DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 211 272 RC 013 076

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TITLE The Legacy of Utah's Country Schools, 1847-1896. Country School Legacy: Humanities on the Frontier.
INSTITUTION Mountain Plains Library Association, Silt, Colo. Country School Legacy Project.
SPONS AGENCY National Endowment for the Humanities (NFAH), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 2 May 81
NOTE 66p.; For related documents, see RC 013 047-058 and RC 013 070-084.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Acculturation; Community Schools; Cultural Background; Curriculum; *Educational History; Elementary Secondary Education; Ethnic Groups; *One Teacher Schools; Religious Cultural Groups; *Religious Factors; Rural Education; *Rural Schools; School Buildings; *School Community Relationship; Small Schools; Social History; State History; Teacher Education; Teacher Qualifications; Teacher Role; Teaching Methods; Texthooks
IDENTIFIERS *Country School Legacy Project; Deseret Alphabet; Historic Sites; Mormons; *Utah

ABSTRACT

This section of the Country School Legacy: Humanities on the Frontier Project, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities and sponsored by the Mountain Plains Library Association, traces the development of schools in Utah during the Territorial Period (1847-1896). Following a discussion of the influence of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) on the development of Utah schools, the report discusses the early schools with regard to six major subject classifications. "Country Schools as Community Centers" describes the role of school buildings in Utah communities and changes which affected the schools as communities developed. "Country Schools and the Americanization of Ethnic Groups" describes the socializing influence of the Latter-day Saints Church and the attempts by other denominations to "Christianize" and "Americanize" the Mormons through establishment of denominational schools. "Reading, Writing, 'Rithmetic and Recitation" describes the teaching methods used in Utah schools during the territorial period. "Teachers: their Roles, Rules and Restrictions" describes the selection of teachers and the educational and moral qualifications required. "Country Schools as Historic Sites" describes the development of school buildings during the period. "Country Schools Today" describes the destruction of the old school buildings and modern accounts of Utah's educational history. (CM)

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COUNTRY SCHOOL LEGACY: HUMANITIES ON THE FRONTIER

The Mountain Plains Library Association is pleased to be involved in this project documenting the country school experience. Funding of this project from the National Endowment for the Humanities, cost sharing and other contributions enabled us all to work with the several state-based Humanities Committees as well as many other state and local libraries, agencies and interested citizens. We are deeply impressed not only by the enthusiasm for this work by all concerned but by the wealth of experience brought to bear in focusing attention on—and recapturing—this important part of history, and how we got here. This project seems to identify many of the roots and "character formation" of our social, political and economic institutions in the West.

Already the main Project objective seems to be met, stimulating library usage and increasing circulation of historical and humanities materials in this region. Public interest is rising in regional, state and local history. Oral history programs are increasing with greater public participation. The study of genealogy—and the search for this information—is causing much interest in consulting—and preserving—historical materials. What has been started here will not end with this project. The immediate results will tour the entire region and be available for any who wish the program, film, and exhibit. There will be more discussion of—and action on—the issues involving the humanities and public policies, past and present. The Mountain Plains Library Association is proud to be a partner in this work, the Country School Legacy, and its contribution to understanding humanities on the frontier.

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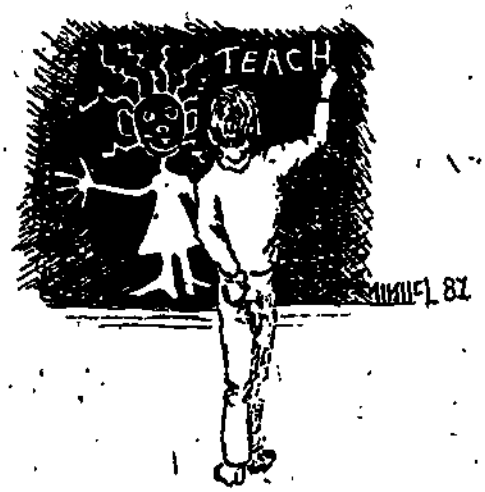

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THE LEGACY OF UTAH'S COUNTRY SCHOOLS, 1847-1896

by Scott B. Birkinshaw

This paper is a report of research conducted under a grant entitled "The Country School Legacy: Humanities on the Frontier." This grant is funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities and sponsored by the Mountain Plains Library Association.

The phase of the grant reported here includes schools which flourished during the Territorial Period of the State of Utah. In accordance with the requirements of the grant, these schools will be discussed with regard to six major subject classifications: 1) Country Schools as Community Centers, 2) Country Schools and the Americanization of Ethnic groups, 3) Reading, Writing, 'Rithmetic and Recitation, 4) Teachers: their Roles, Rules and Restrictions, 5) Country Schools Today and 6) Country Schools as Historic Sites. It is recognized, of course, that much of the material reported here overlaps between these categories.

It may rightly be said of the schools under discussion here that they were a mirror of the society which they served. The Territorial Period of Utah's history was marked by religious and political strife which erupted into bitter legal and military confrontations. These conflicts touched the lives of virtually all of Utah's citizens in one way or another. Therefore, it is appropriate to discuss briefly the social context of Utah schools during the Territorial period in order to provide a framework for the topics which follow.

The first white colonizers of the present State of Utah were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, known

as "the Mormons." These "picneers", as they are called in Utah lore, arrived in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake on July 24, 1847. The exodus of the pioneers from their homes in Nauvoo, Illinois to the arid deserts and high mountains of Utah was inspired by a desire to escape from religious persecution.

The L.D.S. Church was founded in New York in 1830 by Joseph Smith the first Prophet, Seer, Revelator and President of the Church. Smith's claims that he had visitations from angels and that he discovered ancient writings on gold plates led some to join the new church. The same claims led others to ridicule Smith and the adherents of his new sect.

As the Church grew, the supposed peculiarities of Mormon beliefs and lifestyles became the object of increasing scorn and persecution. Ohio and Missouri were stopping points in the Mormon migration westward. In Missouri the persecutions turned from verbal abuse to the murder of some Mormons and the burning of their homes by bands of marauders.

The Mormons left Missouri and moved on to Illinois where they established the City of Nauvoo. The city grew rapidly because the Mormon missionaries were successful in converting large numbers of new believers to the faith. But once again the religious persecution began, culminating in the martyrdom of Joseph Smith at the hands of a mob while he was being held in jail at the nearby town of Carthage, Illinois.

The majority of the Latter-day Saints left Nauvoo after Smith's death. Led by Brigham Young, they put everything they could carry into ox-drawn wagons and fled from their persecutors to the Great Basin.

The Mormons must have treasured the isolation afforded by this untamed region of mountain and deserts. At first their only neighbors were the local Indians and the trappers who harvested the skins of beavers from the mountain streams. These trappers were known as Mountain Men. They included the famous Jim Bridger, who is said to have tried to discourage Brigham Young from colonizing the Great Salt Lake Valley.

The isolation of the Mormons in the territory which they called Deseret was short-lived. The discovery of gold in California in 1849 led to an influx of travelers lured on by the hope of discovering treasures there and in Nevada. Brigham Young, true to his goals of protecting the Mormons from persecution and protecting their religious freedom, scorned the gold-seekers. Instead, he promoted the systematic colonization of the territory in areas which could sustain farming and grazing.

