



Women at the Intersection of Secular and Spiritual Community: The Deaconess Program in Episcopal Bishop Robert Harper Clarkson's Nebraska Diocese

(Article begins on page 2 below.)

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Article Summary: In the 1870s and 1880s, the work of Episcopal deaconesses in Nebraska was reflective of women's growing professional role beyond the home, and their efforts were extensive and unique in diocesan history. Among their responsibilities was the management of a new hospital that would eventually bear the bishop's name.

Cataloging Information:

Names: Mary Ellen Yates Hayden, Robert Harper Clarkson, Meliora McPherson Clarkson, Abram Newkirk Littlejohn, James Mills Woolworth, Elizabeth Stanton Butterfield Woolworth, George Worthington, Eliphalet Nott Potter

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Photographs / Images: looking east on Capitol Avenue from Capitol Hill, 1868-1869; Mary Ellen Hayden; Bishop Robert Harper Clarkson; interior of a building used as Trinity Cathedral before the construction of the existing cathedral structure; St. Philip the Deacon Church and the small frame structure used by the congregation of Trinity Cathedral after the building burned in 1869; Child's Hospital and Home; Meliora McPherson Clarkson; Elizabeth Stanton Butterfield Woolworth; looking southwest along unpaved Capitol Avenue from Eighteenth Street, 1880s; interior of Trinity Cathedral, 1925; Bishop Clarkson Memorial Hospital, c. 1910



Looking east on Capitol Avenue from Capitol Hill (present-day site of Central High School), Omaha, 1868-1869. Trinity Episcopal Cathedral is on the right side of the street, on the block nearest the camera. The church was completed in mid-1868 but destroyed by fire on November 10, 1869. NSHS RG2341-782



WOMEN AT THE INTERSECTION OF SECULAR AND SPIRITUAL COMMUNITY:

The Deaconess Program in Episcopal Bishop Robert Harper Clarkson's Nebraska Diocese

BY JO L. WETHERILT BEHRENS

On a spring evening in April 1873, a large crowd gathered in Trinity Episcopal Cathedral, a small frame building near the southeast corner of Eighteenth Street and Capitol Avenue in Omaha, Nebraska. They had come to witness a most unusual event in city and Episcopal Church history. Mary Ellen Hayden, a widow with four teen-aged children, was going to recite vows by which Bishop Robert Harper Clarkson would set her apart as a deaconess in the Episcopal Diocese of Nebraska.¹ She was one of only a handful of women whose calls to serve Christ in His Church were acknowledged by the institutional Episcopal Church in the late nineteenth century. In Nebraska and on the Great Plains, the pastoral role and responsibility of accepting that call had heretofore been acknowledged only when it was heard by a male. Over the next dozen years in the Diocese



Mary Ellen Hayden, the first woman set apart as deaconess by Bishop Robert Clarkson.
Genealogy.com

of Nebraska, two other deaconesses served in Trinity Cathedral parish. Their work was reflective of women's growing professional role beyond the home, and their efforts were extensive and unique in diocesan history. However, when a new bishop was elected to serve the diocese in 1885, the deaconess program ended abruptly. Over a century passed before the first four women were ordained as permanent deacons on December 8, 1985.²

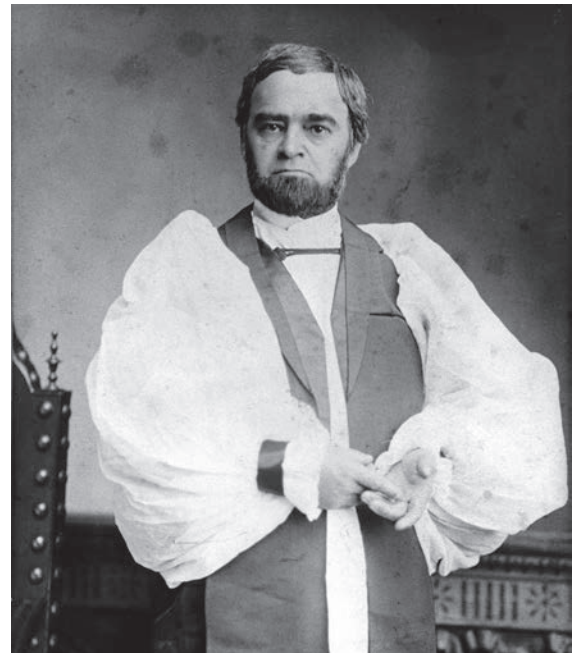
Across America in the late-nineteenth century, women were generally welcomed as participants in secular parish- and community-building activities. Their efforts ranged from the organization of fundraising events, such as pie sales and harvest festivals, to the administration of social reform activities, such as suffrage and temperance rallies. However, some women experienced a *spiritual* call to pastorally minister to the ill and marginalized in their communities. Although by the early 1870s some Episcopal clergymen in the eastern United States acknowledged that women also had spiritual gifts for ministry, the Church offered no avenues through which women could exercise their pastoral skills. While the early church had ordained women to assist with gender-sensitive rituals, women had not had an ordained role in the Church for several hundred years.

However, as women's roles in society expanded in the post-Civil War era, several deaconess programs emerged in eastern dioceses.³ Although distant from his East Coast colleagues, Bishop Clarkson's experiences led him to conclude that women were also called to pastoral ministry. By establishing a deaconess program, he placed Nebraska women at the intersection of secular and spiritual community.

The need for administrative and pastoral help undoubtedly lay at the root of Bishop Clarkson's endorsement of women's expanded ministries. Administrative responsibilities constrained his time for the pastoral duties which were the focus of his ministry. The diocese had grown rapidly, but its budget—which came from existing small parishes and laity—had not. Funds for salaries of additional staff and missionaries were difficult to obtain.

Other factors influenced Clarkson as well. One was his friendship with Bishop Abram Newkirk Littlejohn of Long Island, New York, a strong proponent of women's pastoral work. And his assistance by women in a multitude of parish activities during his years of ministry convinced the bishop that women possessed many ministerial and administrative skills.

The Episcopal Church was not *protestant* in the common context of the word. Its direct ancestor was the Anglican Church, itself a descendant of Western Catholicism, which had eschewed the Pope and Roman Catholic traditions—thereby identifying itself as *protestant*—while retaining many *catholic* traditions, such as apostolic succession.⁴ Anglicanism arrived in North America with the colonists. During much of the colonial era, the Anglican Church enjoyed the benefits of being the English state religion, but after the American Revolution and creation of the federal Constitution, “church” was legally separated from “state,” requiring Anglicans in America to reframe their ecclesiastical government. The Constitutional Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America convened in October 1789, adopting a constitution and canons, which included rules for election of a Presiding Bishop (the Church's chief administrator). It stressed the continuity of Anglican doctrines, such as apostolic succession, and affirmed use of the traditional *Book of Common Prayer*—but one that omitted references to the monarchy. Buildings, land, and salaries had to come from the congregations themselves. The church would thereafter be governed by a group of clergy and laity who would meet in a General Convention every three years.⁵



Bishop Robert Harper Clarkson of the Episcopal Diocese of Nebraska. NSHS RG2411-978b



This photo by Edric Eaton shows the interior of one of the buildings used as Trinity Cathedral before construction of the existing cathedral building. Eaton operated his studio in Omaha from 1866 to 1869. The church had been decorated for one of the congregation's fairs, several of which were staged for parishioner enjoyment and as fundraisers. This photo may have been taken for the fair held in May of 1866. The large chair in the left rear corner is the "bishop's chair," or cathedra, placed in the church used by the bishop of the diocese. NSHS RG2341-944

Through the 1820s, Protestant Episcopal services were unadorned, emphasizing preaching by ministers; even hymnody was avoided. In the 1830s, the Oxford Movement—so called because it began in Oxford, England—reintroduced traditional ritualistic elements into Anglican and Episcopal liturgy. Not all Episcopalians approved these changes or the simultaneous addition of Chancel decor and music, but the Oxford Movement returned dignity and beauty to Church ritual which, when coupled with the rationality of Episcopal Church theological doctrine, attracted an educated and prosperous membership.⁶ Consequently, the wives and daughters of many Church members, who had greater amounts of free

time for charitable work, stepped outside their accepted domestic roles and moved into the public sphere.

Historian Paula Baker has written extensively about middle-class women's nineteenth century roles in American culture. Early in that century, reduced property restrictions for voting permitted more men to participate in democracy. At the same time, women used their acknowledged vocation as mothers to push for female education and to gain greater clout in the political process as protectors of the common good, greatly expanding the female sphere in civic community—even without the vote. In this manner, women began to shape "politics," which Baker defines as "any action . . . taken to



After Trinity Cathedral burned in 1869, the congregation built the small frame structure shown in the background of this photo. In 1882 it was moved to Nineteenth Street between Burt and Cuming, where it was used as the mission church for Omaha's black population. When the new St. Philip the Deacon Church (shown here) was completed in 1893, the old building remained as a sort of "parish house." Omaha Public Library

affect the course . . . of government or community."

