church’s work. With all loving kindness, but with no sentimentality, they should be sent on their way.\footnote{For Bartlett, salaries were the heart of the problem. Current $1,800 clergy salaries should be raised to $2,400, with housing in addition. “There are some men in the District who may not be worth more than $1,800. If that be true they are a hindrance to the work and should be replaced. There are others whose salaries should be raised.” The church lagged behind in some communities because “we are trying to do big work with $1,800 men.”

The 1928 survey presents a sobering picture of the state of church work in Utah. Among the problems were the mining towns. Park City, a perennial problem site, was an active mining community of about four thousand persons, including twenty-two church families. Bartlett wrote: “Social conditions—terrible; drunkenness, prostitution. People accustomed to low standards. Church people seem powerless to make any change. To face this situation our Church has poor equipment; a dirty church building; no hall for social work. No men to help. A few loyal women. . . . The wretched Church on the hill is never going to make an impression on that godless town.”\footnote{Eureka was another mining town of four thousand persons. Possibly twenty Episcopal families lived there, and another fifty were scattered in outlying communities. There was “much immorality, a ‘tough life’ for boys and girls,” with only a Scout troop for boys and “nothing for girls, except what the LDS Church does for its own.”\footnote{The church building could be remodeled and serve as both a church and social center, and if a “red-blooded man” was sent there to work with young people, the community would raise $600 toward his salary.\footnote{In the coal fields, in places like Helper, Kennilworth, and Castle Gate, the climate was “morally rotten, prostitution, gambling, and bootlegging encouraged by those who dominate the community. Foreign-born in control of politics and business. Church people don’t seem to count. . . . Find a man who has some experience in dealing with hard problems and ‘Hard-boiled men.’ He must have what is popularly called a ‘punch.’”\footnote{In Provo, site of Brigham Young University, “young men and women are beginning to ask embarrassing questions regarding the Book of Mormon, etc. One LDS bishop admitted that these youngsters were a real problem to the Mormon leaders. Herein lies our greatest opportunity.”}}}}
where they failed to grow. He recommended locating a new church in the expanding Sugar House district. Of the main churches in Salt Lake City, St. Mark’s Cathedral and St. Paul’s, Bartlett said, in language Clark would use two decades later, “I sense a lack of enthusiasm and optimism; the lay people, particularly the men, do not seem to be tied to any definite program. Are these churches in Salt Lake only to serve a small group of nice people, called Episcopalians, or have they a mission to all people? Simply to hold services does not justify the existence of a Church. The test of a church is its Output. What is the Episcopal Church putting into Salt Lake City?”31

Lean Times and the Great Depression

Progress was modest during Moulton’s episcopate; it could hardly have been otherwise, given the conditions he faced. In 1920 there were six clergy, in addition to the bishop, plus four women workers, and 1,420 communicants, almost a thousand of them in the three largest parishes. The church’s nearly twenty other missions averaged from eight to thirty members. The adverse economy resulted in further cuts. Clergy were removed from the key parishes in Vernal and Logan, and the Vernal lodge for girls was leased as a hospital. It was not reclaimed for church use until 1950. By 1931 there were eleven regular clergy in the district, including the bishop, $25,563 in locally raised funds, and 1,822 communicants.32 Moulton juggled his meager resources. His office was a back room on the first floor of the bishop’s residence 440 East First South Street, which he shared with a secretary, as had Spalding. “We keep plugging away and are making progress slow though it be,” Moulton the habitual optimist reflected. “Perhaps that is the best kind of progress.”33

Moulton’s years as bishop coincided with the Depression and a severe downturn in Utah’s economy. All the numbers went down. With the end of World War I, government contracts in mining and rail freight industries terminated abruptly, and support of American farm product sales to Europe halted, all directly affecting Utah. The large Utah Copper Company’s Garfield smelter plant, scene of an active Episcopal ministry for many years, closed in 1921, and by 1934 some 206 out of each 1,000 persons in the state received welfare support.34 The desperation of the times is captured in an encounter between a labor inspector and a worker.