Utah was granted territorial status by the U.S. Congress in 1850. The territory was called Utah, rather than Deseret, as the Mormons wished. Nevertheless, Brigham Young was named Governor of the territory in recognition of his leadership of the numerous "Saints" who were the majority of the population in every settlement.

The executive and legislative branches of the new Territorial government were solidly under Mormon control. The Judidical branch however, consisted of Non-Mormon political appointees. Friction developed between the judges and the Mormon culture for several reasons. First, the Mormons envisioned a theocracy as their ideal form of government. They preferred to settle their disputes in ecclesiastical courts rather than civil courts. The justices

felt that the Mormons were thereby subverting the law of the land. Second, a group of immigrants were killed by Mormons and Indians at the Mountain Meadows near St. George. The attempt to cover up the incident reinforced the belief that the Mormons had no respect for the law. Third, Brigham Young openly declared the doctrine of plural marriage or polygamy as a tenent of the Mormon faith in 1852, a practice which had been carried on secretly for about ten years. These supposed affronts to the established moral code and traditions of the majority of Americans led to a break in the relations between the Mormons and the representatives of the government at Washington, D.C.

President James Buchanan sent federal troops to the territory in 1857 to put down a supposed rebellion. This commenced the Utah War. The Mormons regarded the incident as another religious persecution. They prepared to destroy all of the towns they had built, beginning with the prosperous Great Salt Lake City.

When the federal troops arrived a peace was concluded without bloodshed. However, the troops remained garrisoned in the territory in an attempt to support the edicts of the federal judges and marshals. Finally, Brigham Young was relieved of his post as Governor and a series of Non-Mormons were appointed to the position until statehood in 1896.

The Saints remained in relative isolation in the Rocky Mountains through the 1860's. Also, the nation's attention was absorbed by the Civil War from 1860 to 1865. However, the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869. This brought about many changes in Utah society. The railroad made it easier for the thousands of Mormon converts to emigrate to their Zion.

The Church's aggressive missionary program brought thousands of new coverts, especially from Great Britain and Northern Europe. A Perpetual Emigration Fund was set up to help these people join the rest of their fellow believers in Utah. The railroad also brought thousands of Non-Mormons to Utah. They were drawn to the territory by discoveries of silver in the mountains surrounding Great Salt Lake City and in the Tintic District. Coal and other precious resources were also discovered. Soon the Non-Mormons became a vocal and abrasively critical minority in the territory.

Mormons were practicing polygamy and were also actively proselyting large numbers of converts from outside of the U.S. These and many other factors combined to make them a peculiar, dangerous, and immoral sect in the eyes of many Americans. Consequently, the U.S. Congress began a legislative crusade outlawing polygamy and unlawful cohabitation. The Mormons openly defied these laws, viewing them as an unconstitutional violation of their freedom of religion. But the constitutionality of these laws was upheld and new laws were passed to add to the punishment for plural marriage. Finally, the Congress disincorporated the Church, seized all of its assets and drove all of its leaders into hiding. These extreme measures finally forced the Church's fourth president, Wilford Woodruff to declare in 1890 a Manifesto outlawing the practice of plural marriage. After the Manifesto the government gradually restored the rights and property of the Church and its members, rehabilitating them in preparation for statehood. This was finally granted in 1896.

I. Country Schools as Community Centers

The role of school buildings in Utah communities underwent

important changes as the communities developed from frontier outposts to modern towns and cities during the territorial period. Danielson has described this development.

> The evolution of the local school of these communities has generally developed in three steps as follows: (1) school was first held in a private home in the community, usually the home of the teacher who had been selected by the town school trustees on the basis of her ability to read and write and being available for the position; (2) school was later held in the local "meeting house" of the community with a teacher who was little better qualified than the earlier teacher: (3) a building was next erected in each community especially for school purposes. (Danielson. History of Education in Sevier County, thesis, University of Utah, 1951.)

During the first phase of development, schools were not only held in homes, as Danielson suggests, but also in covered wagons, tents, grainaries, saloons, and stores.

Mormon historians have pointed with pride to the important role assigned to education in the West not merely as a protection from religious persecution, but also as an opportunity to build an utopian society based on their religious beliefs. In this society they viewed education as a noble quest leading to the perfection of the individual and of the society as a whole.

> Education, when taught by correct principles, and under the supervision of those governed by the spirit of God, will lay a foundation to make men and women great, noble, and amiable, and will expand their minds so that they can be fit for any station which they may be called to occupy, and nothing will daunt them from pursuing the purposes of God and truth. (Deseret News, Vol. I, November 16, 1850.)

The sermons of Mormon leaders included frequent exhortations to the Saints to attend to educational matters. A useful index to these sermons as recorded in the Journal of Discourses was

compiled by Ruth M. Jones (Pioneer Thoughts on Education. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Library, 1955).

Education occupied such a central place in the thought of the pioneers that schooling was carried on in any available place as they traveled across the plains from Nauvoo and as they founded new settlements in Utah. The process of educating both the young and the adults did not stop for want of a building.

Utah's first school was taught by Mary Jane Dilworth in a tent in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. Other schools held without the benefit of a building are recounted in most of the histories of Utah communities. Josephine J. Miles recalled several typical schools in her History of Education in St. George.

> The first school that was really taught in St. George City, was by Sister Orpha Everett. She first taught in a tent on her lot. Afterwards she taught in a willow school house where the first ward school house was built in early times, about 1868, it being the first school house erected.
> Aunt Mariette Calkins taught in a wagon box and in a tent on her lot. Brother Thomas Cottam claims to be a graduate of her school--having gone out of the other end of the wagon box.
> (Miles. History of Education in St. George, 1923, Ms. in L.D.S. Church Historical Department Archives, p. 1,2).

The first permanent building erected in many Utah communities was the Mormon Ward House or chapel. This building was used as a church on Sundays. It was used as a school on week days. It was also used for social gatherings, dances, lyceums, and every other public function. Often the same building was used as the town hall and courthouse, when needed.

> The early school buildings of Utah were literally community buildings. During the week days these were used for educational purposes, but

> frequent evening gatherings were held in these structures. The settlers never lost sight of the importance of their social life, and within the school building, dances and all other forms of group recreation and amusements were held. The school likewise was the center for all non-religious meetings. If a new road were to be constructed, an irrigation canal altered, or even a quilting bee held for the benefit of some newcomer, the schoolhouse was the locus of such activity.
> (Moffitt. The History of Public Education in Utah, p. 260-261.)

That this one building which served as church, school, etc. was so essential to the life of the entire community was in part due to the fact that the pioneers were poor and unable to afford separate buildings for each of the separate functions which this building served. It was perhaps due in part also to the characteristic lack of separation between church and state in Mormon thought. They envisioned a theocratic government in their utopia. As long as Brigham Young was Governor, they were able to bring their ideal into practice in large measure (to the utter consternation of the few Non-Mormons in the territory). And the importance of the ward school buildings was in part due to the strategy which Brigham Young adopted for colonizing the barren country.

Shortly after establishing the first settlement at Great Salt Lake City Young sent exploring parties to various parts of the territory searching for favorable sites for additional settlements. The group which arrived in 1847 was only the first of a stream of Mormons which continued to migrate to Utah. (In fact, one could say that this immigration of Mormons to the headquarters of their Zion in Utah has never ended, though it is

no longer Church policy to encourage it.)