After the Civil War, rapidly growing cities offered opportunities for women's groups to undertake some of the community nurturing activities—such as public relief and nursing—for which city governments lacked resources. A woman's traditionally defined role was in the home where her "purity, meekness, and piousness" assured a virtuous, tranquil household. As the century moved forward, so too did women's inroads into the more politicized culture created by swelling populations in cities and rural areas. The definition of "home" expanded from that of a dwelling with four walls to one that included the community that housed the dwelling *and* all facets of the "domestic economy." Noted Baker, "Many nineteenth century women found this vision of the home congenial: it encouraged a sense of community and responsibility toward all women, and it furnished a basis for political action."⁷

It was into this increasingly politicized environment that some Episcopal women exercised their pastoral skills through a small number of sisterhoods organized after the Civil War. In America, sisterhoods functioned in secular society by assisting in all types of charitable work. Members served as nurses, as teachers, and as

caregivers for orphans and the indigent; they cared for prostitutes, battered wives, and drunken women. As in the Roman Catholic model, the women were not paid. Their daily routines were organized around an ordered prayer life, although the Episcopal groups generally did not require irrevocable vows. However, as in the Roman model, the orders offered women education, work in unique places they could otherwise not go, as well as shelter and sustenance common to the traditional monastic lifestyle. The sisters' humanitarian work required administrative and technical skills, demonstrating that church work could be a career path for women.⁸

Few Episcopalians became nuns, however, perhaps because the first orders created imposed many restrictions on participants' activities. Nuns remained effectively powerless under paternalistic clergy, most of whom viewed their efforts as jobs of low status, despite the professional quality of their work.⁹ Many priests saw the women's purity and piousness as disqualifying attributes for public life. This view, however, was anathema to many American women, especially to independent females who lived in the more civic culture of the mid-nineteenth century. The emerging role of deaconess would connect the secular and sacred

communities in which women functioned, while allowing them to demonstrate their increasing competence and independence.¹⁰

Efforts to spread the Gospel into the West eventually opened the door for female pastoral participation, but the Episcopal Church hierarchy first sought to help existing clergy meet the needs of the Church's expanding membership. A second challenge was raising funds for building costs and salaries for missionaries in regions where there were no congregations. The 1835 General Convention remedied both issues by creating missionary districts with flexible borders in the newly opened, sparsely populated regions of the West. Each missionary district would be administered by a missionary bishop elected by the General Convention. The collective budget for all aspects of mission—domestic and foreign—would come from the Board of Missions, which would gather donations from the entire Episcopal Church membership. Missionaries would work in the districts to gather new souls and create new congregations.¹¹

The 1835 Triennial created two missionary districts to cover the vast area west of the Mississippi River that had been opened to settlement.¹² As new territories opened, missionary district borders were redrawn in 1859 and again after the Civil War. The 1865 General Convention created seven districts for mission work; one of them included Nebraska Territory and would be headed by the "Missionary Bishop of Nebraska and parts adjacent, with jurisdiction in Nebraska and Dakotah." Elected to the position was the rector of St. James' Episcopal Church in Chicago, Rev. Robert Harper Clarkson.¹³

Bishop Clarkson came from a long line of Episcopalians; his grandfather, Rev. Joseph Clarkson, served as rector of St. James' Church in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. After completing his education at Pennsylvania College, Nebraska's future bishop tutored at what was then St. James' College in Hagerstown, Maryland. His education came during the era of liturgical changes, undoubtedly influencing his theological views.¹⁴ After completing his studies, Bishop Clarkson went to Chicago in 1849 to serve as rector of St. James' Episcopal Church on the city's still-undeveloped Near North Side. The population of the Near North Side, and that of St. James' congregation, included some of Chicago's wealthiest philanthropists. One was Walter L. Newberry, the Chicago entrepreneur who left his

fortune for use as a library. Others were William B. Ogden, who helped to develop Chicago's civic infrastructure, and Isaac N. Arnold, a railroad promoter and friend of Abraham Lincoln. These men's philanthropy included civic responsibility; some of them served as Chicago aldermen, some as state legislators.

The notion of civic responsibility extended to the women of St. James', who undertook numerous charitable activities. After a cholera epidemic ended in 1852, the upper-middle-class women of the parish organized the Chicago Orphan Asylum. In 1854, Clarkson and his wife, Meliora, founded St. James Hospital, possibly the only free hospital in the city at that time. Other endeavors initiated by the women included a soup kitchen, a sewing school, and a Sunday School.¹⁵ By the time the Clarksons departed Chicago for the Great Plains, he had worked for fifteen years with women whose efforts in a variety of voluntary organizations had been hugely successful. The Clarksons' experiences in Chicago framed the bishop's approach to social welfare needs in Nebraska, and the network of wealthy laity with whom the couple developed close personal friendships became a source of financial support for Clarkson's work in the Nebraska diocese.

The newly consecrated Bishop Clarkson made his first visit to Nebraska Territory in December 1865, at the cusp of the region's dramatic growth following the Civil War.¹⁶ As construction of the transcontinental railroad pushed westward from Omaha, tent cities of laborers sprang to life. Eager to convert the camps into viable communities, the railroad made available lots for the construction of church buildings by multiple denominations.¹⁷ By the railway's completion in 1869, the state had quadrupled its pre-war population. At Annual Council that year, Bishop Clarkson reported sixteen parishes (most with buildings), twenty missions, and twenty-one clergymen to serve over 700 communicants in the eastern part of the state.¹⁸

In addition to their pastoral responsibilities, the clergy—especially bishops—were fundraisers for their new congregational buildings, missionary salaries, and schools for their often-illiterate, immigrant, (potential) parishioners. At the second Annual Council, Bishop Clarkson asked, "Are there not ten wealthy eastern congregations, who have not heretofore given a dollar to Nebraska, that will adopt these growing western towns . . . and plant in them Churches, called by their own name, that shall be a standing testimony of their faith and missionary zeal."¹⁹ The bishop's network

of wealthy friends in the East responded. St. James' in Fremont was established with funds from his former Chicago congregation; St. John's in Nemaha was built with donations from the congregation of St. John's in Waterbury, Connecticut. St. Mark's in Omaha was built using funds donated by St. Mark's in Philadelphia.²⁰

The majority of clergymen in the West also served multiple missions in several towns. Travel was often arduous and dangerous. In 1869, Bishop Clarkson noted that his missionaries "served five to six stations."²¹ At the 1870 Annual Council, he bemoaned "the inadequacy of the Missionary force," noting that although the state's population then exceeded 100,000, his available mission funds totaled only \$2,100.²² A year later he commented in his address that he could not say to his clergy, "You must 'go here', or 'go there', and preach the Gospel and establish the Church, even

though you starve."²³ The burgeoning demand for clergy services created opportunities for women to serve in pastoral roles, not solely as parish community builders.

The notion of female leadership

in church life was problematic to many people, but in 1871 the Episcopal Church moved ahead with two initiatives expanding opportunities for women. That year the General Convention established the Women's Auxiliary as a civic, professional, and promotional tool for growing parish and secular community, and for raising funds to be used by the Foreign and Domestic Missionary Society. And while sisterhoods had not gained broad acceptance as a vehicle for women's ministries, a Board of Missions report encouraged the Church to offer unequivocal advocacy for women's ministries. The document, which stemmed from a directive issued in 1869 by the Board of Missions, acknowledged that rejecting the pastoral capabilities of women "maimed [the Church] in one of her hands." The report encouraged creation of an official method for incorporating women into Church missionary and educational work, and created the Joint Committee on Reviving the Primitive Order of Deaconesses to establish a theological framework for the handful of small deaconess organizations that had been established by Episcopal clergy in several Eastern dioceses.²⁴

The service of a deaconess was similar across all protestant denominations, but the Episcopal Church found it more difficult to acknowledge women's ministerial role due to the doctrine of apostolic succession. Under this doctrine, deacons constitute the lowest degree of Holy Orders. Through ordination, a deacon is called to "represent Christ and his Church, particularly as a servant of those in need; and to assist bishops and priest in the proclamation of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments."²⁵

Until the late twentieth century, the Sacrament of Holy Orders was open only to males in the Episcopal Church, although a model for elevating women to the role of deaconess had originated in the early church. In the Byzantine East, females, including married women, had been *ordained* as deacons before the sixth century A.D.²⁶ The cultural separation of males from females that restricted women's presence in the Sanctuary also permitted ordination of women as deacons to serve female pastoral needs, such as pastoral visitations of ill and secluded women. Adult baptism involved the total immersion of a naked body, thus requiring

The Child's Hospital and Home, as it was then known. This predecessor of Clarkson Hospital stood at 1716 Dodge Street, and was dedicated December 13, 1883. Durham Museum, Omaha



a same-sex officiant.²⁷ When infant baptism became the norm, the demand for ordained female deacons waned.

When the role of deaconess was reintroduced in late nineteenth century, the candidate was *set apart*, not *ordained*. A deaconess promised to serve humanity, but without any vow to remain with an order of servants. She assisted the sick, the poor, and the marginalized, but had no liturgical function. Nonetheless, the increasing parish pastoral demands which had, in part, prompted establishment of the deaconess role, while unacceptable to some male clergy, provided further evidence that the increasingly professional nature of women's civic roles had crept into those of parish ministry as well.²⁸

While the first Episcopal deaconess program in the United States was established in Maryland in 1853, only two others followed before that of Nebraska in 1873. One of these was established in 1872 on Long Island, New York, by Bishop Abram Newkirk Littlejohn, a longtime advocate of women's increased pastoral roles in the church and an appointee to the 1871 General Convention's Joint Committee on Reviving the Primitive Order of Deaconesses.²⁹ Significantly for the Diocese of Nebraska, Littlejohn was a longtime friend of Bishop Clarkson. It is unclear when the two men became acquainted, but after Clarkson's death in March 1884, Littlejohn referred to him as "my intimate friend for more than thirty years. . . . There were many points of contact in our lives of which the outside world knew nothing, but which endeared him to me and mine more than I am able to express."³⁰

Like Clarkson, Littlejohn had long lamented the shortage of ordained clergy. Years before his consecration, Rev. Littlejohn addressed the issue in a May 1861 sermon at Christ Church in Brooklyn, New York, calling for more men to seek Holy Orders so that the Church would be able to hold "the ground already occupied. She must have more Clergy, or do less work."³¹ The Diocese of Long Island had been organized in late 1868. At its first convention in November that year (at which Bishop Clarkson was officially seated and read the Litany in the opening rites), the sermon was delivered by another proponent of women's ministries, Rt. Rev. Horatio Potter, Bishop of New York.³² In 1865, Bishop Potter had cautiously initiated his support for the newly created Sisterhood of St. Mary, the first such order created in the mid-nineteenth century Episcopal Church. But even before he

bemoaned the shortage of clergy at the third annual convention in 1870, Bishop Littlejohn explained that "Female ministrations have proved in the highest degree acceptable in this field" of Long Island's Mission of Public Institutions.³³

At the fourth convention of the Long Island Diocese in May 1871, Littlejohn explained that the subject of women in ministry "has been so near my heart, and has been. . . often remembered in my prayers since the beginning of my Episcopate." He gave a brief overview of the topics of women's ministries that had appeared on General Convention agendas since the 1850s, explaining that the bishops at the 1856 convention had called "attention here to the wasted or misdirected energies of the women of the Church." He went on to say that "the time has come when every parish should have its female Diaconate, and every Diocese should have its Sisterhoods and Orders of women."³⁴ By the time of the fifth convention in May 1872, Bishop Littlejohn had set apart seven women deaconesses, and created a short ritual for use at their meetings. "It can no longer be doubted by any competent observer of the drift of the hour, in this matter of organizing the services of godly women, that we are on the eve of great and salutary changes in our current methods of Christian work."³⁵

Bishop Littlejohn made numerous trips to Nebraska. In August and September 1867, while he was still rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn, New York, he joined a group of fifteen of Bishop Clarkson's former Chicago parishioners who traveled for nearly three weeks with both clergymen, visiting parishes and missions within a region that extended from the area south and east of Nebraska City, north through Columbus and back to Fremont. Littlejohn had family connections in Omaha as well as personal friendships. Shortly after the tour group returned to Omaha, the bishop baptized his nephew, William Henry Crary, at Trinity Cathedral. Littlejohn's father, John, died in Omaha in January 1868, while on a visit to the Crary home.³⁶

Despite differences between the two dioceses in size and urban resources, the friendship between the two bishops brought the Eastern ideas onto the Great Plains where no Episcopal women were then committed to parish ministry by any pledge.³⁷

Although interest in
deaconesses was growing, the Episcopal Church had no canonical method in place for discerning

a candidate's suitability for the role. By 1874 a committee of supportive clergy had begun working to create a canon that would set apart women "of devout character and approved fitness" for sisterhoods and deaconess associations. Introduced at the 1874 General Convention, the canon was not approved. However, with the exception of the 1883 Triennial, the agenda of every General Convention through 1889 included discussion of a precept that would affirm women's calls to ministry. One of the stumbling blocks to the canon's passage was wording that included the concept of *salary* for a woman. Related issues included amounts to be paid, where the deaconess should live, and how a pension fund for her old age care could be established.

