Built On No Other Man's Foundation: The 14 Year Journey Of Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, The First Episcopal Bishop Of Montana, 1867-1880

Jed Fox
Carroll College, Helena, MT

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholars.carroll.edu/history_theses
Part of the Genealogy Commons, History of Religion Commons, and the United States History Commons

Recommended Citation
https://scholars.carroll.edu/history_theses/35

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the History at Carroll Scholars. It has been accepted for inclusion in History Undergraduate Theses by an authorized administrator of Carroll Scholars. For more information, please contact tkratz@carroll.edu.
CARROLL COLLEGE

BUILT ON NO OTHER MAN'S FOUNDATION:
THE 14 YEAR JOURNEY OF DANIEL SYLVESTER TUTTLE, THE FIRST
EPISCOPAL BISHOP OF MONTANA, 1867-1880

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULLFILMENT FOR GRADUATION WITH
HONORS

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY

JED FOX

HELENA, MONTANA

APRIL 2006
In Montana, humanly speaking, I built on no other man’s foundation.

-- Rt. Rev. Daniel Tuttle, *Reminiscences of a Missionary Bishop*
This thesis for honors recognition has been approved for the Department of History by:

Dr. David Messenger, Ph.D., Director

Dr. Robert Swartout, Ph.D., Department Chair, History Department

Professor J. Murphy Fox, Program Chair, Honor Scholar Program
CONTENTS

CHAPTER

1. INTRODUCTION ................................................................. 1
2. ONE ................................................................. 3
3. TWO ................................................................. 14
4. THREE ................................................................. 22
5. FOUR ................................................................. 33
6. CONCLUSION ................................................................. 41

SELECTED SOURCES ......................................................... 43
INTRODUCTION

Daniel Sylvester Tuttle's head bounced, jolted by the peculiar rhythm of the stagecoach as it rolled over the Idaho prairie in July 1867. Nearly half way from Salt Lake City to Montana, the Right Reverend Daniel Tuttle, newly named Episcopal Bishop of Montana, Idaho, and Utah, was growing accustomed to the rattle and clunk that came with riding long distances via stagecoach. Now, as his head flopped to one side in the light sleep of profound boredom, a gust of wind snatched his Morris hat and carried it into a passing bunch of sagebrush. He awoke immediately.

"Driver, hold up!" he shouted.

The stage came to a halt. Tuttle unfolded himself and lurched stiffly through the coach door to retrieve his hat. Tuttle re-entered the coach and, as it continued the journey north, he thought about the wife and child he had left behind in New York. Later in the day, as the stage continued its journey through the sun-bleached landscape, the bishop fell asleep again. The wind returned and stole his fine hat, but Tuttle's sleep was more profound this time, and he did not stir. When he did wake, it was to a cool breeze teasing his hair.

"Whoa driver, where's my hat?"

When the coach had stopped, the driver turned in his seat and looked at Tuttle.

"Bother take ya," he slurred, sucking dust from his teeth, "why don't ya keep a hold a yer hat?"

Tuttle exited the stagecoach and walked back down the stage trail nearly half a mile, but could not see his hat. He made his way back to the stage and he chuckled at
what he imagined was the possible fate of his hat. Some Indian would happen upon his Morris hat, Tuttle supposed, and would ride across the plains with the hat at a jaunty angle on his head, feathers stuck into the band. The bishop got back aboard the stage, pulled out his handkerchief, and tied it around his head to keep the sun off of his skull. ¹

Daniel Tuttle had been bishop for barely two months when he lost his hat somewhere between Salt Lake City and Virginia City, Montana. He had never been east of Niagara Falls. Tuttle had been born in New York in 1837. He was educated in New York, attending Columbia University to attain his bachelors degree. Tuttle then attended General Theological Seminary in New York City in order to become a priest.² Tuttle graduated from the seminary and replaced a classmate’s father as priest in Otsego County, New York. He was married and enjoyed his life in Morris. Nothing within his history or his career indicated any inclination to travel almost 3,000 miles to minister to people with whom he had nothing in common.

Daniel Tuttle, a life-long New Yorker, was elected to be the Bishop of Montana, with jurisdiction over Idaho and Utah, in October of 1866.³ He weakly fought to avoid the nomination, but mentors convinced him that he should accept the position. Tuttle was consecrated bishop in May of 1867. Tuttle would have to learn quickly, adjusting the views of church that had formed him to the alien land to which he had been assigned. Tuttle would be shaped by his experience in Montana. He would learn how to be a caring


³ Tuttle, 46.
minister to people who did not care whether he was from the High Church or the Low Church. Tuttle would also shape Montana, bringing civility to the rambunctious territory under his care.
CHAPTER ONE
THE CHURCH OF DANIEL TUTTLE

In 1866, Daniel Sylvester Tuttle was elected to be missionary Bishop in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. The church was struggling with its identity, both in relation to other denominations, and with those who the church wanted to bring into the congregation of the faith. Watching the struggles of the Episcopal Church gave Tuttle a unique perspective on his ministry. The life of the church must be examined in order to understand him.

During the last two decades of the eighteenth century, there was considerable debate about whether there would be one Episcopal Church in the fledgling democracy. The American churches no longer had the infrastructural support of the mother church in England, which made it difficult for the different dioceses to meet.¹ For that matter, members of the churches really did not desire to meet in some instances. The American Revolution and its aftermath had brought forth deep divisions in the American church, divisions based along ethnic and regional lines. Those members who dwelt in New England tended to be against the war, against overt laity involvement in the liturgy, and against close ties with other Protestant denominations. Conversely, Anglicans living in the middle and southern states tended to be in favor of the war, the involvement of the laity in the liturgy, and in a close relationship with Protestant churches. With the

divisions so regionalized, many proposed the creation of two different Anglican churches in the New World.²

By 1800, questions of the laity and the war for independence had become somewhat moot because of the end of the Revolutionary War and the death of the most vociferous opponents of laity involvement.³ However, The Episcopal Church’s relationship with the Protestant denominations remained contentious. What had once been a question about the relationships became a question of which was more important: baptism or adult reaffirmation of faith, apostolic succession or Protestant accord. Those who professed the virtues of the apostolic succession and baptism chose to call themselves the High Church. The opposition called themselves evangelicals, after the term many Christians adopted during the Great Awakening.⁴

This dispute was due, in part, to the Great Awakening. The period called the Great Awakening was a sudden growth in religious fervor and popular piety that took place from 1740 to 1744. In reality, the seeds for the Great Awakening were sown in the 1720’s and 1730’s. However, the scale in those earlier decades was decidedly smaller.⁵ The upturn in piety that characterized this era was in response to the continuing influence of the Enlightenment and the downgrading of spirituality in the colonies to little more


³ Prichard, 119.

⁴ Prichard, 120.

than a glorified moral code.\textsuperscript{6} In response, the preachers of the Great Awakening spread a message of the personal grace given by God on a humanity that was undeserving and innately sinful.\textsuperscript{7} The preachers used this message to further their main goal, evangelization. As such, this simple message and goal lent itself to simplicity within the services and religious rights that were at odds with some main line churches such as the Anglican Church.