One day I thought I was doing a man a favor by telling him when his shift ended, that he had completed twenty-eight hours [of a thirty-hour work quota] and that he need not come back the next day. I simply did not think it would be worth coming ten miles to work two hours and get ninety-six cents. He didn’t say anything at the time. About 8 p.m. the
fellow showed up in my backyard. I happened to know that he lived five miles from my home. He asked if he could not come out the next day and get the ninety-six cents to which he was entitled. He told me he had walked all the way from his home and planned on walking back. That’s how much he needed the money, and that is what he was willing to do to get it—walk ten miles and work two hours, plus find some way to get another ten miles to work and the same ten miles back.\textsuperscript{31}

For the Episcopal Church, it was a time to circle the wagons around the campfire. In 1934, the national church ordered Moulton to dismiss eight of his clergy, calling Utah work static. Moulton found places for some of them, and when an eastern clergy friend sent a generous check, Moulton applied it to clergy salaries.\textsuperscript{36} With an earlier check for $500, Moulton provided each clergy member with a year’s subscription to \textit{The Atlantic Monthly} and a modest collection of contemporary religious books.\textsuperscript{37} He sent his benefactor, Howard Chandler Robbins, dean of the General Theological Seminary in New York City, excerpts of clergy letters responding to the salary cuts. One said, “I was not altogether surprised at receiving your communication telling of another cut in my salary, but did not dream that it would be so drastic. This may be a drastic way of reminding the church in the West that she must expect herself hereafter to bear some proportionate share in meeting missionary stipends.”\textsuperscript{38}

The small churches rallied as best they could, with worship services conducted as regularly as clergy presences would allow. Activities led by women were at the core of any parish’s existence. Sewing, canning, and cooking brought women together, but they also watched after the sick and needy, fed the hungry, kept an eye on children, and prepared the church for festive times like Christmas and Easter. The Church of the Good Shepherd, Ogden, used to make and sell St. Michael’s Pudding at Christmas in the 1930s. This recipe was preserved in the church archives and makes 148 pounds before steaming: “Raisins, twenty pounds; Currants, eight pounds; Citron, eight pounds; Bread crumbs, thirty-two quarts; Eggs, eight dozen; Milk, sixteen quarts; Brown sugar, thirty-two pounds; Suet, sixteen pounds; Soda, thirty-two teaspoons; Nutmeg, twelve teaspoons; Cinnamon, fifteen teaspoons; Cloves, fifteen teaspoons; Cider, five quarts; Ginger, fifteen teaspoons; Salt, fifteen teaspoons. (Steam for four hours).”\textsuperscript{39}

St. Mark’s Hospital shelved its upgrading plans, missions in the Uintah Basin and mining camps were closed, and clergy doubled up to serve several missions and churches. Archdeacon William F. Bulkley literally drove all over the state in his Model T Ford, holding services. In one annual report he listed nine visits to the reservation and several to the coal camps, plus
sending over 800 hand-written post cards to scattered church members. Bulkley hit a pothole and broke a front axle, after which he hitchhiked into Delta. He spent the night there, and phoned a mechanic in Provo, who shipped a new axle by the morning train to Delta. Bulkley then hitchhiked back to where the car had broken down, and installed the new front axle.

Bulkley spent most of his life in rural ministry, and was a founder of the Society of the Rural Workers Fellowship, a Canadian and American clergy and laity group specializing in rural ministry. An Easterner and 1905 graduate of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, and Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Connecticut, he came west in 1908 to improve his health. For six years Bulkley was chaplain to St. Mark’s Hospital and vicar of All Souls’, Garfield, ministering to the large community of industrial workers there. On Valentine’s Day 1914 he married Fannie Lees, superintendent of nurses at the hospital, and from 1914 to 1929 was vicar of St. Mary’s, Provo. Moulton brought him back to Salt Lake City as archdeacon, and Bulkley spent the next two decades on the road most Sundays, until his retirement in 1949, holding services in parishes without regular clergy and founding Sunday schools in places like Park City—which he visited monthly for several years—Duschene, Eureka, and Whiterocks.

In Salt Lake City Bulkley’s sister-in-law, Ellen Lees, was a district visitor, a title given women missionaries. She wrote, “Many of the ‘newly-poor’ have been so perplexed over the sudden plunge from comfort to need, that the necessary procedure in applying for aid has utterly confused them. It has been possible to help them over the rough and humiliating spots. . . . Many visits to the Agency with, and for, those needing help, eased over some trying moments.”

Thelma S. Ellis was a member of the vestry at Good Shepherd, Ogden, during the Depression. When John W. Hyslop, Good Shepherd’s rector, retired in 1934, the vestry sent him monthly checks, sometimes as little as $15, for two years until his back salary was paid. “We did everything ourselves. We struggled. We prioritized our bills, the ones that had to be paid, and the ones that could be paid later. We saved everything, used everything that could be used. When we didn’t have food, my father went up in the canyon and fished until he brought us back our supper.”