In 1889, sixteen years after Nebraska's first deaconess was set apart, Canon 10, delineating rules for deaconesses, finally passed both houses of the General Convention.³⁸ Definitive points included: 1) the deaconess must be unmarried and at least twenty-five years of age; 2) she must be deemed fit for the role by two priests and twelve lay people; and 3) she was under full control of her bishop, who was required to grant her written permission to work in his diocese. The diocesan could also remove or suspend her (following a hearing) if he deemed it prudent to do so.³⁹

During the fifteen years in which the canon was under discussion, only three additional deaconess programs were established in the United States. But formally creating the rules for women's ministries did not ensure that diocesans across the nation would permit them. For some, the roles gave women a too-professional, clerical role, a calling reserved for men. For others, women's religious orders smacked of Roman Catholicism, a denomination disliked by many Episcopalians for the theatrical pageantry of its liturgy and for its goal of winning a *sub rosa* contest to acquire the most new souls among emigrants settling in the West. The competition between the two denominations evidenced itself at the 1871 General Convention in a controversy over the acceptable level of ritual to be used in Episcopal liturgy. Multiple aspects of Roman Catholic liturgy were prohibited in a "Report on Ritual Uniformity." The banned practices included use of incense or a crucifix, genuflections, and use of prayers not included in the *Book of Common Prayer*.⁴⁰

At the next Annual Council of the Diocese of Nebraska in September 1872, Bishop Clarkson condemned Roman Catholic practices but supported expanded women's pastoral roles.

In his annual address, Bishop Clarkson told his clergy that the previous General Convention had "deprecated all . . . Romish peurilities [*sic*] 'with no uncertain sound'." In other words, traditional high church practices were highly acceptable; Roman Catholic additions to tradition, which Bishop Clarkson called "shams and baubles," were not. Additionally Bishop Clarkson applauded the 1871 General Convention's creation of the Women's Auxiliary and the Committee on Primitive Deaconesses, noting that there existed ample need for women to "devote themselves to the Church's work of ministering to the sick, guiding the young, instructing the ignorant, [and] cheering the desolate. . . ." But he added:

My own judgement and preference in this line of church work, would . . . be for an Order of Deaconesses, set apart by our own authority, . . . belonging to the Diocese and responsible to its laws and rules, than to an order of sisters belonging to some outside sisterhood, under control of some foreign authority and pledged to some (to us) unknown vow, and perhaps attached to some unusual ritual.⁴¹

Clearly then, during 1871 and 1872 Bishop Clarkson carefully discerned the idea of granting women a greater role in pastoral ministry while simultaneously balancing the need to maintain the Church's catholic apostolic doctrine against its protestant, anti-Roman Catholic, historical values. His immediate motivation was three-fold. The first two reasons (the need for pastoral assistance and the action taken by his friend Bishop Littlejohn) have been discussed. The third was the recent diocesan acquisition of a small, financially-floundering, interdenominational hospital in Omaha.⁴² Now the bishop not only needed administrative and pastoral help at the parish level, but he also needed nursing assistance for the hospital.

The Ladies Hospital, also sometimes referred to as the Good Samaritan Hospital, had been established in January 1869 by the women of Omaha as an ecumenical venture to serve the poor. In June of that year, the women's association had received a twenty-one year lease from the City of Omaha for a small block of land at approximately Twenty-third and Webster streets along the city's western edge. A building with six rooms and twelve beds was constructed on the site; the nursing staff was comprised of the women themselves. Their efforts were applauded by the

attending physician, Dr. Peabody, who visited patients at the facility daily.⁴³

While the women were unpaid volunteers, the building and equipment required a larger budget than was available. An early history of the hospital remarks that “there was never at any time a lack of patients, but very often a very painful lack of means.”⁴⁴ In October 1870, needing \$600 for repairs and upgrades to the equipment, the Ladies Hospital Association asked the Diocese of Nebraska to take control of the hospital. Under Bishop Clarkson, the diocese accepted the resolution drafted by the women of the hospital, who simultaneously elected Bishop Clarkson as a trustee of the facility.⁴⁵

The probable reason for the Ladies Hospital Association to seek oversight by the Diocese of Nebraska resided in the person of Meliora Clarkson. In Chicago, the Clarksons had led the effort to organize a charity hospital, and in Omaha, many of the women involved with the Ladies Hospital were members of the Episcopal Churches.⁴⁶ While the Ladies Hospital was not well-known enough to even appear in the annual city directories, its existence led the Roman Catholics to establish their own medical facility, referred to by Bishop Clarkson as “a large and well organized Hospital . . . established by the Romanists.”⁴⁷

Mercy Hospital, the Catholic facility, had opened in September 1870, six years after the Sisters of Mercy came to Omaha. Seeking financing for a hospital building from local citizens and laborers in nearby railroad tent cities, the sisterhood built the two-story St. Joseph Mercy Hospital at Eleventh and Mason streets.⁴⁸ But just as in their missionary work, the Roman Catholics and the Episcopalians competed for patients, and argued about which facility cared most about the latter’s welfare. In 1871 a Hispanic man was badly frozen when he was inadvertently locked in a boxcar after he “jumped a train.” He died of his injuries, but not before the Roman Catholics and the Episcopalians argued in print about whether he was better off in the Roman Catholic facility (since he was “probably” a Roman Catholic), where the Episcopalians intimated he would have to pay for his care, or in the Ladies Hospital, where the staff was willing to amputate his frozen limbs to save his life.⁴⁹

At the aforementioned 1872 Annual Council, Bishop Clarkson had spoken about an “outside sisterhood” (undoubtedly the Sisters of Mercy), criticized Roman ritualism, and applauded the use of women as deaconesses—all three of which were hotly debated topics among Episcopalians. Because of the Ladies Hospital and its competition



Meliora McPherson Clarkson, the bishop’s wife, was a leader in charitable work. Known for her “keen sense of humor, quick tongue, and kindly spirit,” she co-founded both St. James Hospital in Chicago and what eventually became known as Clarkson Hospital in Omaha, managing the latter until four months before her death in 1902.

Archive of the Diocese of Nebraska

with the larger, better-appointed Catholic hospital, Clarkson now had an even greater need for assistance from trained, professional women, but with no training schools for female pastoral professions in the immediate region, such women were hard to find.

For two years after assuming management of the Ladies Hospital, donations for the institution were collected from the Trinity congregation; subscribing members (a “friends” organization) paid monthly dues of one dollar, and fees were collected from those patients who could pay. The funds were used to acquire additional beds and linens, and to make building repairs.⁵⁰ Despite the improvements, the hospital remained technologically inferior to that of the Roman Catholics. At the October 1873 Annual Council, the Bishop established a committee to determine the best course of action by the diocese toward the hospital.⁵¹ In response, the committee recommended “a Deaconess . . . skilled to some extent in medicine, and possessing experience as a nurse, who should reside in the Hospital, and take full charge of its internal management, under the Bishop.”⁵²

The committee’s statement was significant on two fronts: the first was that the role of deaconess had achieved significance in the view of Nebraska’s



Elizabeth Stanton Butterfield Woolworth, wife of diocesan Chancellor James Mills Woolworth. The Woolworths were close friends of the Clarksons. Elizabeth was active in civic affairs and highly regarded for her continued study of modern science, law, ecclesiastical history, and sacred music. *Omaha Excelsior*, July 7, 1906, 9.

diocesan administration. Secondly, the statement revealed that the committee's male members believed women simultaneously possessed professional administrative and fund-raising skills as well as spiritual gifts, and that a spiritual call to ministry was, in fact, a profession.

It can thus be argued that

the final piece of Bishop Clarkson's support for women's pastoral roles came from the appreciation and respect he had for the women who had assisted him throughout his years of parish ministry. Undoubtedly, some of his support was rooted in the respect he had for the intellect and skills of his wife, Meliora McPherson Clarkson, and the wife of diocesan Chancellor James Mills Woolworth, Elizabeth Stanton Butterfield Woolworth. The Woolworths were close friends of the Clarksons, and both women were active in civic affairs and parish community organization. Meliora McPherson Clarkson, who "talked well and laughed well," was steeped in Southern societal tradition; her ancestors included Samuel Ogle, the English-born first governor of Maryland Colony, and John Buchanan, chief justice of the Maryland Supreme Court. With a "keen sense of humor, quick tongue, and kindly spirit" that made her beloved and highly respected for her hospitality toward clergy and other visitors, Meliora Clarkson was a committed helpmate to the bishop's diocesan work. "Few know how great was her share of the beneficent work of the first Bishop of Nebraska; it was all unseen, but it was none the less real and present," wrote *Omaha Excelsior* editor Clement Chase at the time of her death.⁵³

Meliora Clarkson's community leadership skills were already well-honed when she arrived in Omaha. During the Clarksons' tenure at St. James' Episcopal Church in Chicago, the women of the parish—known affectionately as "Mothers in Israel" for their benevolent activities—had established a soup kitchen, a hospital, raised funds for orphans, and participated in events surrounding the Chicago Northwestern Sanitary Fair which raised money to support sick and wounded Union soldiers during the Civil War.⁵⁴ In Omaha, Mrs. Clarkson established her reputation for leadership in the closely interwoven civic and parish communities. In 1879 she led the Trinity women in organizing the city's first art exhibit, which was also a fundraiser for the construction of the present cathedral. Trinity women contacted the male heads of Omaha's wealthiest families to solicit works from their personal collections to feature in their art show.