The most popular personage of the era was George Whitefield, called The Great Itinerant. An English minister, Whitefield came to Philadelphia in December of 1739, and spread the message of revivalist Christianity throughout the colonies as he preached and inspired other ministers to do likewise.\textsuperscript{8} Benjamin Franklin described Whitefield in his autobiography and told a story about him being so persuasive a speaker that, while Franklin had been loathe to give any money to the collection before the sermon, after the sermon he gave all the money that he had on his person - gold, silver, and copper - into the collection plate.\textsuperscript{9} Whitefield’s charismatic, persuasive style of preaching was very much a part of the Great Awakening, just as was the message of the personal God of judgment in those sermons.


\textsuperscript{7} Chase, et al., 214.

\textsuperscript{8} Chase et al., 214

As the Great Awakening grew greater in stature and tone, some ministers within mainline churches such as the Anglican Church (forerunner to the Episcopal Church) were drawn to its open and frank style. The divide was barely noticeable at first. The Anglican Church in the colonies presented an almost unified front against this revivalism. Gradually the evangelical message of the Great Awakening permeated parts of the Episcopal Church and resolved itself into the evangelical party within the church.¹⁰ This party was evangelization-centered and emphasized Reformation-era teachings about sin and judgment. The evangelical part tended to emphasize preaching, religious study, and lay participation. As a group, the evangelicals gained in strength throughout the second half of the 18th century and reached their zenith toward in the opening decade of the 19th century.¹¹ Those opposed to the ideals of the evangelical party would choose for themselves the High Church Party, and would resist the direction in which the evangelicals were pulling the church.

The High Church Party, also known as the Anglo-Catholics, was the descendant of the church in New England, the one that had wanted closer ties to the Catholic roots of the Anglican Church. The involvement of the High Church party in the politics of the church on a national level did not occur until the backlash against the power of the Evangelical party in the early 19th century. At that time a young group of ministers, led by the new bishop of New York, John Henry Hobart, began the long process of swinging the pendulum of church opinion away from the Evangelical party.¹² The party thought

---

¹⁰ Holmes, 47.

¹¹ Holmes, 47.
that the participation of the laypeople did not need to be emphasized, that the power of the church came from the apostolic succession -that is, the direct line of the Holy Spirit from the apostles to the bishops of the day- and that participation in rituals and sacraments of the church were sufficient to evangelize. These thoughts were heavily influenced and re-enforced by the writing of the Oxford movement in the 1830’s in England, the country’s highly ritualized tradition in response to the formation of the Methodist Church and those in England who had been influenced by the Evangelical movement in America.\textsuperscript{13}

The struggle for the identity of the Protestant Episcopal Church was not the church’s only problem. Since the end of the Revolutionary War, the church had been stagnant. In 1776, the Episcopal Church was the second largest denomination in the Southern colonies in terms of the number of congregations.\textsuperscript{14} However, by 1800, fewer than one in 400 people in the United States was an Episcopalian.\textsuperscript{15} Some of the former colonies could not find a single priest within their borders.\textsuperscript{16} Much of this loss was due to the influence of the Methodist Church, which had been formed by some former Episcopal ministers. The Methodist Church grew rapidly in the United States, often at the cost of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} David Hein and Gardiner H, Shattuck Jr., \textit{The Episcopalians} (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), 70-71.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Finke and Stark, 29.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Holmes, 60.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Holmes, 60.
\end{itemize}
Episcopal congregations.\textsuperscript{17} Part of this malaise that seemed to affect the church was a lack of firm leadership, at least until 1811.

The election of Hobart in 1811 was the starting point for a revival of the Episcopal Church in the United States.\textsuperscript{18} This revival was part of a nation-wide reawakening that began in the late 1790’s with a second, quieter Great Awakening. This second awakening was a response to the end of the Revolutionary War. People started going back to the churches that invited them. Such churches had been influenced by the Great Awakening and emphasized evangelism in a way that the Episcopal Church did not.\textsuperscript{19} The Episcopal Church was one of the slower churches in reacting to this second awakening and it was Hobart who is credited with leading the church out of the stupor that it had been in since the Revolutionary War.\textsuperscript{20} Under Hobart’s direction, New York doubled the size of the church in his diocese.\textsuperscript{21} Additionally, the consecration of Hobart signaled a major shift in the type of person that was chosen to be a bishop. Hobart was an able administrator, even though his diocese covered the entire state of New York, some 45,000 square miles.\textsuperscript{22} Hobart was an eloquent speaker and writer, as well as being quite opinionated.\textsuperscript{23} Hobart effectively became the template for the ideal bishop of the

\textsuperscript{17} Finke and Stark, 55-56.

\textsuperscript{18} Holmes, 61.

\textsuperscript{19} Prichard, 120.

\textsuperscript{20} Hein and Shattuck, 63-4.

\textsuperscript{21} Holmes, 61.

\textsuperscript{22} Holmes, 61.
nineteenth century, as is evidenced by those called to be bishop such as Jackson Kemper and John Talbot in the decades after Hobart was elected. As the bishop of New York, Hobart also ensured that his diocese was a bastion of the High Church in perpetuity. Consequently, 50 years later, it was small wonder that a rector from a High Church parish in Hobart’s old jurisdiction was elected to a new bishopric in the far west. This rector was Daniel Tuttle. Tuttle owed his appointment, in part, to the politics of the High and Low church. However, the position would not even have been available if not for the Domestic Mission society.

Some of Henry Hobart’s most worthy contemporaries worked in a new area of the church, called the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society (DFMS). This society had been formed in 1821 at the behest of the General Convention of the church.24 Up until 1821 the policy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in regard to missionary work and evangelization had been all but nonexistent. Episcopal religious communities could get a bishop if they could get enough members together to prove the need, which was difficult without a priest.25 When the DFMS was formed, a tacit agreement was also made between the high and low church parties about jurisdiction. Under the agreement, the low church was to contribute priests and bishops to the foreign missions, while the high parties had purview over the domestic missions.26 In the first decades after its formation,
the Domestic Mission was behind, compared to other denominations. When it was created, Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri, Michigan, and Arkansas had a combined half a million people between them, but only two Episcopal clergy.\textsuperscript{27} The Methodist Church in 1850 had 34.2\% of the religious adherents in the United States, and the Baptists had 20.5\%, but the Episcopal Church had only 3.5\% of the U.S. population attending its services. Less than a century previous, in 1776, the church was drawing in 15.7\% of religious adherents.\textsuperscript{28} This reversal in percentages was in large part due to the explosive expansion of the American frontier, and the Episcopal Church's absence in that expansion.

Jackson Kemper was consecrated the first missionary bishop of the Domestic mission on September 25, 1835.\textsuperscript{29} Kemper was consecrated as the bishop of an area that is now Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska.\textsuperscript{30} One of the consecrating bishops, George Washington Doane, gave the new bishop his marching orders in his sermon. Doane spoke of the scriptural responsibility that Kemper was taking on, not just as a bishop, but especially as the bishop of an area where there were

\begin{flushleft}
\textit{Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America} (New York: Department of Missions, 1921), 143
\end{flushleft}

\textsuperscript{27} Holmes, 64.