But the perspectives of churchwomen were not insular. The missionary district’s Women’s Auxiliary sent gifts to African-American children in Charleston, South Carolina, and to Japan. At its 1936 meeting, participants heard a talk on bills before Congress in which they were especially interested, including legislation against lynching and bills to ease the plight of sharecroppers.
The meeting went on record favoring a neutrality bill to prevent the United States from being drawn into war.\textsuperscript{45} Moulton said little about the Depression in his annual address to the Church in 1932. “Will you forgive me if I do not say anything about the Depression or tell you when it is going to end? I go to the theater once in a while and can see no diminution in numbers; it appears to be just as hard to get a seat. I discover just as much difficulty to find a parking place for my car any morning or afternoon on the street. Stores were filled with crowds this Christmas.”\textsuperscript{46}

By 1924, there were 1,265 communicants and the missionary district’s budget was $62,000; its investments swelled to $30,000. The number of communicants rose to 2,065 in 1935, despite an exodus of more than 143,000 workers from Utah seeking jobs elsewhere.\textsuperscript{47} In 1936, Moulton lamented the steady decline in appropriations from the national church, resulting in a corresponding decline in mission programs. He sensed what was coming. Utah could no longer compete with the foreign missions in China or Latin America as a fundraising draw for donors. The West had been conquered, and except for a certain fascination with Native Americans, little else from Utah was reported in the pages of church publications. The missionary districts in the West “will never again receive the generous assistance which in the past has built them up,” Moulton told Utah Episcopalians. “The East which has given lavishly in the past is discovering that the West is rich too. . . . It no longer has to be carried. . . . It is probably true that this rather lusty youth should take over its own responsibilities for the support of religion.”\textsuperscript{48}

What Moulton lacked as a commentator in the public area he made up for as a hands-on bishop, visiting the far corners of his missionary district in a rickety automobile over wagon trails that were gradually becoming roads, and making periodic fundraising trips East as well. The bishop’s published list of his official acts for 1924 covered eight pages and contained little down time, a schedule that would exhaust a modern senatorial candidate, and he kept at it, year after year. Moulton made two lengthy trips to the reservations and one to the coal camps that year, and visited every functioning mission or parish at least once each year. He confirmed twenty Native Americans, including Black Otter, 100 years old, addressed the St. Paul’s Parish, Salt Lake City, annual meeting, visited St. Mark’s Hospital and Rowland Hall, gave the Phi Beta Kappa oration at the University of Utah, and addressed a local gathering of prison chaplains. All this while running an office and visiting parishes. Since he was acting bishop of Nevada for part of the period, he traveled there several times, and spent January to April fundraising in Massachusetts and Chicago. In October and November he returned to the same places, sometimes speaking in two or three churches a day to audiences more receptive than rich.\textsuperscript{49}
Economic recovery came slowly to Utah. In 1936 Moulton wrote, “We have managed to get through the year in some way or other. It is due to the fact that many of our clergy have been willing to keep on with their work at greatly reduced stipends.” Recalling the state of clerical finances, a church member said that one night Moulton arrived for dinner with a flat tire. When the host, a staunch Presbyterian, went down to help him, he saw that all four tires on Moulton’s car were bald. While the others had dinner, the host took Moulton’s car to a tire shop for a new set of tires.

Eventually, the tide turned. Relief switched from direct handouts to public works programs. In 1935 Alwin E. Butcher, the English-born rector of St. Paul’s, Salt Lake City, responded to a letter to church leaders from President Franklin D. Roosevelt, inquiring about conditions in the community. Roosevelt had attended services there as a presidential candidate in 1932. Butcher said life had improved in Utah. There had been an upswing in mining and farming; the poor were being attended to with food and clothing; but the “white collar class” was the most hard hit, people “too proud to go on relief, many of them doubled up with other members of families,” but whose savings had been depleted and whose home purchasing possibilities vanished. He asked Roosevelt “for this great nation to work out a plan to forever banish unemployment” through public works programs.

Automobiles became increasingly numerous in Utah in the 1930s. Dangerous mountain trails were straightened, and a ribbon of paved roads soon connected distant cities. In 1928, more than 10,000 new motor vehicles were registered in the state. Postal service expanded, and in rural areas postbags were hung from metal bars or on tree limbs. Lacking vehicles of their own, clergy sometimes rode with the mail drivers from one mission to another. The early cars frequently had to be pushed up steep hills and pulled through swift streams; tires wore out quickly, and punctures were frequent. Moulton’s accounts are laced with reports of frequent breakdowns. A typical entry (from Eureka): “About 10:00 o’clock we thawed out the car, lifted it out of the mud into which it had frozen, and started out for Provo. Never was there a more beautiful sight. The city lights were twinkling on the mountainsides, the moon was brilliant in the cloudless sky and those great hills stood out in sharp relief against the heavens. The spotlight of the car, the hair pin curves, the sharp turns, the startled rabbits leaping across the road, and then the blizzards blinding us and forcing us to creep along the white streets; the arrival home at 2:00 in the morning.” The Church wondered about providing cars for its clergy. The gift of a car to a clergy member could mean the recipient having to spend up to $500 from a meager salary for gas, oil, and repairs. Instead, increase clergy salaries and let missionaries buy their own vehicles, Bartlett suggested. “It will increase the
men's self-respect. It will free them from the possible charge they are using the church’s property for personal pleasure. . . . It will put them on par at least with the laboring people of the community in their ability to get about whenever and wherever they please.”