The exhibit lasted three weeks, raising over \$1,000 after expenses were paid.⁵⁵ Mrs. Clarkson also served as Nebraska's vice president for the Mount Vernon Association, which cared for the tomb and the home of President George Washington.⁵⁶ And after her husband's death, she became the Episcopal hospital's chief administrator.

If Meliora Clarkson represented the families of Episcopal clergy, Trinity Vestryman James Mills Woolworth and his wife, Elizabeth Stanton Butterfield Woolworth represented the laity. By the 1870s, the couples were good friends; they had gone together to St. James Episcopal Church in Chicago for the marriage of the Woolworths in 1871.⁵⁷ Trained as a lawyer in his native upstate New York, Woolworth arrived in Omaha in the fall of 1856.⁵⁸ Admitted to the Nebraska bar in October 1856, he focused on law regarding public lands in the West. In 1862 he was admitted to the bar of the United States Supreme Court. He was simultaneously committed to his layman's duties as a Vestry member for Trinity Church, serving in that capacity by 1859.⁵⁹ By the time of the first annual council of the Diocese of Nebraska in September 1868, Woolworth was serving as diocesan treasurer. The position of chancellor, legal advisor to and appointed by the diocesan bishop, was taken by Woolworth when the Cathedral System was adopted in 1872.⁶⁰

Elizabeth Stanton Butterfield Woolworth was the Chancellor's second wife.⁶¹ Descended from William Bradford, first governor of the Plymouth Colony, she was born in Homer, New York, to lawyer Moses Bradford Butterfield and his wife; the family emigrated to Racine, Wisconsin, in 1848. She attended Racine College, an Episcopal school.⁶² Elizabeth focused her education on music, the arts, and drama.⁶³ Her older sister, Mary Sophronia Butterfield Chase, came with her husband, lawyer Champion Chase, to Omaha in 1866; Elizabeth Butterfield followed shortly thereafter to become principal at Brownell Hall. She served in that capacity until her marriage to James Mills Woolworth on August 3, 1871.⁶⁴

There is little record of individual women's participation in civic events in the 1870s; even the women who assisted in the hospital as nurses did so anonymously. But as it became acceptable for women to receive public recognition over the next decade, it is evident that Mrs. Woolworth was active in city affairs. She was among the founders of Omaha's Ladies Musical Society, and contributed time and talent to the *World-Herald* Relief Bureau.⁶⁵ In Omaha's social circles, she was highly regarded

for her continued study of modern science, law, ecclesiastical history, and sacred music. In 1886, Bishop George Worthington appointed Elizabeth Woolworth to be the first president of Nebraska's Women's Auxiliary, a position she held until 1893.⁶⁶

Although neither of these intelligent and strong-willed women left a diary, undoubtedly they both exerted many influences upon their spouses, especially with regard to women's professional pastoral roles. In fact, in 1876 when Woolworth was asked directly for his legal views regarding women's voting rights in parish government, he expressed the opinion that women could vote in parish elections if they were contributors to the support of the church and frequently attended.⁶⁷

By April 1873 Bishop Clarkson

was ready to set apart a deaconess. He expressed the hope that, "This will be . . . the beginning of a series of such 'admissions,' until we have Deaconesses sufficient for our church schools; Deaconesses who will assist . . . in the visitation of the sick and poor and friendless of our large parishes; and Deaconesses for the care of hospitals and orphanages."⁶⁸ In retrospect, it appears that he also wanted to set apart a deaconess for the Ladies Hospital, but no qualified candidate had yet come forward. However, he also needed assistance in Trinity parish, and there he had a devout aspirant for service. Thus on the evening of April 25, Bishop Clarkson set apart Sister Mary Hayden as Nebraska's first deaconess.

Born Mary Ellen Yates in St. Mary's County, Maryland, in 1834, Sister Mary was the oldest of eight children in a family that included Henry Whitfield Yates, Omaha banker, member of Trinity parish, and diocesan treasurer. In 1855, Mary Ellen married Bernard Lafayette Alvey Hayden, also of St. Mary's County. The couple had four children, the youngest of whom was born in 1864, shortly before Bernard Hayden's death. The cause and date of his death are unknown.⁶⁹

After the Civil War, Hayden and her young family joined her parents who had emigrated to Omaha from Washington, D.C., in about 1865.⁷⁰ Thus, Mary Ellen Hayden was already a longtime resident of the city when in January 1873 her name first appears as a baptismal witness in the records of Trinity Parish; thereafter she was a frequent witness for baptisms and weddings.⁷¹

In anticipation of the event that would acknowledge women's pastoral roles in the church, the *Omaha Daily Herald* encouraged attendance, noting that "Nothing of the kind has ever occurred

in the church in this part of the country."⁷² On Friday evening, April 25, 1873, St. Mark's Day, "a large and deeply interested concourse of people" crowded into Trinity Cathedral to serve as witnesses to the rite by which Mary Ellen Hayden was *set apart* to serve as a Deaconess.⁷³ Rev. Alexander C. Garrett, Dean of Trinity Cathedral, presented her to Bishop Clarkson, who administered the vows. Sister Mary promised never to:

cease from your labors, care and diligence, until you have done all that in you lieth according to your bounden duty, to lift up the fallen, to instruct the ignorant, to comfort the weary and heavy laden, and bring them that are without into the fold of Christ.⁷⁴

The ceremony had been created in the Diocese of Long Island by Bishop Littlejohn. Bishop Clarkson called it "simple, solemn, and beautifully appropriate." The ritual followed a sermon by Missionary Bishop William Hobart Hare of the Missionary District of the Niobrara, "with all that ferment and touching pathos for which he is remarkable." Clarkson commented that Sister Mary had been "consecrated to a sacred work among the poor, has been laboriously employed under the direction of the Chapter in the Cathedral city," and that "many instances are personally known to us where permanent blessing has followed her foot-steps." She was to receive a "nominal salary, sufficient only for plain attire, with a home." The salary was \$100 per year.⁷⁵

Sister Mary had no official training for her role, although by the early 1870s there were multiple schools and programs in the East that offered training courses for women doing parish church and missionary work. Even so, her work was extensive over the next decade. Each quarter, she filed a comprehensive report that detailed her work. In her first summary on July 25, 1873, she indicated that she made 139 visits, including those at the hospital.⁷⁶ Her early reports were articulate and exhaustive; they offer a glimpse into the underbelly of Omaha not recorded anywhere else in the city's narrative histories. In her report for the January 27, 1874, Chapter Meeting, she described one of her 213 visits, this one to a family "requiring immediate attention":

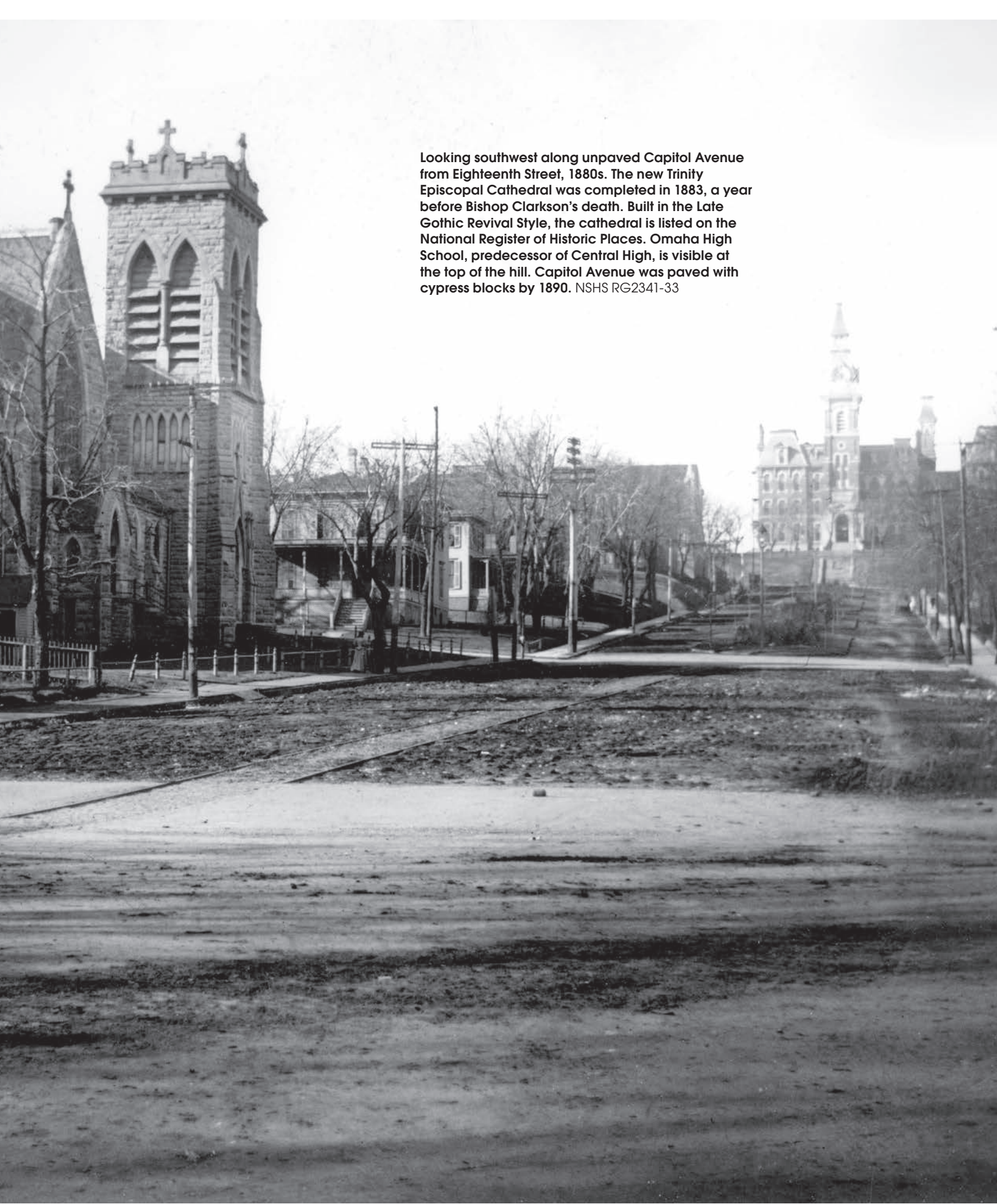
. . . the day was cold, and I felt the necessity of abundant wraps and furs for myself. . . . I found them in a miserable abode, a lowly shell of a room, in which were gathered the parents

with their six children, one a babe seven weeks old—its tender little limbs had no soft flannel to protect them and its breathing was heavy and labored from the gas and smoke and ashes arising from a broken stove over which they hovered. Some of the children had their feet tied in rags, perhaps taken from the heap in the corner that furnished them a bed at night. I cannot describe the misery and poverty and discomforts that pervaded that whole household [*sic*] living here. . . .⁷⁷