\textsuperscript{28} Fink and Stark, 55


\textsuperscript{30} Holmes, 65.
few of the faithful. He stated that Kemper was to lead first by example.\textsuperscript{31} The Episcopal Church was lagging behind other denominations by almost thirty years in sending missionaries out and there was a great deal of ground to cover. Kemper had been a student of John Henry Hobart and he brought a strong Anglo-Catholic sense to his work in the missions.\textsuperscript{32} On a return trip to the east coast to raise funds and awareness, Kemper spoke about the qualities needed to be a missionary so effectively that he inspired some of the young priests listening to go to Wisconsin and start a Seminary.\textsuperscript{33} Obviously, Kemper was carrying on in the tradition of the strong bishop which he had inherited from Bishop Hobart.

Other missionary bishops soon followed Kemper into the west, and each of them also faced the challenges of a massive landscape. In 1838, Leonidas Polk was elected the bishop of Arkansas, but at the time the Diocese of Arkansas extended for the entire length of what is the Southwest.\textsuperscript{34} Bishop John C. Talbot was known as the "bishop of all outdoors."\textsuperscript{35} Talbot was consecrated in 1860 as bishop of the Northwest, which covered a million square miles from North Dakota to the west, and from the southern edge of Utah to the border with Canada.\textsuperscript{36} These are just some examples of the immense range that

\textsuperscript{31} Armentrout & Boak, 109

\textsuperscript{32} Hein and Shattuck Jr., 237.

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{34} Tuttle, 23.

\textsuperscript{35} Holmes, 65.

\textsuperscript{36} Holmes, 65.
missionary bishops were asked to cover between 1835 and 1919 when the Domestic Missionary Society was disbanded.\textsuperscript{37}

In October of 1866, The General Convention of the national church made the decision to split Talbot's diocese.\textsuperscript{38} The Convention, which was heavily influenced by the bishop of New York, elected a young man serving a church in Ostego County, New York, to serve the new diocese of Montana, which, at the time, also included the Idaho and Utah territories. Tuttle had been a protégé of the bishop of New York, Horatio Potter, who had been another of the myriad disciples of John Henry Hobart. Tuttle knew the history of the High Church Party. It is interesting then that Tuttle, in his autobiography, does not pay attention to the division within the church, and has no problem talking openly in favor of issues that, at the time, would not have been agreeable to his High Church compatriots. To understand Tuttle, therefore, one must be familiar with the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the century leading up to his election as bishop. However, we must also keep in mind that Tuttle was shaped by his experiences in Montana as well as by the events within The Episcopal Church.

\textsuperscript{37} Emery, 326.

\textsuperscript{38} Tuttle, 22.
CHAPTER TWO
MONTANA BEFORE TUTTLE

The newly consecrated Bishop Daniel Tuttle set out on 23 May 1867, leaving behind everything that he knew and, as he later put it, “launching out into the unknown in more ways than one.” Tuttle had never been farther into the west than Niagara Falls, and yet here he was, traveling to Montana. On the way, Tuttle would visit other parts of his jurisdiction, such as Salt Lake City, but Montana was his main aim on for the greater part of his ministry. In light of Tuttle’s focus, particular attention must be paid to the history of Montana, temporal as well as spiritual, up to and during the time that Tuttle served as Montana’s missionary bishop, must be considered.

The first white records of the exploration of Montana were made not by the Lewis and Clark expedition, but by the Hudson Bay Company (HBC). HBC was responsible for the first settlements in what would become Montana. HBC had moved across the southwest border of Canada and establish trading posts, known as houses, on the Columbia, Kootenai and Clark Fork rivers by 1807. The fur trade boomed in the first half of the nineteenth century, as it was tied to the popularity of beaver hats, which were in high demand. This high demand increased the amount of people willing to travel into Montana. By the 1820’s, famous mountain men such as Hugh Glass, Jim Bridger and

---

1 Tuttle, 61.

Jedediah Smith were making runs into the Northern Rockies despite the presence of the native tribes, known as the Blackfeet, who were extremely protective of their space.³

During this time, there was little in the way of western European religion to be had in what would become Montana. The native people had their own beliefs, but with the introduction of Europeans, missionaries also came into the area. The Roman Catholic church sent missionary priests to attempt to convert the native population, the most famous being Pierre-Jean DeSmet. DeSmet was a Jesuit priest sent by the Roman church in response to repeated requests by the Salish Nation. The Salish had sent four different delegations to St. Louis between 1831 and 1839.⁴ DeSmet made his first venture to the Salish in 1840 and came back to St. Louis very excited. In 1841 DeSmet and four other Jesuits traveled to Montana and established the Mission of St. Mary in the Bitterroot Valley.⁵ DeSmet was also a tenacious fund raiser. DeSmet wrote almost constantly to plead for funds, not only to the eastern United States, but also to Europe in general and Rome in particular.⁶ DeSmet is the model that all missionaries in Montana would be compared to. His enclaves were home to many firsts in the history of Montana. Blacksmith shops, saw mills, even art studios all were part of the legacy of DeSmet.⁷

Whether it was on purpose or by accident, Tuttle would take on many of the same

³ Malone et al., 50,51.


⁵ Schoenburg, 52.

⁶ Schoenburg, 51-60.

⁷ Schoenburg, 52.
characteristics that DeSmet himself possessed. These characteristics would not win Tuttle many native converts, but they would help build a lasting diocese in the far outpost of Montana.

Gradually, through the 1840’s and 50’s the fur trade began to decay as the market for beaver top hats was replaced by hats made of silk. As the focus of the fur companies moved east, toward the buffalo, gold was discovered in Montana. The first recorded discover of gold occurred in 1858, east of what is now Drummond. The Montana gold rush, if it can be called that, did not occur until 1862, as the rush to California, Nevada and Colorado were beginning to cool down. Montana happened to be on the most convenient route to Idaho and prospectors discovered placer gold deposits, first on Grasshopper Gulch in 1862, then in Alder Gulch in 1863. Such significant placer deposits created boom towns such as Bannock City, Nevada City, Virginia City, Fairweather, and Highland. Alder Gulch, the site of no less than seven settlements containing ten thousand people, would become one of the most famous mining boom camps in the American west.

Such boomtowns had a particular flavor that did not always sit well with everyone who lived in them. In the winter of 1862-3, Emily Meredith and her husband found themselves stuck in Bannack City for the winter. In a letter written to her father in April of 1863 she had some interesting things to say about Montana’s first boomtown.