Commercial airline passenger service came to Utah in 1927, easing the state’s isolation. Telephones gradually replaced the telegraph; indoor plumbing was now a feature in newly constructed homes. In 1922 KZN (later KSL), Salt Lake City, went on the air with a half-hour of programming each evening. On July 15, 1929, the first broadcast of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir was aired. Gradually, Utah became a tourist attraction, and southern Utah became the setting for Tom Mix, John Wayne, and other western films. Motion picture theatres took away the business of popular dance halls, like the Saltair Pavilion.

New Deal programs also helped change the state. On the eve of World War II, 11,000 persons annually were employed by the Works Progress Administration program. Dams and water storage facilities were built at a cost of $22 million, the Rural Electrification Administration brought electricity to isolated rural communities. This allowed iceboxes to be replaced by refrigerators, resulting in a revolution in the way foods were preserved. Labor unrest was rampant in mining communities, and gradually the trade union movement reestablished itself in Utah.

St. Mark’s Hospital and St. Mark’s Cathedral

The 1920s and 1930s were years of struggle for St. Mark’s Hospital, yet it gradually grew. One ward was closed for lack of nurses. The hospital scrambled for funds, and its annual list of donors contained such entries as: St. Mark’s Cathedral Association, making of four night shirts; St. John’s, Logan, $15; Mr. A. H. Cowie, subscription to fifteen magazines; War Workers, twenty-five eye bandages; Rev. H. E. Henriques, six sets of fancy salts and peppers and one case of oranges; Mrs. George Y. Wallace, jelly; Staff Doctors—for Nurses’ Christmas, $70, Deaconess Shepherd, one quart fruit.

The hospital budget was $122,000, and the medical director, Dr. F. S. Bascom, noted competition came from two additional medical centers, the new state-of-the-art LDS Hospital and Holy Cross Roman Catholic Hospital. St. Mark’s had been expanded to 150 beds, and the nursing school averaged forty-five students at a time. Mining contract patients declined, but the number of private patients rose sharply, representing a future trend. By 1925, fifty physicians were admitted to practice at the hospital, and twenty-two others had associate status. Doctors were among the first to abandon horses
for automobiles, house calls became common, and a motorized ambulance was purchased for the hospital.

The hospital’s chaplain in 1931 reported that, of 2,524 patients, sixty-six percent were Latter-day Saints, others were mainstream Protestant and Roman Catholic church members, plus Greek Orthodox and Buddhists. The chaplain accompanied five patients into the operating room at their request, held 88 services, made a constant round of visits, and distributed hundreds of books and magazines.  

Despite various moves, the hospital remained in a poor location, while demands for its services increased. It was located next to a railroad and an oil refinery, and a 1921 fire at the Utah Oil Works forced the hospital to move its patients to other institutions for four days. St. Mark’s activity increased despite economic hard times, from 2,852 patients in 1920 to 2,976 in 1930, and the number of charity cases increased as well, from 2.8 percent to 6.9 percent. In 1933 Olive Waldorp, nursing school director, became hospital superintendent, and a member of the hospital’s board of directors. A doctor said she “ran the hospital out of a desk drawer. . . . Everything ran like clockwork.”  

Utah experienced a major outbreak of polio, and in 1940 employees of the American Smelting and Refining Company purchased an iron lung and respirator for the hospital. During World War II the School of Nursing expanded, funded in part by government grants, and by 1945 was enrolling 135 students in a two-and-a-half-year program. All costs were borne by the federal government, in turn for which the women were assigned to military or civilian hospitals. A new five-story wing was added in 1944, increasing the hospital’s bed capacity from 151 to 224.

St. Mark’s Cathedral made it through the 1930s with both a disastrous fire and the building of a new parish hall and offices. By 1933, cathedral membership was 601 persons, of whom only 150 pledged money for its upkeep; pledges brought in only $6,000 in 1932, and it was necessary to let staff go. At one point, the cathedral vestry asked to meet with the dean about ways to reduce his salary. By 1934, the cathedral elected two women to its vestry. The issue was not gender equality; Mrs. H. W. Dascher and Mrs. J. W. Collins were both wealthy parishioners, and during the lean 1930s the parish’s women assumed responsibility for the costly task of keeping up the building and grounds.