During the fourth quarter of her first year of service, the deaconess made 203 visits, making a total of 923 for the year.⁷⁸ As Omaha and the diocese grew, the number of Sister Mary's reports that were published decreased. In fact, in May 1878, *The Church Guardian* reported that it only had room to print the introduction to her "excellent report." However, the chapter acknowledged her "valuable services" on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of her admission as a deaconess.⁷⁹ As the Hospital Committee had suggested in 1874, the bishop searched for another deaconess candidate. He was frustrated by the reluctance of potential candidates to come to Nebraska. Because the hospital was small and lacking funds and personnel, the institution temporarily suspended its operations in 1875.⁸⁰ In 1876, Sister Dora Holbrook, a nurse by training and previously set apart as a deaconess, took over management of the reopened hospital, still at the Webster Street location.⁸¹ Unfortunately, the building burned in 1877, completely destroying the contents as well as the structure; neither was insured. The loss only temporarily terminated diocesan efforts to minister to Omaha's less fortunate population; Sister Dora continued to live in Omaha serving elsewhere as a nurse.⁸² Four years passed before the diocese could establish a successor hospital facility for Omaha's poor and infirm, during which time Sister Mary continued her service to the Cathedral parish.

Late in 1881, a diocesan hospital with only six beds opened as the Child's Hospital in a house situated on lots to the south of the Cathedral along Dodge Street.⁸³ Sister Sarah Mattice, trained at the Bishop (Alonzo) Potter Memorial House in Philadelphia, arrived in Omaha from New York City to serve as hospital administrator, bringing with her a fifty dollar contribution for the institution from Mrs. John Jacob Astor.⁸⁴ Potter Memorial House had been founded in 1867 by William Welsh, Philadelphia philanthropist and leader in the Episcopal Church's missionary work





Looking southwest along unpaved Capitol Avenue from Eighteenth Street, 1880s. The new Trinity Episcopal Cathedral was completed in 1883, a year before Bishop Clarkson's death. Built in the Late Gothic Revival Style, the cathedral is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Omaha High School, predecessor of Central High, is visible at the top of the hill. Capitol Avenue was paved with cypress blocks by 1890. NSHS RG2341-33

with Native Americans. The facility honored the late Bishop Alonzo Potter, Pennsylvania diocesan, for his efforts to promote the work of laywomen as organizers and teachers for a host of mothers' groups, boys' and girls' clubs, industrial classes, and worship services.⁸⁵ Although the arrival of Sister Sarah, fully trained in pastoral ministries, was a significant expansion of Nebraska's deaconess program, the existing facility could not meet the expanding medical needs. Thus the hospital that had opened two years earlier closed in April 1883 and construction began on a new medical building.⁸⁶

The hospital had also been the home of Sister Mary Hayden; it was demolished to make room for the new building. Major funding was contributed by Bishop Clarkson's Chicago and New York friends, and Meliora Clarkson and Elizabeth S. Woolworth made the first contributions of \$500 each. Other moneys came from Omaha residents. Sister Sarah worked on fundraising for the hospital while Sister Mary continued to serve in the parish community. A third deaconess candidate, Mrs. Julia Fuller, arrived in the middle of the year; she worked either with hospital needs or with parishioners.⁸⁷

The hospital was dedicated on December 13, 1883, as a free institution with a clinic for outpatient care. Parents who were too ill to care for their children could bring them to the Child's Hospital until the parents were well enough to care for them at home. However, "no contagious or infectious diseases [were to be] be treated at the hospital." Since many parents initially could not bear to leave their children when they were sick, the hospital also admitted the adults.⁸⁸ In her second annual report, hospital manager Mrs. Clarkson noted two additional aspects of the hospital's mission. One was to serve as a temporary home for destitute children; the second was to serve infirm clergy and their families. Eventually called Clarkson Hospital, the Dodge Street building was demolished in 1932.⁸⁹

While it would appear that the diocese thoroughly accepted women's ministries, in reality their roles were fragile and subject to change. Bishop Robert Harper Clarkson died unexpectedly on March 10, 1884, having never recovered from a cold and tiring train trip to a meeting in Grand Island a month earlier.⁹⁰ The election of a new bishop by Nebraska clergy and laity was exceedingly difficult. Before balloting began at the May 1884 Annual Council, the Standing Committee attached a resolution to their report, which read in part:

Nebraska has grown to be a strong and independent Diocese, with its noble Cathedral, its Hospital, its endowment, its education Institutions, . . . That we cherish his [Clarkson's] grateful remembrance, and will endeavor to undertake, in his name, some further work that would have met his approbation if he were living.⁹¹

The clergy wanted to elect a new bishop who would support their deaconess program, and the resumes of four of the nominees showed that each had served under, or been ordained by, progressive churchmen.⁹² The final nominee was Rev. George Worthington of St John's Episcopal Church in Detroit, Michigan. He had all the important theologically progressive criteria to make him a logical candidate. He certainly favored apostolic tradition, having graduated from Hobart College.⁹³ He had certainly come under the tutelage of theologians who supported women's ministries. He had been ordained by Bishop Horatio Potter of New York, and in his first pastoral position served as an assistant at St. Paul's Church in Troy, New York, which had established a chapter of the Sisterhood of the Holy Child Jesus. Later, at St. John's in Detroit, his pastoral efforts increased the number of communicants by fifty percent. His success led to nominations for the bishoprics of Eastern Michigan and Shanghai, China; he was elected to the latter, but declined the election.⁹⁴

However, there is no evidence that Bishop Worthington supported women's pastoral roles or even women's efforts in parish community work. In the historical narrative of St. John's parish, the word "women" does not even appear until a discussion of events in 1914, long after Rev. Worthington's departure.⁹⁵ To fulfill their vow to "endeavor to undertake, in [Bishop Clarkson's] name, some further work that would have met his approbation," the assembled priests and missionaries could not wholeheartedly support Worthington. The multiple voting sessions at the May 1884 conclave were tediously protracted. After twenty ballots were taken, Rev. Worthington won eleven of the twenty-one votes cast. Somewhat expectedly, on June 10, 1884, the Detroit priest declined his election, probably to avoid the embarrassment of not being wholeheartedly elected.⁹⁶

Two weeks later, Nebraska clergymen and lay delegates again assembled to elect a new bishop. The clergy blamed themselves for Rev. Worthington's refusal to accept their call, noting that many delegates had a favorite candidate for



**Interior of Trinity Cathedral,
March 17, 1925.** NSHS
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whom each had lobbied votes, thereby hopelessly dividing their ballots. Whatever the reasons, the election demonstrated that Rev. Worthington was not a consensus favorite.⁹⁷

At the June meeting, the primary candidate for bishop was Rev. Dr. Eliphalet Nott Potter, who had just accepted the presidency of Hobart College in Geneva, New York.⁹⁸ His nomination demonstrated the Nebraska clergymen's desire to choose a bishop who would continue to expand the deaconess role. Dr. Potter was both the son of Bishop Alonzo Potter, the Pennsylvania diocesan who was a strong supporter of women's ministries, and the nephew of the aforementioned Bishop Horatio Potter. Dr. Potter was elected bishop on the first ballot, supported unanimously by the laity in attendance and garnering twelve of sixteen clergy votes.⁹⁹

Notified of his election, late that summer Dr. Potter visited Nebraska to assess the theological

culture of the diocese. Though pleased by what he found, he nonetheless declined the election, saying he could not honorably leave the work of Hobart College which he had just accepted and initiated. Accepting this new call would "alienate the support of friends in the East, thus destroying my ability to render Nebraska needed aid."¹⁰⁰ The Standing Committee twice asked Potter to reconsider his decision, to no avail.¹⁰¹

On November 5, 1884, a special council of the diocese again convened to elect a bishop. Rev. Dr. George Worthington was again among the candidates. James M. Woolworth did not support Rev. Worthington and nominated yet another Detroit clergyman, but Worthington was elected on the fourth ballot.¹⁰² This time he accepted the call, and his election signaled the termination of Nebraska's deaconess program. The new bishop's view of women's roles in the Church was far more conservative than that of his predecessor. No



Bishop Clarkson Memorial Hospital, 21st and Howard, circa 1910. Though neither Robert nor Meliora Clarkson lived to see it, the new hospital, built in 1909, was a testimony to their efforts to provide free medical care. In 1955 a new Clarkson hospital was built at 42nd and Dewey and now serves as a teaching hospital for the University of Nebraska Medical Center. Meliora Clarkson also established a training school for nurses in 1888 that continues today as Clarkson College.
NSHS RG3348-6-50

deaconesses appeared on the list of Nebraska clergy at the next Annual Council in May 1885, nor were any of the women's prior efforts discussed at the council.

Where did the Nebraska deaconesses go, and who took up their important pastoral work? Both Mary Ellen Hayden and daughter Jennie left Omaha, disappearing from city records after 1886.¹⁰³ Julia Fuller remained in Omaha for only a year after her pastoral role ended, serving as a teacher at Brownell Hall. She had arrived in Omaha in early 1884, shortly before Bishop Clarkson's death. She was never set apart as a deaconess in Nebraska, although she may have come to Omaha with that intent. She was instead referred to as the "Parish Visitor."¹⁰⁴ Sister Sarah J. Mattice had resigned her role just before Bishop Clarkson died. She remained in Omaha for several years, working professionally as a druggist.¹⁰⁵

The hospital also lost its pastoral staff, although it appears that clergy attending the May 1884 Annual Council were already concerned about the continuation of their deaconess program. At the meeting, Meliora Clarkson was "appointed Manager of the Child's Hospital and Home." She was given authority to appoint up to five women to assist her.¹⁰⁶ Meliora Clarkson thus effectively became the hospital's administrative head. When the hospital's Articles of Incorporation were drawn up in 1892, the Bishop's widow was named to the Board of Trustees. In 1900, she headed the hospital's first expansion, engineering the purchase of the lot to the east of the building which served as a nurses' residence. She worked at the facility daily

to oversee operations until four months before her death in May 1902.¹⁰⁷

As for women's pastoral ministries, those aspects of parish ministry again became the exclusive responsibility of ordained clergy. Bishop Worthington seems to have couched his termination of the deaconess role by announcing his intent to strictly follow Church canon law. Canon 10, which outlined the requirements for women called to that ministry, had not yet been approved, and even that would not require a bishop to accept women as deaconesses. At the May 1885 council, the Bishop spoke about the importance of the canons, which

those who are commissioned to serve in [Church] ministry are obliged to obey, with which there can be no trifling or hesitation. The duty is plain. Disloyalty would characterize the service where there is neglect of these; but there are *privileges* to which I may refer, and which you may be disposed to accept.