---

8 Malone et al., 57

9 Malone et al., 65.

10 Malone et al., 67.
It is difficult to know just how to write home about this country. A list of the prices of things here would make most persons in the states suppose there must necessarily be suffering; if we say that people pay $25. per 100lb. for flour as easily as $1.50 at home the general pinion would be that money must be quite plenty & people getting rich fast. Neither opinion would be quite correct. . . . Mining does very well for those who have claims but if I had one or two thousand dollars spare cash I should not like to put it in the ground for fear it might prove as you say “a permanent investment.” I never would advise anyone to come to a new mining country because there is a great deal to risk & a great deal to endure, nevertheless many persons undoubtedly will come here this summer & make more than they could in years at home. And they ought to, a person ought to make money pretty fast here to pay them fro living in such a place.

I should like to see a pagoda or a mosque or anything to indicate that there is a religious principle in man. If “labor is worship” this is a most worshipful community, but of any other kind of worship there is no public manifestation whatever. I verily believe two thirds of the people here are infidel and ‘Secesh.’

Mrs. Meredith also spoke of the violence and danger of Bannack City, where, she said, bullets whizzed around the towns streets and the only reason most people weren’t killed was because drunken people had very poor aim.

The impression that Bannack City left on Mrs. Meredith was accurate to be sure, but it would be unfair to leave the reader with only that impression of the boomtowns of Montana. In the winter of 1867-68, acting companies from Denver regularly performed melodramas, farces, and Shakespeare both in Virginia City and the newer mining town of Helena, which had been established in 1864. Organizations such as the Masons flourished in the mining communities, adding many of the more educated members of the community to their ranks. These organizations also served as burial parties in the absence

---


12 Malone et. al., 67, 89.
of organized religion. Reading rooms and library societies also enjoyed widespread support, and what books and magazines existed were passed around until they became tattered beyond recognition.

Mrs. Meredith’s final complaint about the lawlessness of the mining communities was prophetic. In late 1863, after the capture, trial, and hanging of a murder suspect, representatives from Bannack, Nevada, and Virginia Cities met to form a vigilance committee. This action might seem understandable given the circumstances. Some reports claimed that the sheriff of Bannack City at the time, Henry Plummer, was a vicious outlaw who was wanted in California, Nevada, and Idaho. Whether this is true has never been definitively proven. Never the less, cases of road agents were rampant in around the mining communities. It was one of these road agents that had been caught and hanged for murder and the continued threat of the “Plummer Gang” (as people called the road agents) that spurred those who cried for a vigilance society’s formation. After the committee was formed, the resistance of the “Plummer Gang” was short lived. In the first month of 1864, the vigilantes caught and hanged 24 men, including Henry Plummer. Such mob behavior often went far in excess of what would be termed law and order. Against one man whose connection to the Plummer gang was tenuous at best, the vigilantes blasted the man’s cabin with a howitzer, hung the man, riddled the corpse with bullet holes, and then threw the corpse on the ruins of the cabin and torched both the

13 Malone et al., 89.
14 Malone et al., 89.
15 Malone et al., 80.
body and cabin. In December the arrival of Montana’s first territorial court and judge, Hezekiah L. Hosmer, should have signaled to the vigilance committee members that they were no longer needed. Judge Hosmer appealed to the vigilantes to recognize the court and what it stood for. Most people heard Judge Hosmer, but a few continuing incidents in which innocent people were hanged raised the ire of the people to the point where a notice was posted in local newspapers that mining communities would retaliate five-to-one for any further vigilante hangings. Vigilantism quickly faded into the mists of folklore once it was deemed a menace.

Religion was not as far from these mining camps as Mrs. Meredith had supposed. By the fall of 1863, Fr. Joseph Giorda had established a chapel in Virginia City. At the same time the vigilantes were hanging Henry Plummer and his gang, a Methodist minister stopped in Bannack City and gave a few sermons. He was followed by “Hell” Thompson who remained in Bannack for a year, earning his nickname from both his theology and his willingness to venture into the gulches and main streets of the mining communities. By June of 1864, The Presbyterians had established a church in Bannack, with a preacher named George Gratham Smith. Smith had many interesting ordeals in Montana territory. On a trip to Virginia City to preach, Smith’s sermon had to compete

16 Malone et al., 82.

17 Malone et al., 82.

18 Malone et al., 89-90.


20 Small, 81.
with a brass band that was playing in a saloon next door.\textsuperscript{21} Other preachers of different denominations passed through the mining communities, including Baptists of every shade, more Methodists, Congregationalists, and on. The first Protestant church erected in the territory was raised by the Methodist minister, A.M. Hughes. The church building, measuring 24'x35', was made of split logs, and had a pole and dirt roof that seeped muddy water in heavy rain or snow melt.\textsuperscript{22} Many of the preachers would split their time as mining camps dwindled, still holding services in places like Alder Gulch and Bannack, but also traveling to newer digs, such as Helena, in the hope that the same miners would benefit from hearing their preaching more than once or twice.

The Foreign and Domestic Missionary Board had placed Montana under the jurisdiction of Bishop Joseph C. Talbot in 1860.\textsuperscript{23} Talbot’s official title was Missionary bishop of the Northwest, an amorphous title that gave him jurisdiction over more than one million square miles. Talbot often called himself the bishop of all outdoors, and he was only half-joking. The possibility of Talbot reaching the remote and infantile boomtowns of Montana was nil. It was not until the election of Daniel Tuttle that Montana was given any real attention by the Episcopal Church.

It was into a remote territory that the Episcopal Church sent the thirty-year-old Daniel Sylvester Tuttle. Unlike some of his contemporaries who had come to Montana hoping that the dry air would clear up nagging medical conditions, Tuttle was sent to Montana specifically because he was hale and hardy, being barely 30 when he set out

\textsuperscript{21} Small, 85.

\textsuperscript{22} Small, 95.

\textsuperscript{23} Holmes, 65.
from New York. Tuttle’s experiences in the mining communities of Montana, searching for refinement but boiling over with boisterous, sometimes destructive energy, would refine both Tuttle and the communities, the two mutually polishing each other like two gems.

---

24 Holmes, 65.
Daniel Sylvester Tuttle was the priest at Zion Episcopal Church in Morris, Otsego County, New York in 1866. Tuttle had been at Zion Episcopal since he graduated from General Theological Seminary in 1862.¹ In October 1866, a convention of the national church elected Tuttle the Bishop of Montana, including the territories of Utah and Idaho. According to canon law at the time, however, a person had to be 30 years old to be a bishop. Tuttle tried to point out that he was only 29 years old, and, therefore, canonically ineligible to be consecrated a bishop. He privately felt that he was neither old enough nor worthy enough to bear the responsibility. The House of Bishops put aside his objection by explaining that the canons only mentioned age in terms of consecration, not election. Therefore, they concluded, Tuttle had until his birthday to set his affairs in order and prepare for the consecration.² Tuttle knew that he could not avoid this call to serve the church, but he also knew that his wife, who was very pregnant at the time of his election, could not make initial trip to Tuttle’s new bishopric in the far west. Tuttle reported to New York City on the 1st of May to be consecrated.³ Shortly after his consecration, the new bishop boarded a train, accompanied by three assistants, waved goodbye to his wife and infant son, and set out for Montana.⁴