On March 31, 1935, an early morning fire caused by a defective furnace nearly destroyed the cathedral sacristy. The organ was ruined; fire melted six memorial windows, and destroyed the chancel’s elaborately carved wooden paneling. Seventy-five firefighters battled the blaze for nearly two hours before bringing it under control, after which the cathedral’s Boy Scout
patrol removed the damaged items. Insurance covered most of the $50,000 loss, and Bishop Moulton secured the old Victory Theater organ as a replacement for the cathedral’s instrument. After the fire Roman Catholics, Jews, Christian Scientists, and Presbyterians all offered their worship space to the St. Mark’s congregation.61

Bishop–Cathedral Relations: Their Historic Continuity

Should St. Mark’s Cathedral be a leading Salt Lake City church, or the central church of a district-wide ministry? The question had been raised several times in the missionary district’s history. An agreement was negotiated between cathedral and missionary district in 1925. The cathedral should be a powerhouse, Moulton believed, a place that laity and clergy of the scattered, isolated district could claim as their home, while it exercised a leading educational, musical, and liturgical role. “A cathedral that functions properly is harnessed up to the whole District. The circumference knows that it is part of the center and, in a missionary district there is always a circumference. The outposts, some of them very weak, ought to be helped to understand they have a foothold. The missionaries ought to have an opportunity to come home and a home to which to come.”62 Of St. Mark’s in-house advocates of an independent, self-contained cathedral, Moulton wrote: “Parochialism, while not yet dead, is dying. Anything we can do to hasten its demise would be permanently constructive. It has been the curse of the church. This Church is an Episcopal Church, but all over the country we have been a long time discovering it.”63

Bishop Moulton served as acting cathedral rector from 1929 to 1931, and from 1934 to 1936; it was common for missionary bishops to serve parishes during such long vacancies. Moulton, aided by other clergy, also served as rector of St. Paul’s from 1942 to 1945 during World War II.

On January 10, 1935, the cathedral filed an updated Articles of Incorporation with the State of Utah. This was not the result of any change in the bishop’s long-established status as rector, but a pro forma boilerplate provision of the 1933 Revised Statutes of Utah that required nonprofit organizations to update their registration with the state.64 The document was a fill-in-the-blanks form that changed nothing in missionary district relationships. “The Rector of St. Mark’s Episcopal Cathedral in said Parish shall be the bishop of Utah, who shall delegate the parochial cares to a Dean,” Article 6 stated. “Vacancies in the office of Dean shall be filled by call of the Vestry by and with the consent of . . . the bishop of Utah” (Article 17). The basic bishop–dean relationship had not changed since it was established at the cathedral vestry’s first meeting on November 18,
1870, when the bishop was elected permanent ex officio cathedral rector.\textsuperscript{65} The relationship was reaffirmed in a Joint Declaration of February 7, 1895, during Bishop Leonard’s time, by Bishop Spalding and the cathedral in a Joint Act of September 11, 1909, and by the same parties in a Joint Act of January 18, 1917, during Bishop Jones’s episcopate. Years later, the updated Articles of Incorporation of St. Mark’s Cathedral, filed on August 30, 1985, stated (Article 7), “The Rector of the Cathedral Church of Saint Mark shall be the bishop of the Diocese of Utah who shall delegate the parochial rights and duties to a Dean called by the Vestry with the consent of the bishop.”\textsuperscript{66}

In 1937, the cathedral borrowed $7,500 to build a parish house, funded in part through the sale of 500 ten-dollar bonds paying three percent interest.\textsuperscript{67} The new Bishop Spalding Memorial Hall cost $35,000, and in February 1938 the cathedral celebrated with a Great Two-day Carnival with a “delicious dinner each evening at 6:30 o’clock” costing seventy-five cents per person. Dancing and a “big bridge party” and children’s activities followed, and there was a parcel post counter, country store, and fortuneteller.\textsuperscript{68}

It was time for St. Paul’s to move. Commercial buildings had surrounded its previous downtown location not far from the cathedral, and the church followed many of its parishioners to the suburbs. St. Paul’s had purchased a lot on the northeast corner of 300 South and 900 East on March 5, 1917. Services were held in the new parish hall from 1920 to 1927, when the new Tudor Revival building was completed. The design, popular with churches, country clubs, and upscale housing developments of the 1920s and 1930s, was suggested by Professor George M. Marshall, who taught English at the University of Utah, and who was a longtime church member. The\textit{Salt Lake Tribune} said the work of the local architectural firm, Ware & Treganza, was “pronounced one of the finest in the state from an artistic standpoint.”\textsuperscript{69} The old church property was sold for $192,500; the new building and grounds cost approximately $75,000, with the remaining sum going toward an endowment. During the first forty-four years of its existence, St. Paul’s had twelve rectors, one of whom stayed only six months. The longest tenure was that of the Rev. Alwin E. Butcher, who stayed nineteen years, from 1923 to 1942.