Most of the colonizing was accomplished between 1847 and 1870. During this period some families were "called" several times to pack all of their belongings into wagons once more and travel to a new area to begin another new community. It is perhaps understandable, then, that they did not build several public buildings when one would suffice since many of them would be called to move on the next settlement before they could enjoy the fruits of their labors.

This strategy was, for the most part, very successful, in spite of the hardships suffered by some individuals. The Mormons were able to become almost totally self-sufficient as a result of their labor. Colonies in the south produced cotton, silk, and grapes. Other colonies produced tanned hides, furniture, brooms, lumber and coal. The result was an economic system which Leonard Arrington has termed the "Great Basin Kingdom" (Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958.)

A number of writers have noted the similarities between the methods of colonization used by the Mormons and those used by the Pilgrim founders of the New England colonies. Both groups had little regard for the separation between church and state. Both groups gathered themselves into villages surrounded by the fields and flocks which they filled and tended. Both groups placed great emphasis upon the importance of education, and especially of moral education. Such similarities are probably not accidental because many of the Mormon colonists, including Brigham Young, came from New England stock.

Many writers have recorded stories which show the multiple

uses of the ward school buildings. Luella Adams Dalton described the dancing in the pioneer village of Parowan (Manuscript in L.D.S Church Historical Archives). Clearly for her, dancing was more important than the educational activities which took place in the same building. She mentions the school only briefly in her description of "Pioneer Life in Parowan." Dancing was one of their favorite group activities. There is a traditional belief among Mormons that the pioneers danced in order to free their minds from their hardships and miseries.

The schools were also used for adult education activities such as lyceums and debates. The skill of an orator was prized highly among these people. The ablility to speak well in public was and important skill for Mormon missionaries. Thus, debates and oratory were cultivated not only for enjoyment but also as a means to develop effective missionaries for the Church.

A uniquely Mormon adult education movement involved the establishment of a School of the Prophets in several communities. The Schools of the Prophets were organized to develop missionaries and leaders for the Church. Sometimes, however, they took on more mundane posture similiar to that of a Chamber of Commerce. (Bethers. A History of Schools in Iron County, 1851-1970, The Author, 1972, p.27.) Membership in Schools of the Prophets was limited to male priesthood bearers in good standing with the church. New members were admitted by invitation only.

Some Utah cities were incorporated by the legislature as early as 1851. The right to establish, regulate and support community schools was delegated to these cities in their charters. In 1860 and again in 1865 school laws were passed by the legislature

creating the office of county superintendant of schools, giving local courts the right to establish and regulate school districts and providing for some public support for education, as approved by the local court. (Moffit. History of Education in Utah, p. 104-116.)

These developments led to the establishment of local school districts in Utah, followed by the building of many schools. As each settlement had grown past the colonization stage of its development other buildings had been added to perform some of the functions of the first ward school buildings. Many of these ward schools continued to function. Some of their buildings were simply donated to the school district. Others remained under the control of the local Mormon branch or ward when a new school was built. Evidently some communities disagreed about the proper ownership of the buildings and law suits followed. The town of Woodruff, Utah, in Rich County was one where such a disagreement took place.

> This new building, erected during the summer of 1884, was built by the combined labor and industry of all the settlement's population. The community needed a larger building in which to hold church, a larger building for school, and a larger building to accommodate public dances and other entertainment, sponsored by and for the people who had made homes in the village. As a result of this need, the entire community worked together until the building was finished and ready for use. For a few years all went very well with this community arrangement. Then the problem of the actual ownership of the building arose. The school trustees were of the opinion that the building was a school house, and that its jurisdiction and management belonged to them. The church officials were of the belief that the building was a church building, and had only been loaned to the school trustees for school purposes. Jenson gives us this account of the entire problem.

> "A new meeting house was built in 1884, the old log dwelling no longer answering the purpose. It was built 50 x 27 feet, and had some later additions. This building has had quite a history. As the Saints permitted the house to be used for school purposes certain parties raised the question of legal ownership; and through the perfidity of some parties, who testified in court, Judge Henderson, of the First District Court of Ogden, Utah, rendered a decision on November 8, 1890, which gave the house into the hands of the school trustees; of whom one was a Latter Day Saint, the other a genuine liberal, and the other a "Mormon liberal." The ward engaged lawyers to attend to the case and spent considerable money in defending the property; but the lawyers neglected to appeal the case in time, and thus the house was lost to the saints." (Passey. Historical Study of Public Education in Rich County, Utah, Thesis; University of Utah, 1951. Andrew Jenson's remarks are quoted from his Chronological History of the Woodruff Stake.)

Even after the ward school phase of school development, schools retained their roles as community centers. As the population grew new schools were constructed which had facilities for theatrical productions and other community activities. Roxie N. Rich reports that "In the evenings the schoolhouse was used for debates, spelling bees, and town meetings (Rich. The History and People of Early Sandy.) A. Karl Larson relates the story of a spelling bee which was a competition between two schools. The town turned out to witness the event and the postmaster read the words to be spelled.

> George F. Whitehead says the highlight of his schooldays under Mrs. Heywood was the time when he spelled down not only the pupils of Mrs. Heywood's school but those of John E. Pace also. The postmaster, William H. Crawford, was called in to give out the words. He called out the word each student was to try until everyone had been spelled down but young George Whitehead. Then the postmaster gave him the word "gross" and George misspelled it. "I had spelled

> correctly a lot of really hard words," he said, "and I was greatly disappointed to miss such a small word. Brother Crawford pronounced it with a short O instead of the long O sound, and I guess that is what tripped me. I was used to hearing it called gross." (Larson. The Red Hills of November, pp. 260-262.)

Entertainment in these communities was homespun, as was everything else. Thus, the entertainment provided by school activities was an important part of the life of the people. The teaching methods emphasized memorization. The students became adept at memorizing poems and readings which were recited on public occasions. It was not surprising that these people grew to appreciate music, poetry and storytelling, for these things were among the most easily acquired forms of entertainment. In light of this, the notion that these people were uncultured and backward as a result of their geographical isolation must be balanced with an appreciation of the considerable cultural resources were, in large part, products of the schools.

III. Country Schools and the Americanization of Ethnic Groups

Americanization is defined as a process of socialization, of attempting to inculcate among immigrant ethnic people an understanding of American customs, traditions, values, and laws. During the Nineteenth Century waves of thousands of immigrants poured into the United States. Many of them came from Southern Europe, in contrast to the earliest colonizers of the United States who were predominantly from Northern European countries, especially England. Also, many of the immigrants were from China and Japan. The ethnic, religious and racial differences

of these people from Southern Europe and the Orient created feelings of unease and mistrust among people who were perhaps only second or third generation Americans themselves, but who considered their own characteristics of ethnic background, religion and race to be the American archetype.

The problem of Americanization took on a rather different slant in the Utah Territory than it did in other parts of the U.S. Not only were many of the Utah immigrants foreign-born minorities, but the majority of these immigrants were also Mormons. The confrontation between the Mormons and the rest of American culture, especially with regard to Mormon practices involving polygamy and theocracy, for instance, led to defining the Mormons as an Un-American group. Gustive O. Larson discusses the broad political and social ramifications of this problem in his book, The Americanization of Utah for Statehood (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1971).