¹ Tuttle, 1.
² Tuttle, 22.
³ Tuttle, 22.
⁴ Tuttle, 117.
Tuttle’s trip to Montana was long and eventful. He and his comrades left from Albany, making their way through Omaha to North Platte by train. The party then rode a stagecoach to Denver, where they met with Bishop Randall, who had participated in consecrating Tuttle.\(^5\) Tuttle and Randall would remain good friends, corresponding during Tuttle’s first year out west. Tuttle saw Randall, who was quite a bit older than Tuttle, as a mentor and model for his own ministry.\(^6\)

From Denver, Tuttle and his companions took another stagecoach to Salt Lake City. When Tuttle arrived in Salt Lake City on July 3, he had been traveling for almost six weeks. Tuttle observed in his autobiography that there were probably less than 1000 people in all of Utah that were not Mormon, even though Utah was by far the most populace of the territories in his jurisdiction, having a population of 100,000 when Tuttle came there.\(^7\) Tuttle estimated that there were 250 non-Mormons in Salt Lake City when he arrived. The number was small in part because there had been killings over Gentiles owning land and starting any religious community that was not Mormon.\(^8\) Starting a church in Salt Lake, Tuttle concluded, was going to take patience. So he decided to

\(^5\)The manner of consecration of a bishop in the Episcopal Church involves the laying on of hands by other bishops. For more information please see the 1979 Book of Common Prayer, and Frank T. Griswold III and Christopher L. Webber, *Welcome to the Episcopal Church: An Introduction to its History, Faith, and Worship* (New York: Morehouse Publishing, 1999).

\(^6\) Daniel S. Tuttle, Virginia City, MT, to his wife, Morris, NY, 30 July 1867, Special Collection, Montana Historical society, Helena, MT.

\(^7\) Tuttle, 101.

\(^8\) Tuttle, 103-4.
continue on to Montana. The stage ride from Salt Lake to Virginia City, 454 miles, took about a week.  

Upon Tuttle’s arrival in Virginia City, Montana, he found a mining camp full of log cabins and wall tents. Some frame houses had begun to appear, but only two structures, the Masonic Temple and the drug store, were masonry-built.  

Spiritually, the congregation he found was similarly cobbled together. In April, the group had organized itself into a vestry and chosen the name St. Paul’s for the parish. Some of the members of the vestry included Judge Hezekiah Hosmer, and Green Clay Smith the territorial governor. Tuttle and his assistant, Mr. Goddard, traveled up to Helena after two weeks. Helena was the fastest growing town in Montana at the time and Tuttle felt that it would be good to have a priest there all the time. Mr. Goddard stayed in Helena, and Bishop Tuttle went on to Idaho Territory to visit the single active parish in Boise City. After surveying his entire bishopric, Tuttle decided that his winter would be best spent building up the parish in Virginia City, Montana.

Tuttle chose to stay in Montana during the winter because he thought that it would be the place where a church could be most permanently established. In 1867 Montana had only 30,000 people, but, unlike Utah, the vast majority of them were staunch in no specific religion or denomination. The price of his hotel room quickly became an

---

9 Tuttle, 171.


11 Tuttle, 138.

12 Tuttle, 100, 131.
annoyance to him. Tuttle was paying $25 a week for a room that was seven feet by nine feet and did not have a stove for warmth. Such prices seemed exorbitant for Tuttle, who had lived on $1000 a year in New York. Such a sum would not have even paid for the room, much less Tuttle’s other needs. Tuttle believed that the funds he was being provided with could be used better, so he found a cabin that he could get for nothing, and he furnished it himself. He admitted that it probably didn’t save him a great deal of money, but it suited his needs better. The first winter was an experience for the bishop. He extolled the virtues of that winter in particular in his autobiography. “...[M]y experiences were such as to deepen and strengthen principle sand habits, that have been of great value to me in after life.” He had to deal with loneliness, frustration, and a foreign environment in which he wanted to make a difference.

Tuttle’s loneliness was well documented. In writing approximately 125 pages of letters to his wife, Tuttle make that point obvious. Tuttle made it clear that the loneliness was due not only to the alien culture that he found himself in but more importantly to the absence of his family, and that only his sense of duty kept him from quitting his venture. He attempted to disguise his feelings with excuses about missing his wife’s housework. “I was never made for a celibate, and have always needed the care of a

---

13 Tuttle, 104.
14 Tuttle, 170.
15 Tuttle, 170.
16 Tuttle, 168.
17 Tuttle, 170.
woman. Tuttle was more overt at other times, and lamented how he missed his family and wished they were with him among the mountains. On December 4, 1867, Tuttle wrote about his loneliness for his family and how he felt more acutely when he was weary. Sometimes the loneliness threatened to overwhelm Tuttle. In November of 1867 Tuttle wrote candidly to his wife about his desire for his life to be done. "Don't you remember my once telling you how sometimes I wished my life were all over, lived faithfully unto Him, and I laid away to my rest? I said that the temptations and responsibilities in going through life to death seemed so terrible to me that I wished all were over. I sometimes wished all were over. I sometimes find myself thinking the same thoughts and wishing the same wishes now, —that my life were here were all done and well done and I simply at rest." This is not to say that Tuttle was depressed to the point of thinking of suicide, only that he found his work incredibly trying at time, and with good reason.

"Alas! The longer I live here, the worse, the more deeply bad, the more thoroughly soaked in irreligion I find the entire community to be. Looking earthwards, trusting in human agencies, the work of the Church here is the most discouraging that can be conceived." The frustration that Tuttle expressed was due to the lifestyle of many of his parishioners, who were often more liberal in drinking and gambling than Tuttle thought was proper. The predominant culture in Virginia City at the time was not

18 Tuttle, 171.

19 Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, Virginia City, to wife, Morris, New York, Dec. 14, 1867, special collection, Montana Historical Society, Helena, MT.

20 Tuttle, 169.

21 Tuttle, 175.
necessarily centered on the saloon; however, the long freeze of winter did seem to push more miners in that particular direction when their mines could no longer operate. Tuttle’s frustrations about the way that his parishioners spent their time were shared by most religious people in the nineteenth century west. “According to the clerics’ accounts, one of the most serious problems they met among their parishioners was that of alcohol. Drunkenness seemed endemic to the frontier situation, and numerous ministers were forced to confront the situation.” Bishop Tuttle found, at one point, that people who were on his vestry were heavy drinkers, among other things. He recorded his shock and disappointment in a letter to his wife. “I hear of one vestryman as having been in a gambling den all day long yesterday; and of another as drinking desperately. Ah, dear, do you not see and know that if I leaned on, or trusted in, this community, or in my large audiences, or in aught human here, I would now be plunged in the lowest deep of despair? It astounds me to think of and realize the breadth and depth of wickedness and vice in which the community is steeped.” He felt that people of the caliber that he described could not serve on a vestry because they set an example that was less than helpful to the church. On top of this, such members were unstable. Tuttle had to talk one of his vestry members out of killing himself. To his credit, it seems that Tuttle shared his disappointment only with his wife. With others he always acted hopeful and exuberant, even if he did not feel so.