He spoke only indirectly of women's work, adding:

In every parish or mission there should be one or more well organized Guilds or associations for Christian work. . . I fear that the clergy do not realize the invaluable assistance which this systematic arrangement of work would be, or I certainly should have observed in my visitations more activity among the lay men and lay women, who need only to be led to the path of duty.¹⁰⁸

Bishop Worthington's goal was to better utilize the "talents of every person" in his flock; he encouraged men to participate in parish activities, and organized the Brotherhood of St. Andrew. To increase pastoral service Omaha, he established an Associate Mission that brought young unmarried, recent ordinands to Omaha to spread the church into the inner city.¹⁰⁹ For spreading the Church into remote places, he sought the service of licensed Lay Readers. And for women's participation, he touted the Women's Auxiliary. Laity, said the Bishop, should support parish and diocesan community.¹¹⁰ While women's efforts in missionary fundraising were welcomed and encouraged, their calls to ministry were not. During the May 1890 Nebraska Annual Council, Bishop Worthington made no mention of the passage of Canon 10 on women's ministries.

In direct opposition to Bishop Worthington's position, Bishop Anson Graves, the first Missionary Bishop of LaPlatte (Western Nebraska and Eastern Wyoming), in January 1891 acknowledged women's extensive role in parish community, saying he found "no distinction . . . between men and women in right and privileges" in the Church canons. "I have therefore invited them here, not only to organize their own particular work, but to share in all we do." He went on to encourage parish vestries to allow women to vote in parish elections and serve as parish officers. Just a few months earlier at All Saints Church in Omaha, Rev. Thomas Mackay allowed women to vote at the 1890 Annual Parish meeting, after Senior Warden Charles S. Montgomery made a motion to permit them to do so from the floor of the meeting.¹¹¹

Over the next few years across Nebraska, Episcopal organizations for women's lay participation proliferated—Women's Auxiliary, Daughters of the King, and the Girls Friendly Society, for example. After the passage of Canon 10, additional deaconess programs were established in several states, and three training schools opened in New York, Virginia, and Minnesota. In Nebraska's Western Missionary District, four women had been set apart as deaconesses by 1913.¹¹² But the Diocese of Nebraska never set apart another deaconess. By the early twentieth century, it had become apparent that administrators for the hospital and other institutions also needed financial and administrative training, courses not provided in the deaconess programs. However, women trained as deaconesses worked in other aspects of church charitable service. They were especially useful where no other Church representative was available, such as on Indian reservations or foreign missions; in those locations the deaconesses performed the day-to-day ministry that required their religious and social welfare training. As the Social Gospel movement gained momentum, lay female volunteers from all denominations—but dominated from the outset by female Episcopalians—assisted in sewing schools, settlement houses, and immigrant day care facilities.¹¹³

Clearly, women's roles in civic community had gained wide acceptance. However, support for their calls to pastoral ministries remained uncertain. Ahead lay nearly a century of battles to be fought over women's ministerial calls and their admission to Holy Orders. There were lay leadership issues to confront as well, including those of women's

parish voting rights, their duties on parish vestries, and their service as delegates to General Conventions. As the twentieth century progressed, women played an increasingly larger role in parish community lay leadership. Slowly and deliberately, women were able to convince most of the male laity and their clergy that the Gospel was egalitarian. Finally in 1976, the General Convention acknowledged that a woman's call to ministry was equal to that of a male.¹¹⁴

Although the deaconess experiment lasted little more than a decade in Nebraska, the pastoral and civic community needs filled by the women's services served to introduce locally the concept that women too were called to ministry. Today, the Diocese of Nebraska is served by twenty-one females ordained as deacons. Since 1985, twenty-six women have been ordained to that ministry; one of them was later ordained to the priesthood; some others have retired from their roles of service. Presently, at least twenty-six women priests serve in the diocese, some as rectors, some in diocesan administrative roles.¹¹⁵ Not to be overlooked on the growing list of women's accomplishments within the Church is the fact that the immediate-past Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States was the Rt. Rev. Katharine Jefferts Schori.

Although approximately one-third of the current Episcopal priests are women, their roles in Church administrative leadership continue to be limited.¹¹⁶ Nonetheless, it is safe to say that, on the path toward pastoral ministries, women have moved well beyond the intersection at which their civic organizational skills and spiritual gifts were acknowledged; however their road to egalitarian acceptance in both lay and ordained ministries is still under construction. ☒

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NOTES

¹ "Interesting Service at Trinity To-Night," *Omaha Daily Herald* (Apr. 25, 1873), 4.

² *Proceedings of the One Hundred Nineteenth Annual Council of the Episcopal Diocese of Nebraska*, May 1986, 128. (Hereafter cited as *Proceedings*, followed by the year of the convocation.)

³ Mary Sudman Donovan, *A Different Call: Women's Ministries in the Episcopal Church 1850-1920* (Wilton, Connecticut: Morehouse-Barlow, 1986), 93.

⁴ Apostolic succession accepted the traditional three orders of male clergy, of whom bishops were direct successors of the twelve apostles. See <http://www.episcopalchurch.org/library/glossary/apostolic-succession>

⁵ For the history of the Episcopal Church, see, for example, Raymond W. Albright, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1964), 1-67, 136-39; and David L. Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International), 21-25, 40-46, 47. The Church constitution mandated a General Convention of bishops, ordained clergy, and laity, to be held every three years. Organized with a House of Bishops and a House of Deputies, either chamber can introduce legislation, and each house debates those proposals independently; both houses must approve any proposal for it to become canon law. The Church is headed by its Presiding Bishop, a non-retired bishop elected to that role by the House of Bishops. The Presiding Bishop is the "Chief Pastor and Primate of the Church" who speaks for the Church "as to the policies, strategies and programs authorized by the General Convention." See *Constitution and Canons of Episcopal Church*, 2012, 1, 26-30. Accessed June 15, 2015, at http://www.episcopalarchives.org/CandC_2012.pdf

⁶ Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church*, 66-67.

⁷ Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," *American Historical Review* 89 (June 1984), 620-32.

⁸ Donovan, *A Different Call*, 8-17, 29-51.

⁹ Emilie G. Briggs, "The Restoration of the Order of Deaconesses," *Biblical World* 41 (January 1913), 387; and Donovan, 29-51.

¹⁰ Baker, "The Domestication of Politics," 629.

¹¹ "Missionary Meetings," *Missionary Record of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*. (Philadelphia: W. Staveland, 1835), 200.

¹² Albright, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 215, 217, 292; Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church*, 64-67.

¹³ *Journal of the Proceedings of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1865* (Boston: Wm. A. Hall, 1865), 116, 182, 52.

¹⁴ George L. Miller, "Bishop Clarkson," *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society* 1 (1885): 106-111. Bishop Clarkson studied under Rev. John Barrett Kerfoot, a leader in the Oxford Movement. See Hall Harrison, *The Life of the Right Reverend John Barrett Kerfoot* (New York: James Pott and Company, 1886), 475-77.

¹⁵ Rima Lunin Schultz, *The Church and the City: A Social History of 150 Years at Saint James*, Chicago (Chicago: Cathedral of St. James, 1986), 39-50.

¹⁶ This was a short visit in the company of outgoing Missionary Bishop Joseph Cruickshank Talbot. See "Personal," *Omaha Daily Republican*, Dec. 1, 1865, 3.

¹⁷ Ferenc Morton Szasz, *The Protestant Clergy in the Great Plains and Mountain West, 1865-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988; rpt. University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 19. Bishop Clarkson secured lots in every town along the Union Pacific Railway. See "Second Annual Report of the Missionary Bishop of Nebraska and Dakota," in *Church Work in Nebraska and Dakota* (New York: Sanford, Harroun and Company, Printers, 1867), 10;

and "Letter From the Rev. Dr. Littlejohn," dated Aug. 10, 1867, in *ibid*, 18. See also, for example, the deed for Church of Our Savior in North Platte, Lincoln County, Nebraska, Registrar of Deeds. Plat of North Platte, Block 130, Lots 5-8, 289.

¹⁸ "Resident Population and Apportionment of the U.S. House of Representatives," U.S. Census Bureau, <https://www.census.gov/dmd/www/resapport/states/nebraska.pdf>. Accessed December 30, 2015. *Proceedings of the Second Council of the Episcopal Diocese of Nebraska*, September 1869, 13; Parish statistics come from the "Tabular Statement" in the same journal. At statehood in 1867, Nebraska became an independent diocese; Dakota continued to be administered as a missionary district by Bishop Clarkson.

¹⁹ *Proceedings 1869*, 21; and Szasz, 21, 78-80.

²⁰ John McNamara, "In Memory of Bishop Clarkson," *Guardian VII* (April 15, 1884), 110; St. Mark's: *Proceedings 1969*, 19.

²¹ *Proceedings 1869*, 23. See also Szasz, 71-78.

²² *Proceedings 1870*, 29-30. Salaries for missionary bishops and their clergy were generally paid through the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The budget for the Board of Missions came from donations made by other dioceses and the "deep pockets" of wealthy laity; it was always "stretched." See "Treasurer's Statement," *Spirit* 25 (January 1860), 18.

²³ *Proceedings 1871*, 30-31. To address the missionary shortage, Bishop Clarkson presaged the twentieth century's creation of the Life Project Diaconate, noting at the 1874 Annual Council that need for "well-fitted laymen [who] are ready, for the love of the church, and of the souls of men, to aid in the public services of the church." This order of Primitive Deacons would "officiate in all the offices of the church. . . it would not be necessary for them to give up their ordinary avocations, to engage in a Deacon's duty." See *Proceedings 1874*, 39.

²⁴ See Rev. Henry C. Potter, *Sisterhoods and Deaconesses at Home and Abroad* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1873), 7-11, 14, 118. Rev. Potter noted that "There will always be many persons who have serious doubts concerning either Deaconesses or Sisterhoods," but those persons wishing to allow women to so organize "are entitled to be protected from the imputation that . . . they are unfaithful to the Church's Reformed character or distinctive standards," pp. 10-11.