The most pervasive socializing influence in the territory was not the school but the L.D.S. Church. The majority of the foreigners who came to the area were drawn by a desire to join with their co-religionists. For example, William Mulder has told of the immigration of thousands of Scandinavian Saints to Utah in his book Homeward to Zion (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957.) Often these people settled in communities where they could maintain their native language and customs to a large extent. Their ethnic identities were preserved to such a degree that friendly competition was sometimes generated between the groups. They were certainly not required to give up their ethnic heritage in order to become Mormons.

In these communities it was far more important socially to be a Mormon than to be an American. Because the local governments were controlled by Mormons, non-Mormons often complained bitterly and with considerable justification that immigrants who had never been naturalized were enjoying all of the benefits of citizenship, including voting. The Mormon schools promoted their religion openly by using The Book of Mormon and other church books as textbooks, and by establishing classes in Mormon theology. Classes in American history, politics and government which might be expected to mold young people into "good American citizens" were regarded as less important than religious studies because only by accepting Mormonism would a person gain salvation and eternal life.

Federal troops were stationed in Utah beginning in 1857 following the Utah War. However, the presence of the troops did not stop the practice of plural marriage nor did it bring about more than a token of obedience to the federally appointed governors and judges who attempted to rule the territory. Still, the Mormon people and their leaders protested many times that they were good Americans. They often pointed with pride to the contributions of the Mormon Battalion in its patriotic service to the United States government during the War with Mexico. But they were regarded by the majority of the Americans as an Un-American group.

During the 1870's a loosely defined plan to Americanize the Mormons through education took shape. Denominational schools were founded by the Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists for the purposes of "Christianizing" and Americanizing the Mormons. Catholic schools were also founded

at this time but it appears that their mission was directed to the needs of their own adherents, rather than to converting the Mormons. That this was so is shown by the fact that Catholic schools were founded in communities which had populations of Catholic children. The Protestant schools, on the other hand, were founded in towns throughout the territory regardless of the numbers of Protestant children. Furthermore, agreements were sometimes worked out among the Protestant church groups so that competing schools and churches of other Protestant groups were not established in the same locality.

The first Protestant school established in the territory was founded by the Episcopalians in Salt Lake City in 1867. The Reverend Daniel Tuttle and the Reverend G.D.B. Miller began their school in an adobe building on West Second South Street. Shortly later the school was moved to the Liberal Institute which housed a number of non-Mormon enterprises. This school flourished for a while but it apparently ceased existence by about 1874 when the Reverend Miller established the St. Mark's Grammar School.

The St. Mark's School catered especially to boys. Thus it was natural that a school for girls should be commenced. The girls's school was held in the basement of St. Mark's church beginning in 1881. The school was founded in memory of Benjamin Rowland and was known as the Rowland Hall School. This school has flourished continuously to the present day. (Harold Groff. "The Denominational Schools of Utah" Utah Educational Review, v. p. 106 See also Mary R. Clark's "Rowland Hall-St. Mark's School: Alternative Education for More Than a Century", Utah Historical Quarterly vol. 48, no. 3).

The Methodists established a large number of schools in the territory. Bane holds that these schools failed to get a solid foothold however, due to constant overexpansion. (Bane. The Development of Education in Utah 1870 to 1896, Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1940.)

The thirty-three schools established by the Presbyterians were remarkably successful. D.H. Christensen recalled his own education in a Presbyterian school in Manti.

> It was my privilege to enter the mission school in Manti, my native town, on the day it was opened. During my continued residence there for five or six years, I attended with utmost regularity. It was at this school, more than thirty-five years ago, that I first met Dr. Martin. At this home I was a frequent visitor, and my feeling of gratitude to him and to the splendid teachers he provided, has ever found conscious expression in my humble efforts to move towards the ideal of service to mankind, which was in those early years firmly fixed in my youthful mind. I cannot repay them, but I have a feeling of satisfaction in publicly expressing my gratitude.
> (Christensen. "Mission Schools in Utah" Utah Educational Review, vol. ,1915, p. 13.

The first Presbyterian schools were founded in 1875 in Mount Pleasant and in Salt Lake City. Though thirty-one schools were founded by the Presbyterians these two schools are the only two which survive today. The school at Mount Pleasant is the Wasatch Academy. The school in Salt Lake City has evolved into what is today known as Westminster College.

The accomplishments of the Protestant mission schools were considerable. During the period of colonization from 1847 to 1869 the importance of schooling was secondary to an overriding need to survive in spite of the utopian zeal of the pioneers. The land was harsh in the isolated mountain valleys; the people were

surrounded by the presence of federal troops and the sometimes hostile Indians. It is no wonder, then, that the majority of the able-bodied citizens of all ages of the community were occupied with planting and harvesting their crops and tending their animals. School attendance was not required and many chose not to attend. Typically, those who did attend school only spent three or four months a year in the classroom and often less. Anyone who could read, write and cipher might be recruited to be a teacher. The mission schools raised these educational standards in almost every respect.

Many of the teachers employeed in the Protestant schools had been trained as teachers in the normal schools and colleges in the East. Others were ministers who were trained in the Protestant Seminaries. As a group, they became an important force for improving the quality of teaching in the territory. Christensen assessed the educational contributions of the mission school.

> With this school came the enrichment of the curriculum. Music and art soon became daily exercises, nature study was introduced into the primary grades, and the study of Latin, of algebra and geometry by pupils in seve[illegible] and eighth grades under trained teachers of the first order, was by no means uncommon. The standard had been set, the transition was under way. Public sentiment was crystallizing. If the public school was to hold the place given it by time-honored tradition, new fields must be entered, new problems must be solved. Two needs had been demonstrated, the proof was not lacking. If the public school was to compete with the mission school it must have an enriched course of study and professionally trained teachers. Both changes came quickly and effectively.
> (Christensen. "Mission Schools in Utah" Utah Educational Review, vol. , 1915, p. 13.

Finally he acknowledged the contribution of the Protestant teachers.

> A sense of justice and fairness, and a feeling of gratitude impel me to make acknowledgment of the efficient and devoted service of that splendid body of men and women that constituted the teaching force. They not only gave the inspiration of example, and inspiration which has in my opinion moved our public schools forward at least a decade, but they performed a worthy part in producing a generation of men and women that reflect on their native state.
> (Christensen. "Mission Schools in Utah" Utah Educational Review, vol. ,1915, p. 14.)

The success of the mission schools created a lively controversy in the territory. Brigham Young was accused of "building a wall of ignorance around the people" (William S. Godbe letter to H.H. Bancroft. Manuscript in Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley). The controversy raged in the newspapers over whether or not President Young supported the cause of education. The Mormons defended their leader, citing his many exhortations to the people on that subject (see Pioneer Thoughts on Education edited by Ruth M. Jones). The historical record clearly does show that Brigham Young and the Mormon people were concerned with education from the beginning of the settlement of the territory. However, the progress of educational activities was modest during the early period for reasons previously discussed. In the end the shock of this dispute brought about many reforms in Utah education.