---

22 Malone et al, 87.


24 Tuttle, 184.

25 Szanz, 47.
Tuttle relied on his faith during his first winter in Montana. Faith was one of the primary things that Tuttle would turn to when he felt any kind of emotion, positive or negative. On that December night when Tuttle came home disappointed about the character of his congregants, he reminded himself that he was not in control. “. . . I kneeled down and tearfully asked God to send His Holy Spirit to do His purifying work among this people and to help me in spite of all difficulties to keep humble, trustful, earnest, faithful, patient, persevering and cheerful.”

The credit, Tuttle claimed, was for God alone. “Nothing but God’s Almighty power, with His loving, cheering grace, keeps me patient and courageous, or in fact restrains me from giving up in despair and fleeing Eastward across the mountains, scarcely daring to look behind me, any more than Lot upon the cities of the plain.”

Again in February 1868, Tuttle acknowledged that it was not himself, but God, who would make the church in Montana. “God the Holy Spirit will take care of His own. His Kingdom will come. Magna, ay, maxima est veritas divina et prævalebit. [Great, ay, Greatest is the divine truth and it will prevail.] The Lord be thanked that he appoints us only to sow the seed. He gives the increase. Under Him the seed groweth up, we know not how.”

Much of the aggravation that Tuttle felt was from the question of how, and he reminded himself often that he could not know the answer. This belief nurtured him and allowed Tuttle to see not only the faults that frustrated him by also the penitence and genuine faith that began to grow in his congregations. “These [men] helped to read the

26 Tuttle, 174.
27 Tuttle, 184.
28 Tuttle, 175.
responses vigorously in church worship, and I have little reason to think that they did not read, earnestly desiring forgiveness as poor sinners." This faith also helped Tuttle in enduring the tirades of certain members of his church who thought that such sinners should not be in church, much less leaders. It seems from Tuttle's autobiography that one woman made it a habit to badger him about the sinners who he associated with. "...[she] always belabored me with representations of the scandal of allowing such to be leaders in religion and conductors of the worship of Almighty God. There was nothing for me to do but meekly receive the punishment inflicted." Tuttle continued his cheerful outward demeanor and to pray often for the people whom he met, and it made all the difference. Tuttle acknowledged that the winter he spent in Virginia City was important in many ways:

I knew the excitement of preaching to hundreds massed. I knew the trial, when novelty and enthusiasm were gone, of preaching to ten or twelve. ...It taught me loving forbearance toward wicked people. I did not compromise with their sin, I hope, but so good and kind were the people there to me personally, so true and loyal were they in their respect and helpfulness, that I could not help loving them, and my prayers for them were not perfunctory but heartfelt and warm. ... It gave me a useful lesson of patience under small gains and slow results. ... It bred in me a habit of cheerful bearing up against discouragements, disappointments and overthrows. ... The experience of being outwardly beaten in your best efforts, while cheery faith and vigorous resolution do not falter within, is a discipline for life and conduct of immense value.

So count I my year of cabin life in Virginia City a blessing. It made me tenderer, broader, sturdier, and laid up in my heart a reservoir of sympathy and love.\(^31\)

\(^{29}\) Tuttle, 173.

\(^{30}\) Tuttle, 173.

\(^{31}\) Tuttle, 192-194.
The loving forbearance that Tuttle mentions would help to earn him converts and the small gains would soon get bigger.

Tuttle’s experiences in Virginia City also had a profound effect on the High Church outlook that he had brought with him from New York. The number of Episcopalians in Montana was unremarkable before the bishop arrived. When Tuttle began to have services, people from other denominations often came to his services. As Tuttle was the bishop, the decision about whether or not to give such people communion was up to him. He explained his decision in 1868, responding to Rev. Goddard, who was seeking direction on the same problem. Tuttle emphasized that both men were ordained into the “Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church,” and should look upon their congregations with mercy and compassion. He advocated that Goddard should ignore the letter of the Episcopal rubric of the era. In administering communion, Tuttle said, Goddard should not give open invitation, but should not deny anyone to receive, provided that they were morally and spiritually fit. Tuttle assured Goddard that the peculiar circumstances of his church warranted the bending the rubric. Tuttle asserted that he had never publicly invited other denominations to receive the Blessed Sacrament; however, he had privately told members that they were more than welcome to come forward to receive. Several times in the letter Tuttle asks Goddard to remind people of other denominations that to continue to receive the communion in the Episcopal Church, they should seek to be confirmed in the church. Always following these reminders was a request from Tuttle not to be too harsh toward people, but rather to be earnest and open. 

32 Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, Idaho City, ID, to Rev. Goddard, Virginia City, MT, 18 August 1868, in Tuttle, Reminiscences, 201-204.
Bishop Tuttle remained in many ways a High Churchman throughout his tenure in Montana. He wore his vestments whenever possible and asked his priest to do the same. However, in his letter instructing Mr. Goddard, Tuttle showed that there was a subtle shift taking place in his allegiance to the high church custom. Tuttle showed that he was still affected by the High Church. He spoke about the apostolic church and gave his opinion with the authority of the bishop. However it would seem that by 1868 Tuttle was moving beyond the idea that there was a High Church or a Low Church. His advice to Goddard about ignoring the rubrics of the national church suggest that Tuttle was beginning to view all the people of Montana as his proverbial flock and that he was prepared to feed all of them who “truly and earnestly repent them of their sins, and are in love and charity with their neighbors.” This was indeed further than some of Tuttle’s old colleagues in the High Church would have been prepared to go. In later years Tuttle ascend further from the High Church, inviting his congregations publicly to share the communion of the Episcopal Church. Bishop Tuttle learned that he must put the people he served above the supposition of a faction that had influenced his time back east.

Without such lessons, Bishop Tuttle would not have been able to build the relationships that made him one of the most successful members of the Domestic Mission Society of the Episcopal Church. Tuttle, during his winter in Virginia City, came to understand the character both of Montana and its people. In the fall of 1868, after Tuttle’s yearly tour of the diocese, he traveled back east to attend the convention of the national church. This trip east also provided Tuttle an opportunity to retrieve his family and bring

---

33 Tuttle, 200.

34 Tuttle, 203.
them west. Tuttle and his family spent the winter of 1868-9 in Helena. In 1869 Tuttle decided to make Salt Lake City the cathedral of his diocese and moved his family there. This made sense because, from Salt Lake City, Tuttle could easily make the trek back to the east coast to attend meetings. Tuttle continued to visit the various outposts of his missionary diocese during the summers, but he would never again spend a winter in Montana.
CHAPTER FOUR
MONTANANS AND THE BISHOP

All in all, Bishop Tuttle was able to accomplish a great deal in the 13 years that he was bishop of Montana. He planted permanent churches in Virginia City, Jeffers, Helena, Bozeman, Missoula, Butte, Deer Lodge, and Fort Benton.¹ All of these churches remain active today. During his tenure as bishop, Tuttle often had no more than one or two missionaries in his charge. He was forced to go for months at a time as the only ordained representative of the Episcopal Church in Montana when the few priests that he had would leave his diocese for greener fields back east.² Most importantly Tuttle won the admiration of the people of Montana.