St. Paul’s had long enjoyed a close relationship with the Masons, and on April 24, 1927, the grand master, Dana T. Smith, relaid the original cornerstone, with the dean of the cathedral, William W. Fleetwood, joining him on the platform in Masonic regalia. Masons from all over the state marched from the nearby temple. On the first Sunday of Advent, November 27, 1927, the new building was consecrated. With its eye for clerical color, the\textit{Tribune} wrote, “The vestments of the officiating clergy will reflect the
dignity of the celebration. Bishop Moulton and Bishop Moreland will wear capes of white, lavishly embroidered in gold and lined with crimson silk.” The preacher was Bishop William Hall Moreland of Sacramento, in whose diocese Butcher had recently served.

**World War II**

Utah’s location helped shape its response to World War II. Distant enough from the Pacific to avoid the threat of attack, it was an ideal site for Army training camps and Air Force bases. Its isolation made it an attractive place to keep German prisoners and Japanese detainees. A dark stain on national and state history was the presence of the Topaz relocation center for Japanese Americans that opened in 1942. Approximately 8,000 Japanese American men, women, and children spent three years in confinement at a site thirteen miles northwest of Delta, part of the 110,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry who were forcibly relocated, mostly from the West Coast to the interior. Utah also became a center to store and test atomic weapons, with disastrous consequences unforeseen at the time to “down-winders,” the thousands of residents living in the path of atomic radiation.

Across the state at least 49,500 new jobs were created. Fort Douglas became headquarters of the Army’s Ninth Service Command. Between August 1942 and October 1943, more than 90,000 airmen took basic training at Kearns Army Air Base, which became a quickly growing community. Flight crews that dropped the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki trained near the Utah–Nevada border at Wendover Air Base, the world’s largest site for training bombers. The Utah General Depot, near Ogden, employed 4,000 persons and held 5,000 prisoners of war. Hill Field, also nearby, was built as a WPA project, and soon it employed over 15,000 civilians and 6,000 military. No less important, though smaller, were the Tooele Army Depot, a 1943 offshoot of the Ogden base, and the Deseret Chemical Depot, a top-secret storage site for chemical weapons. By the mid 1940s, approximately 28 percent of the state’s income came from government work; the numbers would reduce to 20 percent in 1978, but Utah remained one of the most dependent states in America on defense-related employment.

As defense industry employees swept into the state, their numbers included Episcopalians, or potential church members, who would gradually contribute to the rise of several new parishes in the post-war period. From 1940 to 1943, employment increased from 148,000 to 230,000, and per capita income, once 20 percent below the national average, soon surpassed it.
state’s population grew 25 percent between 1940 and 1946. This growth from 555,310 to 688,862 persons was largest along the Wasatch Front, where most defense industries and population centers were located. These would be the sites of future Episcopal churches in the 1970s.

Native American Work: The Utes

In addition to other demands on his role as bishop, Moulton maintained an active interest in Native American work, especially among the Utes. He visited the reservations as often as he could, and shared his limited resources. The total population of the reservation in 1932 was 1,250 persons, down from 6,000 in 1880, yet numbers of Native Americans baptized and confirmed remained significant, even during times when there was no resident missionary priest. Moulton was intrigued by the Uintah Basin reservations, which he spoke of as “my basin” and church publications called the “Bishop’s Basin.” Encounters with Native Americans were infrequently commented on, and little was written about their life, only that they came, danced, were confirmed, and went away. His reports differ little from those of other western missionaries. Photos of him with the Whiterocks or Randlett congregations show tall, rail-thin Moulton towering over local people, sometimes dressed in full Native American beadwork and feathers. His position appeared to be that the basic goodness of traditional native society need not conflict with Christianity, as in this passage.

One morning as I was walking across the field I noticed an Indian man standing alone in front of the altar. His hat was in his hand and his head lifted toward the cross. He was a picture indeed—black braided hair, brilliant red shirt, bright blue overalls, yellow moccasins. All alone, he stood there motionless for twenty minutes. . . . I hope and I think he realized that in the new religion which we were presenting to him was to be found all that was best of his old life and ever so much new inspiration for the days to come.

Moulton described a confirmation service elsewhere as including “the crowded church, the altar ablaze with many colored lights, the sunflowers massed about the sanctuary, the Indian dog that got caught in the altar rail and could not get through, the braves with their colored handkerchiefs over their heads which I carefully removed, the Indians kneeling on the floor in honest devotion waiting in humble faith for the Gift, the Indian policeman, and the big white leader. They were all there and I confirmed them every
one. They stayed through the afternoon, lying on the rectory lawn, all colors, all ages, old men and maidens, young men and children, ponies tied to the fence and the dogs sleeping under the trees.”