Before long Protestant teachers were in demand in the ward schools and in the Mormon dominated District schools. This fact made the Mormon leaders uneasy. They did not want the Protestants to lure their children away from the Mormon fold. Brigham Young chastized the Bishops who hired Protestant teachers in schools

which were under their supervision.

> Teachers: We have them within our reach, for we have as good teachers as can be found on the face of the earth, if our Bishops would but employ and pay them, but they will not. Let a miserable little, smooth-faced, beardless, good for nothing Gentile come along, without regard for either truth or honesty and they will pay him when they will not pay a Latter-day Saint.
> (Andrew Love Neff, History of Utah, Salt Lake City, Deseret News Press, 1940, p. 850.)

Other Mormon leaders were equally explicit in their dislike of Non-Mormon teachers. "I would sooner my children should go without any scholastic education than that they should be educated by an enemy," said George Teasdale (Journal of Discourses 24:324). John Taylor said simply, "Teachers should be good Latter-day Saints" (Journal of Discourses 19:248-249).

The competition for the minds and souls of the Mormon youth is vividly recalled in the following interview with Dora Page who attended the Presbyterian school in Cedar City.

> Question: What do you remember about the Presbyterian School?
>
> Answer: Well, I was a small child when I went there. My first 3 or 4 years, I don't know which. And it was a very good school at that time -- they told us it was a better school than the public school, and it was so close to our home. My father and brothers used to haul wood to keep the place warm in the winter time and pay off some of the expenses, I guess, and so my two brothers older than me, went there. They had just a lovely school. What I remember, we all met in this big room when we got there. Our teachers were Mrs. McMontigam, Mrs. Kurtis, Mrs. Stooks and Mr. Stooks. And we would take the Bible and it would go up and down each row and we had to read one little verse each morning before we started our school, and then we went into the smaller room and the older ones stayed there. We had some very good teachers. They used to give us lots of nice little parties and things and I loved it. It was

within four blocks of my home. And I do remember one thing especially -- they had a storeroom right off from our school room, and we children used to play in there during recesses and bad weather, and they always had some big wooden barrels there and at Christmas time they would send some great big barrels there and they always were labeled, "Presbyterian School, Parowan, Utah, for the Heathens" and that kinda' worried me a little bit. I didn't know what it was, so I took my pencil and paper with me one day and I copied down "heathens" and when I got home, I said to my father, "What do they mean, "Presbyterian School for the Heathens?" And he just laughed and said, "Well, I think, Dodi, they meant that it was for people who lived way out west here." That was the only answer I ever got until I grew older and knew that that wasn't very much of a compliment for us. But I loved this school, and there was so many from Parowan that went, oh--I don't think I can remember all of them--there was the Brown boys, and the Lowe boys, and girls both, and Page--Gramma and Grandpa Pages's boys, and girls, and the Mitchell boys, and oh--there was an awful lot that went there. We enjoyed it very much.

Question: Do you remember the years you attended?

Answer: Well, I was born in '82 -- in 1882 and so it must have been in 7, 8 or 9, wouldn't it be? For me to be 6, 7 and 8. Yea. It's 6, 7 and 8, I think the time I went. Because when I left there and went, the way I remember, I went over to the public school and the first place I went to school there was in the basement of the old rock church. And that seemed such a dismal room to the side of the pleasant room with the upstair windows and little curtains on it, and everything and benches all of of our own, and I just didn't like it as well as I did that school there. I got a nickname from going to the Presbyterian School. So many of the people down in the town would go along the street and they'd yell "Hello little Prestin." I didn't appreciate it as I grew older.

Miss Eliza Hartford who was assigned to teach in the Presbyterian school in Cedar City told of her experiences in a letter to Rev. D.J. McMillan.

Cedar City, Utah
November 23rd, 1881

Rev. D.J. McMillan
Dear Sir:

You perhaps are anxious to hear what we are doing at Cedar. The Saints positively refused to rent or sell to Mr. Cort and as it seemed that Mr. Wood did not want to loose me, I persuaded Mrs. Urie, second wife of John Urie, to board me; but had to promise not to teach or preach in my room. The next day President Taylor and three other great men came to the City. Mrs. Urie invited me to go and hear them preach. I went and never felt so frightened in my life.. I was almost persuaded that I was the old Devil himself. Such a triade against sectarian teachers and preachers. No good preacher could have been so earnest in warning his hearers against the wiles of Satan as they were in urging the people to beware of Presbyterian teachers and preachers. I wondered if I would be allowed to get away alive. Next morning the good people of the place began to bestir themselves and I believe they must have visited every family in the place. Thinking it was useless to canvass the town for pupils I felt very much discouraged. If there were any who dared to send their children, there was no place in which to teach. I had promised not to teach in my room. Mr. McGowan wrote telling me to be patient, that this kind of work was always slow. Mr. Leyson, the young man who boards at Mr. Wood's, told me that if I had a room he believed Mr. Wood would send me his two oldest daughters and some of their friends and he advised me to be very careful at first and not teach them Presbyterian doctrine. I told him I would not think of teaching any kind of doctrine in day school. Mr. Leyson thinks if we had a building here that we could have quite a school after the people get to know me.
Now if there is anything wrong in what I have been doing or not doing please let me know for I feel that I am making very slow progress. And can you tell me how to report to the Board when I have been doing nothing.

Yours truly,

Eliza Hartford

(Bethers. A History of Schools in Iron County 1851 to 1970,. 1972, p. 288-289.)

The majority of the mission schools closed during the 1890's. Since the Latter-day Saints formally renounced polygamy in the famous Manifesto from President Wilford Woodruff in 1890 and the territory became a state in 1896, the financial backers of the mission schools must have felt that their objective of Americanizing the Mormons had been accomplished. The objective of converting Mormon youth to Protestantism had not been achieved, however. A committee which studied the Methodist schools in 1893 reported that "So far as converting the Mormons is concerned the money has been largely wasted. If 200 real Mormons have been changed into real evangelical Christians during the time, we have been unable to discover them." (Arrington. "The Latter-day Saints and Public Education" Southwestern Journal of Social Education, vii') Spring-Summer, 1977), p. 13.)

Students in Mapleton, Utah were not swayed from their Mormon beliefs, as is illustrated by the following story.

> While the trustees were worrying about what to do with all the students, the students were dealing with their own problems. It seems that the trustees hired one teacher who was interested in Christian Science and he tried to explain some of its ideas to the class The one that particularly bothered the students was the idea that thinking would change anything. One day, after the students felt they had listened long enough, they decided to do something about it. A quick check at lunch hour assured them that the teacher was not around. The time was right so the students sneaked into the schoolroom. They turned everything around, including the teacher's desk and chair. They wrote the following message on the blackboard: "Things

> are not turned around, you just think they are!" No more was heard about Christian Science for a long time! (Harmer and Johnson. History of Mapleton, Provo, Utah: Press Publishing, Ltd., n.d., p.34.)

If the Protestant mission schools failed in their efforts to convert Mormon children to Protestantism and to Americanize them, their influence was felt in the example of educational excellence which they promoted. The threat they supposedly posed in the Mormon society was part of the motivation for founding a system of private Mormon schools called academies in most of the larger cities and towns. Most of these academies included normal departments for the training of teachers so the Mormon teachers could compete effectively with their Protestant counterparts. Finally, some talented young Mormons were encouraged to go to school in the East to acquire learning which would be useful to the community. These results alone are perhaps sufficient to justify the role of the mission schools in territorial Utah.