²⁵ "Catechism," *Book of Common Prayer* (New York: Church Publishing Incorporated, 1979), 856.

²⁶ See "Apostolic Constitutions 8.19-20," in Kevin Madigan and Carolyn Osiek, *Ordained Women in the Early Church: A Documentary History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 113-14. See also "Letter of Atto, Bishop of Vercelli, to Ambrose the Priest," in Madigan and Osiek, 191-92. Married deaconesses: See for example, "Council of Chalcedon Canon 15," in Madigan and Osiek, 121-22.

²⁷ Madigan and Osiek, 203-206; "Excerpt 1 from the Apostolic Constitutions 19-22." In Madigan and Osiek, 116; see also p. 205.

²⁸ Donovan, 88-89, 103-104.

²⁹ *Sisterhoods and Deaconesses at Home and Abroad*, 118; and Donovan, 92-95.

³⁰ "Journal of the Seventeenth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Long Island, May 27th and 28th, 1884," (Brooklyn, New York: Orphans' Press—Church Charity Foundation, 1884), 82.

³¹ "More Laborers Needed," a Sermon Preached before the Annual Meeting of the Society of the Increase of the Ministry, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, New York, May 12, 1861. http://anglicanhistory.org/usa/anlittlejohn/more_laborers1861.html. Accessed July 29, 2014.

³² "Journal of the Primary Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Long Island, November 18th and 19th, 1869," (Brooklyn, New York: The Convention, 1869), 43, 100.

³³ Donovan, 37-39; "Journal of the Third Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Long Island, May 17th and 18th, 1870," (Brooklyn, New York: The Convention, 1870), 69.

³⁴ "Journal of the Fourth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Long Island, May 16th and 17th, 1871," (Brooklyn, New York: The Convention, 1871), 69, 113-14.

³⁵ "Journal of the Fifth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Long Island, May 21st and 22nd, 1872," (Brooklyn, New York: The Convention, 1872), 50, 91.

³⁶ See Letters from the Rev. Dr. Littlejohn," in *Church Work in Nebraska and Dakota*. The letters can also be found in *Spirit*, vol. 32. Bishop Littlejohn's sister, Anna Alida Littlejohn Crary, not a member of the Episcopal Church, lived in Omaha. See Baptism of William Henry Crary, Sept. 9, 1867, in Trinity Parish Register, April 1857 to October 1876, 114-115. Sponsors were Bishop Clarkson and Mrs. A.M. Littlejohn, and the rite was performed "by request of the parents"; "John Littlejohn," on *Ancestry* at <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/56609058/person/46012577624>. A search of Omaha newspapers for January 1868 yielded no verifying information, and death certificates for Omaha prior to 1873 are not available.

³⁷ Donovan, 43-47. This is a dated list of women's sisterhood and deaconess groups.

³⁸ Donovan, 69, 95-98, 104.

³⁹ Canon 10. *Journal . . . of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1889*, 334. Later amendments offered more specifics about the work of a deaconess, added that six of the twelve lay persons testifying as to the "fitness" of the deaconess for her role must be women, and finally, that she must be "set apart . . . by an appropriate religious service" before undertaking any service as a deaconess. See "Title I, Canon 10 of Deaconesses [*sic*], in the "Report of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Church Training and Deaconess House of the Diocese of Pennsylvania," Jan. 8, 1902, 36.

⁴⁰ See "Report . . . On Ritual Uniformity," *Journal . . . of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1871*, 598-600.

⁴¹ *Proceedings 1872*, 30-31, 32.

⁴² "Ladies Hospital," *Omaha Daily Herald*, Feb. 28, 1871, 4.

⁴³ *Proceedings 1874*, 59; Map of Omaha City, Nebraska Territory, 1854; and "Ladies Hospital."

⁴⁴ Mrs. A. J. Poppleton, "Beginnings of the Bishop Clarkson Memorial Hospital," *Crozier I* (July 1900), 42-43.

⁴⁵ "Ladies Hospital"; *Proceedings 1871*, 34-35; and *Proceedings 1874*, 59-60.

⁴⁶ In addition to Meliora Clarkson and Elizabeth Butterfield Woolworth, these included Mrs. J. J. L. C. Jewett, president of the hospital, and Mrs. Andrew J. Poppleton. Later lists of female members included Mrs. F. H. Davis, Mrs. Victor B. Caldwell, and Mrs. Joseph Clarkson. See "History of Bishop Clarkson Memorial Hospital"; and "Clarkson Memorial Hospital Association," pamphlet, n.d.

⁴⁷ The first listing for the hospital in an Omaha city directory appears in *Wolfe's Omaha City Directory* (1876), 54. The statement, printed in *Proceedings 1874*, 60, was dated Oct. 5, 1870. See also "History of Bishop Clarkson Memorial Hospital," (n.p.: 1935), 9; and "Ladies Hospital."

⁴⁸ Mary McCarthy Driscoll, "History of Creighton Memorial St. Joseph's Hospital School of Nursing, 1899-1974" (Masters Thesis, University of Nebraska at Omaha, 1992), 2-3.

⁴⁹ "A Man Badly Frozen," *Omaha Weekly Tribune*, Feb. 18, 1871, 1. "Mercy Hospital," *Omaha Daily Herald*, Feb. 28, 1871, 4; and "The Rev. John Curtis and the Ladies Hospital," *Omaha Daily Herald*, Mar. 3, 1871, 4.

⁵⁰ "Report of Committee on the Hospital," *Proceedings 1874*, 61-62. The report indicated that some, but not all, of the recommended improvements had been made.

⁵¹ *Proceedings 1873*, 57.

⁵² "Report of Committee on the Hospital," *Proceedings 1874*, 60.

⁵³ "Passes Into More Serene Life," *Omaha World-Herald*, May 14, 1902, 2; and "A Tribute," *Omaha Excelsior*, May 17, 1902, 3.

⁵⁴ Schultz, 47-49. The term "Mothers in Israel," appears to have been a fairly common idiom applied to women who volunteered in civic community during the nineteenth century. See also, "Long Ago," in Caroline Kirkland, ed., *Chicago Yesterdays: A Sheaf of Reminiscences* (Chicago: Daughaday and Company, 1919), 141.

⁵⁵ Jo L. Wetherilt Behrens, "Painting the Town: How Merchants Marketed the Visual Arts to Nineteenth Century Omaha Businessmen," *Nebraska History* 92 (Spring 2011), 18-19.

⁵⁶ "Passes Into More Serene Life."

⁵⁷ "Marriages," in "Records of the Missionary Bishop of Nebraska and Parts Adjacent," 140. Located in the Episcopal Diocese of Nebraska Archives, Omaha, Nebraska.

⁵⁸ "We wish to call particular attention . . ." and "Book Store in Nebraska," *Nebraskian* Nov. 25, 1856, 3.

⁵⁹ "Woolworth, James Mills," in J. Sterling Morton, *An Illustrated History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, Nebraska: 1907), 775; letter dated June 1, 1859, printed in Henry Whitefield Yates, *History of Trinity Parish* (Omaha: 1915), 17-18.

⁶⁰ *Proceedings 1868*, iii; *Proceedings 1872*, 50-71. For a definition of "chancellor," see <http://library.episcopalchurch.org/glossary/chancellor>. Accessed June 5, 2014.

⁶¹ His first wife, Helen Maria Beggs Woolworth, died Oct. 22, 1867. Daughter Lenora Beggs Woolworth died June 4, 1867; "teething" was listed as the cause of death. See "Burials," in Trinity Parish Statistics, April 1857 to October 1876, 250.

⁶² "Lead, Kindly Light," *Omaha Excelsior*, Jan. 1, 1898, 7. See also *Emma Willard and Her Pupils, 1822-1872* (New York: Mrs. Russell Sage, 1898), 291; Fanny Stone, ed., *Racine, Belle City of the Lakes and Racine County, Wisconsin*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing, 1916), 179, 189, 197. In 1859, Racine College merged with St. John's Hall in Delafield, Wisconsin; Dr. James de Koven, an Episcopal priest and a proponent of ritualism, became the school's head. Although Elizabeth Butterfield's name does not appear on the lists of students' names, because her sister Emily Butterfield, was a student at the college in 1857, it is probable that Elizabeth attended the school as well.

James Mills Woolworth was a trustee of the school. See "James M. Woolworth," in Savage and Bell, 587a.

⁶³ "Elizabeth Stanton Woolworth," *Omaha Excelsior*, Jan. 1, 1898, 7. Elizabeth Woolworth may not have finished her education at Racine College. Writing in 1913, Fanny M. Clark Potter noted that Miss Lyman, teacher at Brownell Hall late in the nineteenth century and graduate of Vassar, was "the first college woman employed in the school." Fanny M. Clark Potter, *Historical Sketch of Brownell Hall* (n.p., 1943), 97.

⁶⁴ "A Galaxy of Nebraska Women," *Omaha Excelsior*, July 7, 1906, 9.

⁶⁵ "Lead, Kindly Light"; and "A True Friend of God's Poor," *Omaha Excelsior*, Jan. 1, 1898), 7.

⁶⁶ "Elizabeth Stanton Woolworth"; "History of the Womanhood of the Church."

⁶⁷ *Proceedings 1876*, 25.

⁶⁸ "Letter from Bishop Clarkson," *Spirit* 38 (June 1873), 346-47.

⁶⁹ United States Census, 1850. District of Columbia, Ward 7, 25; United States Census, 1860. Leonard Town, Maryland, 5; International Marriage Records, 1560-1900, Bernard Lafayette Hayden and Mary Ellen C. Yates; "In Memoriam: Henry Whitfield Yates," *The Crozier* (February 1915): 19-20.

⁷⁰ When Mary Hayden's two boys reached their teen years, Uncle Henry W. Yates helped them secure jobs with the First National Bank where Henry was then head teller. The boys each worked his way up the banking ladder; the oldest, Kent K. Hayden ultimately moved to Lincoln to head the Nebraska State Bank. Stuart B. Hayden became bookkeeper and acting manager of the White Lead Works. Jenny L, Mary's youngest child, resided with her mother. See, "One of the most important . . .," *Omaha Daily Herald*, April 27, 1873, 4; "We regret to announce that . . .," *Omaha Weekly Herald*, Nov. 17, 1865, 4; *Omaha City Directory*, 1872, 127; *Omaha City Directory*, 1878, 160; *Omaha City Directory*, 1886, 258; "Trinity Cathedral Parish Register," July 12, 1898.