The women missionaries among the Utes remained a sympathetic and lasting presence demonstrating an evangelism of service and contact. Living in near poverty themselves, they taught local women to read, sew, prepare foods, and adopt more healthy lifestyles. Rosa Camfield continued her long work at Whiterocks. One Christmas she wrote: “Out on the back porch stands a new kitchen range, ready to be placed... The old range was the trial of my life. Had I been given to profanity I certainly should have indulged at times.”

Other presents were “things like sugar, canned fruit, apples, oranges, stockings and handkerchiefs, some money presents, material for dress and waist.” Hers was a busy life in all seasons. She helped local people write letters, and read the letters they received. Clergy came to hold services only once a month, so she led worship services as well. On Tuesday evenings she taught sewing to Native American girls; on Fridays, reservation boys came to play checkers and other games. A ten-member white Women’s Guild met on Tuesdays; a five-member Native American Girls’ Friendly Society met weekly as well. Camfield showed people basic sanitary and food preparation measures, plus “helping the sick and more than once I have buried the dead. When I go to bed I never know but that some one will call on me for various reasons—perhaps the husband has been drinking lemon extract and the wife is afraid to stay with him. I have women stay two or three days sometimes... Sometimes a girl will come to evening service and does not like to (nor should I like her to) go back to her home.”

In Whiterocks, a Native American elementary school housed 200 children, thirty-two of them Episcopalians. The local Episcopal vicar, whom Bartlett in his 1928 report called “tactless, dogmatic, and dictatorial,” feuded with the Indian Agent. A community hall was needed because local people “loaf and gamble through the winter months.” Possibly someone might be raised up to be “a missionary to his people,” one of the first references to the possibility of native ministries. The Utes were taught the skills of deep irrigation by an English missionary couple, Mr. and Mrs. O. K. Richards, who also managed the Whiterocks school. At Randlett, the Church owned thirteen acres of land and had a church building and almost a hundred members, including both Native Americans and a handful of whites. A woman worker held the church together, Bartlett wrote, “The greatest power in the basin is Mrs. Richards. Every week a large group of women, white and Indian, meet at the rectory for sewing and instructions. Mrs. Richards keeps them together and her quiet, loving influence is felt far and wide.”
LOGAN REVIVED IN THE 1940S

Despite the influx of new persons during the war, church growth was most evident in Logan in the post-war period. For several years during the early 1940s, Walter Preston Cable, a lay reader, maintained a lonely but active presence in keeping the miniscule Logan congregation alive. Cable’s correspondence with Moulton records a series of small victories: the roof or windows of the church were repaired, a new family showed up for services, a few persons volunteered for an activity—not the dramatic statistics or stories that made headlines, but telling evidence of a small, caring community.

Cable’s first service was on December 13, 1942. Of the thirty names from the parish list he inherited from the 1920s, only twelve or thirteen could be located, and five were in the pews that Sunday. Cable opened a church where “windows were shuttered, furniture broken and the whole so besmirched with the accumulated dirt of the years as to be almost blasphemous.” His May 1943 report listed five services. Attendance was between three to eight persons; the collection was $1.85. The long-unused building was now clean, and soon its roof was repaired, Cable noted. “The church, all lighted up on Wednesday evenings, has aroused considerable interest among passers-by; one lady, more valiant of heart than the rest, ventured in to participate in the service with me. And several of the parishioners have remarked how good it seems to see the windows aglow once more.”

Cable recorded a total of nineteen services held between November 1942 and May 1943. Average attendance was six persons per service, and the monies raised amounted to $150, of which $50 came from Bishop Moulton. On Good Friday, Cable held a three-hour service with recorded music. “Sir John Stainer’s oratorio ‘The Crucifixion’ was chosen as being entirely proper and of high quality. To make this music available, a small electric phonograph and amplifying unit was obtained together with the complete records.”

Also keeping St. John’s alive was Major Ben B. Blair, an instructor in the University’s Military Science program, who lent his organizational skills and enthusiasm to building up the small congregation. During the summer of 1945, a seminarian, Jimmie McClain, was assigned to Logan. McClain starred on the long-running NBC “Dr. IQ” radio show. As a benefit to raise money for a church organ, he put on a “Dr. IQ” live program at Logan’s Capitol Theater on July 18, 1945, and raised nearly a thousand dollars.