III. Reading, Writing, 'Rithmetic and Recitation

Teaching methods used in Utah schools underwent a transformation during the territorial period. In spite of attempts to procure textbooks, few were available in the early schools. Bartholomew reports that "books were at a premium. Often classes were conducted with as few as two books for the entire class." (Bartholomew. The History of Education in Sanpete County, Utah, Thesis, University of Utah, 1948, p.27.) This situation improved gradually throughout the territorial period.

The limitations of untrained teachers were shown in the teaching methods which were employed. This situation also improved throughout the period under study. At first the plan was that the University of Deseret which was founded in 1850 would prepare teachers for the schools. But the University was not funded by the legislature. For many years it existed in name only. Finally, beginning in 1875, normal schools were founded at the University of Deseret and at the Mormon academies.

The utopian side of the Mormon culture was seen in the creation of the Deseret Alphabet. Attempts were made to teach this new system of reading and writing in Utah schools. These attempts were successful in a few schools for a short time while the pioneers were isolated form the larger American Society. As the influence of American civilization became stronger within the local culture, the Deseret Alphabet won fewer and fewer adherents until it failed altogether. Gradually, the schools of Utah shed the uniqueness of their frontier experience and became part of the mainstream of American education.

Before leading the Mormon pioneers to Utah in 1847 Brigham Young issued an epistle giving instructions to prepare them for the journey ahead. One of these instructions was that

> It is very desirable that all Saints should improve every opportunity of securing at least a copy of every valuable treatise on education - every book, map, chart, or diagram that may contain interesting, useful, and attractive matter, to gain the attention of children, and cause them to love to learn to read; and also every historical, mathematical, philosophical, geographical, astronomical, scientific, practical, and all other variety of useful and interesting writings,

> maps, etc., to present to the General Church recorder, when they shall arrive at their destination, from which important and interesting matter may be gleaned to compile the most valuable works, on every science and subject, for the benefit of the rising generation.
> (Millennial Star, Vol. X, March 15, 1848, p. 85)

Levi Edgar Young has stated that "It is safe to say that every family that came to Utah in the early days had carefully stored away in their wagon a box of books of some kind. The people had studious habits, due to their high religious idealism." (Young."Utah's First Text Books", Utah Educational Review, Vol. IX, No. 4, p.9.)

Utah's first school was opened by Mary Jane Dilworth in an old military tent held up by poles like an Indian teepee. The school began in October 1847, two months after the Pioneers' arrival in July of that year. Maria Nebeker described the school.

> I attended the first school in Utah taught by my sister Mary Jane. The school was opened just three weeks after our arrival in the valley. I remember Mary Jane saying to us, 'Come, children, come. We will begin now.' We entered the tent, sat down on the logs in a circle, and one of the brethren offered prayer. There were nine of us that first day. We learned one of the psalms of the Bible, and sang songs. There were no slates or pencils, neither paper nor pens. The children were taught to write, however for they used charcoal and practised writing on the smooth faced logs. Sometimes the children brought colored clay and mixing it with water, drew pictures of animals and Indians on the smooth surface of logs. It was not unusual in those days to dry the bark of the white mountain birch and use it for writing material.
> (Young. "Utah's First School", Utah Educational Review, Vol , No, , p.7.)

William W. Riter who was also a student at this school gave a similar report. "We had spelling matches, and we drilled incessantly on the subject, taking our lesson from the old "Blue-Back Speller"." (Young. Ibid. p.7.)

The arrival of two tons of textbooks imported into the territory by Wilford Woodruff in 1850 was hailed by the Deseret News. The titles of these books were not listed. The size of this shipment is evidence of both a great need for school books among the settlers and their resolve to satisfy it. (Deseret New, November 27, 1850)

There were, however, persistent reports from outlying settlements which show that there was often a scarcity of reading and writing materials. Mildred Mercer wrote that

> There are some who wonder why no records were kept of the struggle and heartbreak of these early years. These people were trying to exist in a hard land that challenged every hour. They fought Indians, subdued the land, built houses and worried about their children just as much then as now, but merely obtaining materials to record their words was next to impossible. Books and paper were scarce and expensive and the people could not afford such luxuries.
> It was the exceptionally fortunate person who owned a lead pencil. Slates were made from slate rock and slate pencils made from chalk formations found in the nearby foothills. (Daughters of Utah Pioneers. History of Tooele County, p. 156.)

Josephine J. Miles described similar conditions in St. George.

> In the center of this willow school house was a flat rock which supported a post in the middle of the room. This rock was used for a desk when the pupils wished to write, or rather when they had writing materials. Dezzie Fawcett, Dezzie Perkins, Emma and

> Martha Truman had been to school in Salt Lake City and had pen and ink; and were, therefore, considered aristocrats. (Miles. History of Education in St. George. Ms. in L.D.S. Church Historical Archives, p.1.)

Miles concludes that "Textbooks and school equipment were consipicuous by their absence, mostly." (Miles. Ibid, p.2.)

The lack of school books was noted by Bartholomew who reported that the schools in Manti badly needed books.

> The problem of books for the schools was always a serious one during the early days. There was never sufficient supply for the entire class. Often students were obliged to do their letters on the ground, on chips of wood, or on slate rock from the hills. The following letter, published in the Deseret News brings to light this textbook problem, (1852):
> ". . . Please inform me whether you in G.S.L. City have published a selection of school books or whether such a thing is contemplated, and when. We have a monitorial school taught in Manti of upwards of 100 scholars; and I am glad to say that this principle, with wise management, promises no only economy but general satisfaction. The principal obstacle which it has to contend with in its infancy is that want of a uniformity of books, which I hope will, ere long be removed. Signed Captain Dan Jones." (Bartholomew. The History of Education in Sanpete County, Utah, Thesis, University of Utah, 1948, p. 15. Dan Jones' letter quoted from Deseret News, Vol. 2:4, p. 32.)

A lack of regular school books led many schools to use the Bible and the Mormon scriptures as texts. Other methods of teaching included singing and chanting as a group. Josephine Miles describes her own school experiences.

> We would begin at "Washington, Olympia" repeated twice, and go chanting across the continent to "Maine, Augusta." We also learned the Great Lakes and the rivers in the same manner. It was customary too, to chant the multiplica-

> tion tables, and we learned these things very thoroughly. This chanting was also useful in helping to drown the other noise in the room.
> (Miles. History of Education in St. George, Ms. in L.D.S. Church Historical Archives, p. 3-4.)

Since many lessons were learned by memorizaion, it was natural for the teachers to put some lessons into rhyme. According to Richard Benson the following rhyme about the parts of speech was taught to students in the early schools of Parowan. The teacher was the famous apostle George A. Smith who taught the first school in Parowan.

> Three little words you often see are articles--A, an and the. A noun is the name of anything such as school, garden, hoop or swing. Adjectives tell the kind of noun such as great, small, pretty, white or brown. Instead of nouns, the pronoun stands her head, his face, your arm, my hand. Verbs tell of something to be done - to read, count, sing, laugh, jump, or run. How things are done the adverbs tell - quickly, slowly, ill, or well. Conjuctions join the words together - as man and woman, wind and weather. The preposition stands before a noun, as in or through a door. The interjection shows surprise - as Oh! how pretty; and Oh! how wise. The whole are called eight parts of speech, which reading, writing, speaking teach.
> (Bethers. A History of Schools in Iron County 1851 - 1970, 1972, p. 163-164.)