Many stories Bishop Tuttle attest to the admiration that Montanans had for the Bishop. Alexander Toponce, a notable miner, entrepreneur, and contemporary of Bishop Tuttle, told one such story:

I recall one trip I make on the stage from Helena to Salt Lake. There were about ten passengers and among them were two girls from a dance house in the mining camps, as tough as hickory and hard as bull quartz. I was interested from the start in the Bishop’s attitude toward them. He talked to them as if they had been queens in disguise, not a word of preaching, no “holier than thou” talk, just plain everyday American. They had to act the part of perfect ladies, because the Bishop expected them to. When we reached Salt Lake, one of then asked me, “Where is the church where he preaches? I am going to hear him next Sunday, if I have to crawl on my hands and knees to get there.”³


² Small, 15.

³ Alexander Toponce, Reminiscences of Alexander Toponce, (Salt Lake City; privately printed, 1923) 244; quoted in Kenneth L Holmes, “Daniel Sylvester Tuttle in
It is from stories such as this that Tuttle’s effects on Montana can be perceived. There is almost no mention of such stories in the bishop’s autobiography, but many other sources, whether or not they are embellished, show the character of the bishop who had been affected by his denominational background, environment, and experiences in Montana.

The event that made first Daniel Tuttle an almost instant state-wide celebrity was the fire that occurred in Helena on 28 April, 1869, and Tuttle was directly involved in helping suppress that fire. While Tuttle claimed that he had done nothing notable and that the events were highly exaggerated, the story continued to gain a credence, and notoriety. According to accounts, Tuttle went to fight on of the fires in the city of Helena on the afternoon of 28 April, along with most of the town. Tuttle was given the difficult task of roof watching, which entailed sitting on the roof of a building and keeping it wet. As night progressed fewer and fewer members of the town were lending a hand. The next morning only three people were still fighting the fire. One was a gambler, one was a desperado, and one was the bishop. Tuttle dismissed the accounts of his exploits. “These efforts of mine, exaggerated and decorated by the reporter’s imagination, were related in the papers, and at the time of my coming to Missouri were swollen into a sensational article, which recounted how the three heroes at the fire were a noted gambler, a leading tough-gulch miner, and myself.”

the West,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, v23, March 1954, 61.

4 Szanz, 45.

5 Szanz, 45.

6 Tuttle, 218.
Regardless of their veracity print, these acts won Tuttle the admiration of Montanans. The opinions of people around Tuttle are the best ways measure Tuttle's place in the culture. One miner put his praise for Tuttle into these words. "He's full jeweled and eighteen karat fine. He's a better gentleman than Joe Floweree [a local gambler]; he's the biggest and best bishop that ever wore a black gown, and he's the whitest man in these mountains. He's a fire fighter from way back, and whenever he chooses to go on a brimstone raid among the sinners in the gulch, he can do it and I'll back him with my pile." Tuttle does not appear to have gone on such evangelizing raids on the Gulch, however, sentiments such as these bolstered Tuttle's reputation in Helena and the rest of Montana. An Irish laborer whom Tuttle worked alongside in Idaho called into question Tuttle's choice of occupation because he was such a hard worker, something he obviously found surprising.

Whin he come an the jab, Oi tought as he were a tinderfut jist arrove. But whin Oi seen him trow mud wid his shovel, Oi knowed her were an auld hand! Whin Oi were told he were a bishop, Oi trowed up me hands an' says Oi, "What a waste fur to make a bishop out av a foine shovelers loiike that! He could boss a hundred shovelers!" Yez kin git foine preachers iverydayin the wake but foine shovelers is few an' far bechune. It's a great waste av flesh!

The actions that Tuttle took were made from that deep reservoir of faith, caring, and humble work ethic that he developed in his first winter in Virginia City, Montana. They also show that Tuttle was not beholden to some of the High Church principles he might have come to Montana with.

---

7 Szanz, 44.

8 Holmes, 63.
On the frontier, the same people that praised the bishop could be very generous with their often limited material wealth. When preachers on the frontier sent out their collection plates, they never knew what to expect. The plates could come back with anything from greenbacks to gold dust. Missionaries such as Tuttle often became the keeps of social charity in their communities. Many times in Montana, Tuttle was given sums of money to distribute as he saw fit. Tuttle was also able to secure funds to buy a church that had almost been completed but subsequently abandoned. Another time, Tuttle found a disabled man in a cabin without heat and he was able to use the charity of his community to take care of the man. Tuttle seems not to have relied so much on the coffers of the communities back east, unlike many of his Episcopal peers, but rather on the deep pockets of locals. For example, in June of 1880, Tuttle wrote a letter to Samuel Thomas Hauser requesting financial assistance in the construction of a church building in Butte. Hauser had made his fortune financing miners and banking in Helena, Montana, and was very wealthy. The language of the letter shows Hauser had helped

---

9 Szanz, 46.

10 Tuttle, 177.

11 Szanz, 45.

12 Szanz, 44.

13 Tuttle, to Samuel T. Hauser, June 8, 1880, Samuel T. Hauser Collection, Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena, Montana.

the bishop in the past. Tuttle was able to ask a local magnate for money because Hauser trusted Tuttle and knew that he would be able to do good things in the community.

While Tuttle was planting all these changes within his territory, he was also advocating a split of the territory that he was in charge of.\(^{15}\) This was not because he did not care about the people of Montana, but because he felt he was not doing them justice because he had so much ground to cover. Tuttle had asserted for years that Montana should be its own territory with a full time bishop that could be in the churches of Montana full time to continue the work of the Church. In 1880 the Protestant Episcopal Church decided that Tuttle was right. They appointed Leigh Richmond Brewer to take on Montana as a separate missionary diocese.\(^{16}\) In his farewell address, delivered at the consecration of the new bishop of Montana, Tuttle gave Brewer words of encouragement and advice. “Socially we should be upright, good-tempered, cheerful, patient, forbearing, merciful, diligent to our duty—loving. . . . Our mother, the Church, is a Catholic Church. Local narrowness, congregational selfishness are things she does not willingly know of. . . . Stay then, right among your people. Identify yourself through and through with them. With all your vigor as a man, and all the power of your office, seize the growing empire fro Christ.”\(^{17}\) This sermon served as a template for the things that Tuttle had learned of and from the people of Montana.

\(^{15}\) Small, 16.

\(^{16}\) Roberta C. Cheney, *The Episcopal Church in Montana* (Helena, Mont.: Diocese of Montana, 1990), 11.