Older daughter Annie was not always listed in the *Omaha City Directory* entries. However, in July 1881, she married Ashbel Patterson. See "The Bans That Bind," *Omaha Herald*, July 20, 1881, 3.

⁷¹ See "Trinity Parish Church Register," April 1856 to October 1876. Organized by date. Mary Ellen Yates Hayden and her

children were members of a Roman Catholic congregation before coming to Omaha in 1865. She and the children were "received" into the Episcopal Church on July 4, 1869. See "Church Communicants," Trinity Parish Church Register, April 1856 to October 1876.

⁷² "Interesting Service at Trinity To-night."

⁷³ "One of the most important . . .," *Omaha Daily Herald*, Apr. 27, 1873, 4; and *Proceedings 1873*, 43-44.

⁷⁴ "Admitting a Deaconess," *Omaha Daily Herald*, Apr. 26, 1873, 4.

⁷⁵ *Proceedings 1873*, 33-34. For a more detailed summary of events, see "An Interesting Ceremony," *The Guardian*, May 1, 1873, 30-31. Salary: "The Cathedral Chapter," *Omaha Daily Herald*, Apr. 26, 1873, 4.

⁷⁶ "Cathedral Chapter," *Guardian* 1 (Aug. 1, 1873): 53.

⁷⁷ "Cathedral Chapter," *Guardian* 2 (Feb. 1, 1874): 13.

⁷⁸ "Cathedral Chapter," *Guardian* 2 (May 1, 1874): 92-93.

⁷⁹ "Cathedral Chapter," *Church Guardian* 2 (May 1, 1878): 27.

⁸⁰ "The Diocesan Hospital," *Proceedings 1875*, 46-47.

⁸¹ Clergy List, *Proceedings 1876*, 7; and *Omaha City Directory*, 1876. Because no list of services in Trinity Cathedral exists for that era, nor did Bishop Clarkson list the rites for women in the record of his ordinations, it is unclear if Dora Holbrook had been set apart before she arrived in Omaha.

⁸² "The Good Samaritan Hospital," *Church Guardian* 1 (Dec. 15, 1877), 132; "History of Bishop Clarkson Memorial Hospital," 10; and *1887 Omaha City Directory*, 306.

⁸³ The building at 1716 Dodge Street was listed as the residence of Mary Ellen Hayden and Stuart B. Hayden in the 1879 City Directory. In 1880, Anna Hayden, George Hayden (Mary's brother), and Jenny L. Hayden also resided there. See *1879 Omaha City Directory*, 179; and *1880 Omaha City Directory*, 178.

⁸⁴ "History of Bishop Clarkson Memorial Hospital," 10.

⁸⁵ Donovan, 60-65.

⁸⁶ *Proceedings 1883*, 19.

⁸⁷ "History of Bishop Clarkson Memorial Hospital," 10-11. See also "Child's Hospital" report in *Proceedings 1884*, 19. Julia Fuller first appears in Trinity Cathedral records as a witness to the baptism of Josephine Lindt, Jan. 20, 1884. See Trinity Church Parish Records, April 1883 to February 1886, 86-87.

⁸⁸ "History of Bishop Clarkson Memorial Hospital," 12-14.

⁸⁹ *Proceedings, 1885*, 68; "History of Bishop Clarkson Memorial Hospital," 14.

⁹⁰ "Robert Harper Clarkson, D.D., L.L.D.," *American Church Review* 44 (October 1884), 1-2.

⁹¹ "Report of the Standing Committee of the Diocese," *Proceedings 1884*, 26-27. When a bishop is absent from his diocese, the standing committee becomes the ecclesiastical authority. See "Standing Committee," at <http://www.episcopalchurch.org/library/glossary/standing-committee>. Accessed June 5, 2014.

⁹² They included: Rev. E. S. Thomas of St. Paul, Minnesota; Rev. Nelson S. Rulison, D.D. of Cleveland, Ohio; Rev. James Dow Morrison, D.D., L.L.D. of Ogdensburgh, New York; and Rt. Rev. William David Walker, Bishop of North Dakota. See Report of the Standing Committee, *Proceedings 1884*, 37.

⁹³ *Proceedings 1884*, 24-25, 27. High churchman and New York Bishop John Henry Hobart established a branch of his Theological Education Society in Geneva, New York, ca. 1819. See Albright, 178-179; and Frederick S. Arnold, "Bishop John Henry Hobart," *American Church Monthly* 41(1937), 23-30, at <http://anglicanhistory.org/usa/jhhobart/fsarnold.html>

⁹⁴ "The Episcopalians of Nebraska at last . . .," *Omaha Daily Bee*, Feb. 27, 1885, 4; Donovan, 44; *Proceedings 1908*, 18.

⁹⁵ See for example, Frank B. Thompson, *Eighty Years: A Brief History of St. John's Church, Detroit* (Detroit: n.p., 1939), 20.

⁹⁶ *Proceedings 1884*, 27, 36-42. See also "The Council's Choice," *Omaha Bee*, May 24, 1884), 8. Before the late-June enclave, Worthington asked Nebraska officials "not to use my name in council;" on June 27 Detroit papers reported that Worthington had "declined" his second "election." See, *Proceedings 1884*, 49; "A Bishopric Again Declined," *Detroit Free Press*, June 27, 1884, 3.

⁹⁷ "Worthington Declines," *Omaha Bee* (June 12, 1884), 8; and "Adjourned Session" in *Proceedings 1884*, 47; "Declined," *Church Guardian* 7 (June 1884), 136.

⁹⁸ The other candidate was Rev. J. S. B. Hodges, S. T. D. of Baltimore. Western New York Bishop Arthur Cleveland Coxe was reportedly angry with Nebraska Episcopalians when they elected Dr. Potter as their bishop. See "Cheeky Nebraska," *Guardian* VII (July 15, 1884), 152.

⁹⁹ "Adjourned Session"; "Electing a Bishop," *Omaha Daily Republican*, June 26, 1884, 4; and "The Episcopal Council," *Omaha Daily Herald*, June 26, 1884, 8. The efforts of both Potters are recorded in Donovan, 37-39, and 60-65.

¹⁰⁰ "The following is the letter . . .," *Guardian* VII (September 1884), 178. See also "Talking of Bishop Elect Potter. . .," *Guardian* VII (Aug. 15, 1884), 168.

¹⁰¹ Minutes of July 19, 1884, and Minutes of Aug. 28, 1884, in "Acts of the Standing Committee of Nebraska and Dakota." Located in the Archives of the Diocese of Nebraska, Clarkson Center, Trinity Cathedral, Nineteenth and Capitol Streets, Omaha, Nebraska.

¹⁰² *Proceedings, 1884*, 49; "Called a Second Time," *Omaha Daily Bee*, Nov. 6, 1884, n.p. Dr. Worthington told the *Detroit Free Press* that he was accepting his "third" call. And in announcing his consecration in February, the same newspaper celebrated Rev. Worthington's "thrice-repeated call" to Nebraska. See "Bishop Worthington," *Detroit Free Press*, Nov. 15, 1884, 8; and "Bishop Worthington," *Detroit Free Press*, Feb. 25, 1885, 5.

¹⁰³ Neither died nor is buried in Omaha. The Mary Hayden buried in the Yates plot at Prospect Hill Cemetery in Omaha is Deaconess Mary's granddaughter. Kent Hayden's oldest child, Mary, died in 1885 at the age of ten. See Prospect Hill Cemetery Records, Omaha, Nebraska. Neither Mary Ellen nor Jennie were listed in the 1887 *Omaha City Directory*, although sons Kent K. Hayden and Stuart B. Hayden were both listed in the 1887 edition. See 1887 *Omaha City*

Directory, 286. Mary Ellen, Jennie, and both sons were listed in the 1886 *Omaha City Directory*, 258-59.

¹⁰⁴ Nebraska State Census, 1885. Enumeration District 249, p. 12. Head of the household was Rev. Robert Doherty, Rector at Brownell Hall. See *Historical Sketch of Brownell Hall*, 85. As the "Parish Visitor," Julia Fuller made over 200 pastoral visits. See "Trinity Cathedral Work," *Church Guardian* VII (May 15, 1884), 119.

¹⁰⁵ "Child's Hospital and Home Contributions," *Church Guardian* VII (Feb. 15, 1884), 74; 1887 *Omaha City Directory*, 796.

¹⁰⁶ *Proceedings, 1884*, 17.

¹⁰⁷ "History of Bishop Clarkson Memorial Hospital," (n.p.: 1935), 10-11, 14; "A Tribute"; and "Mrs. R. H. Clarkson is Dead," *Omaha Bee*, May 15, 1902, 7.

¹⁰⁸ *Proceedings, 1885*, 53, 56.

¹⁰⁹ The Associate Mission operated in phases until 1902, but from its efforts the missions of Good Shepherd, St. Augustine's, St. Andrew's, and St. Martin of Tours were established. St. Andrew's and St. Martin of Tours remain as parish churches. See Denis G. Paz, "A Study in Adaptability: The Episcopal Church in Omaha, 1856-1919," *Nebraska History* 62 (Spring 1981), 118. See also James C. Ransom, "The Associate Mission: An Experimental Ministry of the Episcopal Church in Omaha, 1891-1902," *Nebraska History* 61 (Winter 1980), 447-66; and Charles V. LaFontaine, S.A., "Apostles to the Meatpackers: The Associate Mission of Omaha, Nebraska, 1891-1902," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 47 (1978), 333-53.

¹¹⁰ *Proceedings, 1886*, 30. See also, for example, *Proceedings 1890*, 24.

¹¹¹ *Journal of the First Annual Convocation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Missionary District of the Platte*, January 1891, 6; Minutes of the Vestry of All Saints Episcopal Church, April 14, 1890. Located at All Saints Episcopal Church, Omaha, Nebraska.

¹¹² In 1889, Bishop Worthington appealed to the General Convention to establish a Missionary District in the sparsely populated region of the state generally west of Grand Island. The latter community was in the Western Missionary District; Central City, thirty miles east of Grand Island, was in the Diocese of Nebraska.

¹¹³ Donovan, 106, 120-122.

¹¹⁴ Donovan, 106, 116-117, 120-122, 146-154.

¹¹⁵ Numbers recorded in the Nebraska Episcopal Diocese administrative offices.

¹¹⁶ Bill Tammeus, "Episcopal Church Celebrates 40 Years of Women in the Priesthood," *National Catholic Reporter* (July 28, 2014). <http://ncronline.org/news/faith-parish/episcopal-church-celebrates-40-years-women-priesthood>. Accessed Nov. 11, 2014.