MOULTON’S LATER YEARS; THE STALIN PEACE PRIZE

The last year of Moulton’s twenty-six-year tenure was 1946. In 1945, on the eve of his retirement, a national church officer observed: “The bishop’s
inertia in the past and present—an apparent inability or refusal to act . . . has proved disastrously discouraging to clergy and laity alike. They are dispirited and now show evidence of hopelessness, even of a certain fearfulness of any action, which is deeply disturbing. They think the security of their own future is at stake! They admit that the Church's work in Utah has been 'coasting downhill' for the past five years.\textsuperscript{787}

Still, there was considerable progress to report. The number of parochial clergy, including the bishop, was eleven, six of whom had arrived in recent years. There were now twenty-five churches or missions, including the Navajo mission H. Baxter Liebler opened in 1943, and a short-lived Japanese mission at Layton in 1944. Despite the hard times, church numbers rose from 1,737 in 1931 to 2,631 in 1946.\textsuperscript{88} Moulton retired on September 13, 1946, after reaching the mandatory retirement age of seventy-two. At his retirement, the Missionary District Convocation passed a resolution. “We have parted with the faithful bishop . . . but we shall ever be united to him in spirit because we do actually believe in the Communion of Saints. Bishop Moulton is indeed a saint in spiritual things and always a gentleman in his relation to his fellow clergy and to all mankind.”\textsuperscript{89}

On April 6, 1951, during the height of the cold war, the first Stalin Peace Prize winners were announced from Moscow. The sole American was Bishop Arthur A. Moulton of Salt Lake City. The Russian equivalent of the Nobel Prize, the awards commemorated Josef Stalin’s seventieth birthday and included a gold medal bearing Stalin's likeness and 100,000 rubles, roughly $25,000. The seven recipients included Prof. Frederic Joliot-Curie, Nobel Prize winner and former head of France’s Atomic Energy Committee until dismissed for his Communist party ties, and Hewlett Johnson, popularly known as the “Red Dean” of Canterbury Cathedral.\textsuperscript{90} Moulton, seventy-eight, and retired for five years, told a newspaper he was taken “completely by surprise. The only award I want in working for peace is peace.”\textsuperscript{91} Such public recognition by the Soviet Union would usually go to an avowed communist or high-profile supporter of the Soviet Union; Moulton was neither.

Moulton’s tie to the Soviet Union was through the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, one of several Moscow-funded and directed front organizations that capitalized on legitimate American interests, in this case due process for foreigners facing deportation. The second honorary co-chair was Professor Louise Pettibone Smith, who taught Biblical studies at Wellesley College.\textsuperscript{92} The ACPFB was founded in 1933, and registered some success in opposing the capricious deportation of the foreign born, a perennial concern of church and civil liberty groups. Its Executive Secretary was Abner Green, a long-time Romanian communist now resident
in New York City. Green probably nominated Moulton for the prize. He would have seen Moulton as a prestigious figure—an Episcopal bishop would look good on the letterhead—and someone who would not interfere with the organization’s policies, all of which originated in Moscow.

Moulton’s name also appeared on a December 1949 news release of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, which claimed membership of about a thousand clergy, educators, writers, civic and labor leaders, “including seven Protestant bishops and two Nobel prize winners.” The Committee urged President Truman “to propose an agreement whereby the atomic bomb should not be used as an instrument of international warfare.”

The retired bishop never attended any meetings of the ACPFB, nor did he visit its New York offices, or write the turgid prose mailed out under his name in its press releases. A congressional investigation report stated that Moulton knew absolutely nothing about how he was selected and elected as co-chair. “The first that he knew he was being considered for honorary co-chairmanship was when he was advised he had been elected. He implied that he accepted the office ‘to help out and be nice’ and testified that ‘I didn’t ask any questions.’”

A member of the peace activist group, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which Jones once headed, Moulton spoke in Madison Square Garden in 1949 at a cultural and scientific conference for world peace, but was not a delegate to the Soviet World Peace Council. “I have never been across the seas in any interest of that kind,” he said, adding, “I am convinced that America, upon whom the leadership of the world has been thrust, should lead in peace as well as in other lines. I want to see America arise as a great spiritual ideal.”

The FBI developed a thirty-three-page file on Moulton, largely based on rewrites of local newspaper clippings from 1949 to 1951, plus a sighting with a luncheon guest at the Alta Club. The final entry noted his death on August 18, 1962, at age eighty-nine. “He was not a communist,” James W. Beless, Jr., a former FBI agent and diocesan chancellor said, adding, “He was very badly used.” “There was no money, no medal, nothing ever turned up as a result of it,” his granddaughter remarked. “He never got anything from it but a lot of grief.”

As Stalin’s harsh rule became widely known, and the 1956 Russian invasion of Hungary shocked international public opinion, the ACPFB lost membership and influence. By 1958, its key public activity was an annual picnic, and members were encouraged to send eighty-fifth birthday greetings to Bishop Moulton. Moulton was Utah’s third successive bishop to actively support international peace initiatives, succeeding Spalding, the socialist, 1904–1914, and Jones, the pacifist, 1915–1918.