The early schools emphasized the three R's. They had few "frills". Josephine Miles describes the fate of her artistic endeavors.

> I was the proud possessor of the corner of an old slate on which I was fond of drawing pictures, a crime in those days - by some unknown process of reasoning, it was considered much more instructive to sit and gaze on the bare desolate adobe walls, than to have wreaths of smoke curling gloriously

> from our chimneys, so there was always some little spy calling out: "Teacher, she's drawing pictures." They had to be promptly erased by the primitive method which, no doubt, you all remember. Thus, perhaps, many an artist was nipped in the bud.
> (Miles. History of Education in St. George, Ms. in L.D.S. Church Historical Archives, p. 4.)

Emily Miles Sleight tells a story of he father who ventured beyond the three R's in his teaching. His lessons in human anatomy were not appreciated by some members of the community as the following story shows.

> There had never been anything taught in the school but the 3 R's. The parents were so ignorant they thought to be able to read and write and a little figuring was plenty. He took his history book to school and the older children were asked to read a chapter each day in turn before the whole school while father paced up and down to keep order. The last straw came with the Hygiene and pictures of the skeletons and parts of the human body were hung on the wall for the physiology class. There was quite a stir for several days. There were a few who thought it was really vulgar to teach such a terrible subject in a school room. The matter was finally taken before the heads of the Church in Salt Lake and were told go ahead and teach and learn all they could because they were very much in need of Doctors or at least learn the care of the body. One man by the name of Joe Lay was still very bitter about it so one morning he came to the school house and said if the trustees would not do anything about it he would and said, "I have come to tear down those filthy pictures and burn every Hygiene book in the place." Father started down the isle and said, "Let's talk this over. Maybe if you stayed for a lesson or two you would have a different idea of the subject." But no, he was determined to

> carry out his threat. When he started for the charts Dad said, "Over my dead body," so he knocked the man down, dragged him to the door and said to the nearest pupil, "Where did we leave off?" and went off as though nothing had happened. Joe took his kid out of school for a few days. Finally their mother marched them back and that was the last of it till Halloween.
> After Joe found out father was the best man they were good friends, at least they would appear. Father was very strict in the school room. Although he made every lesson interesting he did demand attention and obedience. He was just one jump ahead of any situation and never let anything get out of hand. (Sleight. "John Horne Miles - A Quick Sketch," Ms. in L.D.S. Church Historical Department Archives.)

Because the teachers were untrained they had a tendency to teach whatever they knew best by whatever means worked for them. Aunt Emma Webb's account of her schooling shows that her teachers had no set curriculum and no consistent methods of teaching.

> I started to school in 1869 to Brother Homes in the little log house back of the Court House. We all had primmers and slates. We would line up and take our turn reading and spelling. I was good in spelling and Logan was good in arithmetic.
> The next year I went to Ann Gunn, in her home about where the old Relief Hall is. We read a little and had spelling, but no arithmetic. We didn't do much studying. She used to let us put on plays while she did her work. We would bring clothes to dress up in from home. We made up the shows. Then she would give us a long recess. We used to make play houses by the Old Fort Wall, we'd make holes in it and make fires and cook pears and all kinds of vegetables. We used to have great times. She taught girls and boys of all ages.
> The next year I went to Deanie Dalton in the concrete school house. She taught reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and geography. She used to whip us if

we didn't get our spelling. As a rule she was kind to us, but if we didn't try to get our lessons she got angry with us. She used to stand some of them in the corner with a dunce cap on their heads and their faces to the wall. I sure liked Aunt Deanie.

My next teacher was Clarisa Smith, George A. Smith's daughter, in the basement of the Rock Church. She was a grand teacher, and she really taught us a lot. We all liked her a lot.

My next teacher was John E. Dalley in the concrete school house and in the Log School House. I went to him two years. He was a grand teacher.

I used to go to Sarah Barkers writing school at night in her home. She was a beautiful writer. The first time I ever went with a boy was going home from her school with Herb Hyatt. It was my last year of school. Sometime in the 90's, it was necessary to replace a teacher in the middle of the school year, whose discipline had been rather lax. Mable Clark was chosen to take the reins and carry on. Her first appearance was just in time to begin school. Under one arm she carried her books and in the other a stout birch stick, at least eight feet long. As she walked majestically down the isle, head high and shoulders erect, she placed her books on her desk and, going over to the corner, she dropped her birch stick with a resounding thud. Then turning with her beautiful piercing black eyes, she slowly looked down one line and up the other at her students, who by this time, each and every one was sitting attentively in their seats.

May we say she never had to use the birch stick and all would quiet down.

(Bethers. History of Schools in Iron County 1851 - 1970, 1972, p. 161-162.)

There were a number of attempts to reform the spelling of the English Language in the nineteenth century. The Deseret Alphabet was Utah's contribution to this reform. Born as it was on the frontiers of American civilization, this alphabet stands apart from the rest in many interesting ways.

Brigham Young announced his plan to devise a new spelling system at a meeting in the "Old Tabernacle" on April 18, 1853.

Having listened to an address on educational matters by Orson Spencer (who was Chancellor of the University of Deseret) President Young arose and began to speak to the congregation on the complexities of the English Language, and especially of its spelling.

> When we scan it narrowly, we find it to be fraught with imperfections and ridiculous vagaries.... Brother Spencer has used language quite beyond our reach. Well, I have the foundation and he can make the building. When he commences the building, I have asked the Board of Regents to cast out from their system of education, the present orthography and written form of our language, that when my children are taught the graphic sign for A, it may always represent that individual sound only. But as it now is, the child is perplexed that the sign A should have one sound in mate, a second sound in father, a third sound in fall, a fourth sound in man, and a fifth sound in many, and in other combinations, soundings different from these, while in others, A is not sounded at all. I say let it have one sound all the time. And when P is introduced into a word, let it not be silent as in Phthisic, or sound like F in Physic, and let two not be placed instead of one in apple.... If there were one set of words to convey one set of ideas, it would put an end to the ambiguity which often mystifies the ideas given in the languages now spoken. Then when a great man delivered a learned lecture upon any subject, we could understand his words... If I can speak so that you can get my meaning, I care not so much what words I use to convey that meaning.
>
> I long for the time that a pointing of the finger, or motion of the hand, will express every idea without utterance. When a man is full of light of eternity, then the eye is not the only medium through which he sees, his ear is not the only means by which he understands... I shall yet see the time that I can converse with this people, and not speak to them, but the expression of my countenance will tell the congregation

what I wish to convey, without opening my mouth.
Journal of Discourses, I, p. 69-71.)

The Regents of the University appointed a committee to carry out President Young's wishes. Parley P. Pratt, Heber C. Kimball and George D. Watt were the appointed committee. While all three of these men were prominent in the Mormon society, Watt had a special qualification for the job at hand: he was an expert in the Pitman system of shorthand. The Regents announced the results of their labors on January 19, 1854. Their alphabet consisted of thirty-eight characters, some of which resembled characters in the Pitman shorthand. Plans were made by the Regents to have books printed and to have the new alphabet taught in the schools in the territory. They listed some of the advantages which they expected from the new system of spelling.