\(^{17}\) Tuttle, sermon at the consecration of Bishop Brewer, Selected sermons and letters, Daniel Sylvester Tuttle Vertical File, Montana Historical Society, Helena, Mont., 88-89.
After Bishop Brewer took over the newly split diocese of Montana, Tuttle continued as the bishop of Idaho and Utah. During this time, Tuttle was influential in dealing with the Mormon question in Utah. The Mormon question was a debate among denominations about the place that the Mormon church would occupy among them. In 1886 Tuttle was called to be the bishop of Missouri. He accepted the post and moved his family from Salt Lake City to St. Louis, Missouri. Tuttle would remain bishop of Missouri until his death in 1923.¹⁸ Just after the turn of the century, Tuttle, by virtue of his seniority, became the presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church. The office of Presiding Bishop was started shortly after the Episcopal Church was founded in the United States. The presiding bishop was, and is, the primate of the Episcopal Church. Until 1923, the office of the Presiding Bishop was filled by the most senior bishop within the Episcopal Church. Before Tuttle, the office of the Presiding Bishop had begun to have problems. The bishop just previous to Tuttle in the post of Presiding Bishop served only three years, 1899-1902, and he never attended any meetings of the house of Bishops.¹⁹

Tuttle, by contrast, was only sixty-six in 1903 when he became Presiding Bishop. At that time he had been bishop for thirty-six years. He presided over the Episcopal Church during a great upheaval in the church, and in society as a whole. During the first years of his office, the general convention of the Episcopal Church decided that the Presiding Bishop should be an elected office.²⁰ There was a good deal of opposition to

---


¹⁹ Foster, 49.
this idea within the Convention. For several terms the arguments went back and forth.

Bishop Tuttle, usually reserved with opinions, decided to add his own insights at the 1914 Convention. Tuttle said that the direction that the convention was leading the office of Presiding Bishop led to a major shift in the manner in which the Presiding Bishop would be asked to operate. Tuttle saw the post as largely ministerial and did not think that the great deal of executive power that would be given to the Presiding Bishop in this new model would do any good. "Danger lurks along this line of development... The proposed change looks to the introducing of a monarchical plan for our national church which in time take on a Hildebrandian touch and tone."\(^{21}\)

Tuttle’s opinion did not carry the day, but his words of caution were heard and respected when the actual legislation was passed in the convention of 1919. Further, Tuttle was to remain Presiding Bishop until he stepped down or died, which, even though by now he was well in his 80’s, did not seem likely to happen any time soon. Tuttle’s defense of the model of Presiding Bishop seems a part of the experience he had in Montana. In calling the role of Presiding Bishop primarily a ministerial one, Tuttle said that ministry was the most important part of any bishop’s job, and, to Tuttle that was especially true of the Presiding Bishop. It is not hard to see how Tuttle could have developed this view of a bishop’s job in his work in Montana, where the ministering that he did was the most effective part of his job.

\(^{20}\) The General Convention of the Episcopal Church is a triennial meeting of the national church. It is the largest governing body in the world while in session, with a bicameral legislature made up of the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies.

\(^{21}\) The Churchman, 23 August, 1913, 234, in Foster, 59-60.
In 1918 Tuttle returned to Montana in his capacity as Presiding Bishop. Tuttle had outlived his replacement in Montana, Bishop Brewer, and was greeted by the new bishop, Montana’s third, Bishop Faber. Tuttle had consecrated Faber four years earlier. He preached a sermon Sunday September 8 in Butte, Montana, at the same church that he had asked Samuel Hauser to fund the construction of almost forty years previously. He delighted in being able to meet friends that he had not seen since 1880, and also a whole new generation of Montana Episcopalians. Tuttle was a fixture in Montana newspapers well into the second decade of the twentieth century. Montana newspapers cheered his sanctioning of pastimes, such as baseball, on Sundays. Tuttle had learned the fruits of allowing such enjoyments in Montana, where Sunday was a necessarily busy day in the mining camps and such energy could be used for good and for God. As Tuttle’s health began to fail in early 1923 many papers, including *The Anaconda Standard* ran full-page articles on the life and accomplishments of Bishop Tuttle. Their descriptions of Tuttle would have embarrassed him had he read them, but such was Montana’s regard for Tuttle that many people wrote in to the papers giving their own stories. Montana had a profound effect on Tuttle, and he had in turn influenced the Montanans greatly.

---

22 Cheney, 15.

23 *Butte Miner*, Sept 8, 1918, Clipping, Daniel Sylvester Tuttle Vertical File, Montana Historical Society, Helena, Mont.


In 1877, eight thousand people were sitting in Moody and Sankey tabernacle in Boston for a great meeting of Episcopal missionaries. After listening to three speakers the crowd was getting a little restless. Bishop Tuttle strode up to the podium and boomed, “I am a wild man of the west!” With his significant beard and bearing, Tuttle commanded the attention of everyone in the hall. Tuttle’s exclamation at this meeting was not an exaggeration. He was a man of the west. Tuttle had been inaugurated into this brotherhood by a winter that he spent in Virginia City, Montana. With his faith and conviction in God’s divine providence he had come through the experience stronger wiser and more compassionate, bearing tools that he had not possessed previously. These attributes gained him the trust and respect within Montana communities.

Tuttle, wanting to gain converts to the Episcopal Church, and wanting to be accepted by the people of Montana, found that he had a reservoir of kindness, patience, and hard work. Without patience Tuttle could not have traveled thousands of miles in stagecoaches, sometimes eating only one meal in a day. Kindness allowed Tuttle to associate with people others might not have acknowledged. Hard worked showed the people of Montana that Tuttle did not think of himself as anything other than one of them. In doing this Tuttle not only gained converts, he drew out of these people the best parts of their nature. Tuttle’s first winter gave him many tools gifts that he might not have received had he not been shaped by Montana. He would not have learned to put the value

---

1 Dickey, 510.

2 Tuttle, 168.
of people above the factions that had overtaken the Episcopal Church. However, Tuttle also shaped the culture of Montana through his Episcopal identity.

St. Peter’s Cathedral sits overlooking the gulch that Bishop Tuttle had ministered to when he came to Helena. The building is adorned with many brilliantly wrought windows. Among the images of saints and prophets frozen in colored glass, stands an image of Bishop Tuttle, his face smiling and his hand raised in a blessing on the congregation that gathers under his watching eyes in a lasting memorial. In the lower part of the window an image of some homesteaders that Tuttle that would have ministered to balances the elegance of Tuttle’s white and purple robes. It is a poignant reminder of Tuttle’s first winter in Montana and the tradition of the church from which he had come.
SELECTED SOURCES

PRIMARY SOURCES


________, Salt Lake City to Samuel T. Hauser, Helena, MT June 5, 1880, Samuel T. Hauser Collection, Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena, Montana.

________, sermon at the consecration of Bishop Brewer, Selected sermons and letters, Daniel Sylvester Tuttle Vertical File, Montana Historical Society, Helena, Montana.

________, Virginia City, to wife, Morris, New York, 14 December 1867. Special collection 871, Tuttle Letters, Montana Historical Society, Helena, MT.

SECONDARY SOURCES


Emery, Julia C. A Century of Endeavor 1821-1921: A Record of the First Hundred Years of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York: The Episcopal Department of Missions, 1921.