> These characters are much more simple in their structure than the usual alphabetical characters; every superfluous mark supposable is wholly excluded from them. The written and printed hand are substantially merged into one.
> We may derive a hint of the advantage to orthography from spelling the word "eight" which in the new alphabet requires only two letters instead of five, to spell it, viz "AT." There will be great saving of time and paper by the use of the new characters, and but a very small part of the time and expense will be requisite in obtaining a knowledge of the language. The orthography will be so abridged that an ordinary writer can probably write one hundred words a minute with ease, and consequently report the speech of a common speaker without much difficulty. As soon as this alphabet can be set in type, it will probably be furnished to the schools of the territory for their use and benefit, not, however, with a view to immediately supercede the use of the common alphabet which, though it does not make the comers thereunto

> perfect, still it is a vehicle that has become venerable for age and much hard service.
> In the new alphabet every letter has a fixed and unalterable sound. By this method strangers cannot only acquire a knowledge of our language much more readily but a practiced reporter can also report a strange language when spoken.....
> (Deseret News, January 19, 1854.)

The Regents went about publicising the Deseret Alphabet in the schools. Watt himself gave classes for adults wishing to learn the new alphabet. But these efforts met with little success.

> The attempt to promote the use of the alphabet in the schools did not meet with much success. It could not be enforced because there was no tax-supported school system. And the teachers in the private schools showed little interest.
> When Jules Remy visited Salt Lake City in the summer of 1855, a year and a half had passed since the official adoption of the alphabet. He wrote that, at that time, "nothing has been published, as far as we know, with these singular types. We have known them used in private correspondence, and seen them on shop signs." He predicted that the innovation would be "abandoned by its own authors." He reproduced an engraving of "a facsimile of the Mormon alphabet, which we had executed at San Francisco, in January, 1856, after some genuine specimens were brought from the Salt Lake." This was, perhaps, the first engraving of the alphabet to be made. It showed forty characters, each representing a single sound. Most of them appeared to be of original design, but about half a dozen could have been copied from the Greek and Arabic.
> (Ivins: "The Deseret Alphabet," Utah Humanities Review, Vol. I, no. 3, July, 1947, p. 228-229.)

The lack of books printed in the Deseret Alphabet was soon recognized as another major stumbling block in the efforts to have it adopted in the schools. Consequently, the territorial legislature was approached to fund textbooks. The legislature appropriated $2500.00 for this purpose.

The efforts to get books printed were put aside as a result of the Utah War of 1856-57. At this time Federal Troops were sent to Utah to put down a supposed rebellion by the Mormons against the authority of the United States government. However, this matter was settled peacefully and educational matters resumed there former importance. The Deseret News procured type in the Deseret Alphabet font and began publishing selections from the Gospel of St. Matthew and other brief articles. These articles were discontinued after about a year due to lack of interest in the project.

From 1860 to 1867 this lack of interest in the Deseret Alphabet was acute. However, Juanita Brooks tells us:

> In the latter year, possibly as a reflection of a new wave of interest in phonetic spelling then sweeping the country, it was suddenly revived. Strong attempts were again made to replace the English alphabet with this experimental creation, and the Board of Regents fo the University of Deseret, responding to President Young's urgings, took up the matter and in 1868 voted $10,000 for the printing of textbooks to be used in the Territorial common schools. Robert L. Campbell, Superintendent of Public Instruction, identified himself as an ardent advocate of the Deseret Alphabet, and repeatedly called the attention of the Legislature to its advantages. Thus, in his report dated February 19, 1868, he wrote: "The Superintendent takes great pleasure in seconding the efforts of President Brigham Young and the Board of Regents of the University of Deseret in the introduction of the-

> Deseret Alphabet. That English orthography needs reform is patent to all who have given the matter the slightest consideration. To follow in the footsteps of our venerated fathers in a system of orthography so inconsistent and ridiculous and which has never helped to make the comers thereunto perfect, is unworthy of a people whose constant and highest aspirations are to be associated with truth and intelligence who discard error in whatever form it is presented."
> (Brooks. "The Deseret Alphabet", Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 12, 1944, p. 101.)

The excitement attending this renewed interest in the Deseret Alphabet was sufficient to promote the printing of two elementary readers. Also Parley P. Pratt began transcribing the Book of Mormon into the Deseret Alphabet. Pratt's edition of the Book of Mormon was printed in 1869. Also printed that year was a selection from the Book of Mormon known as the Book of Nephi. It was printed in a special large-type edition. These new editions were, however, largely ignored by the public, Mormons and non-Mormons alike. Brooks concludes that

> The almost total lack of popular response spelled the doom of the movement. Superintendent Campbell, in his report for 1870, was still hopeful, and opined that "but a few years will pass until the News, the Instructor, the Ogden Junction, and a lot of other intellectual lights, will spring up, clothed in the unique, novel, and simple dress of the Deseret character." It was the last work on the subject, however, for his later reports do not mention it, and as the years went by the alphabet faded from memory.
> (Brooks. "The Deseret Alphabet", Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 12, 1944, p. 102.

Leah R. Frisby and Hector Lee reported the total money

spent in the attempt to introduce the Deseret Alphabet into general usage was $20,000. (Frisby and Lee. "The Deseret Readers". Utah Humanities Review, Vol. I, no. 3, July, 1947, p. 241.) It is unfortunate that such a grand sum should have been spent on a project, which is now only an educational curiosity, at a time when the shortage of books in the territory was so acute. $20,000 could certainly have made an impact considering the educational resources which were needed at that time.

Several theories have been advanced as to why the project was considered so important. Bethers gives the standard explanation.

> The early Utah Pioneers divised a unique educational tool to aid them in teaching the English language in an easy way. The pioneers were from several foreign countries and needed to learn English quickly in order to communicate with each other and carry on their business dealings. It was called the Deseret Alphabet and had a phonetic system of forty characters with uniform relation between the signs and the sounds. It was taught in the schools and was used in a few minutes and account books. (Bethers. A History of Schools in Iron County 1851-1970, 1972, p. 29-30.

This explanation is widely accepted among Utahns today. Juanita Brooks alludes to it in her article on the Deseret Alphabet.

> Utah, during her period of colonization and long afterward, was a meeting place of many languages. Her settlers and immigrants spoke in several tongues, and the local problem of establishing a common medium of speech was not easily solved. Few, however, save those very familiar with her history, know that during her early years a serious attempt was made to devise an original alphabet and spelling system

> that all could learn and use more quickly and conveniently. A number of the Mormon leaders became convinced of the need for such a system, and over a period of years strove to popularize it among their people. The Characters of this phonetic experiment were known as the "Deseret Alphabet." (Brooks. "The Deseret Alphabet", Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 12, 1944, p.99.)

But this explanantion is really most unsatisfactory. It supporses that immigrant people could spell better if the English lanuage were spelled phonetically. It ignores the fact that these people generally speak with heavy foreign accents rather than with a standard form of English pronunciation. This means that spelling will not be improved, but the varieties of foreign accents could be preserved more graphically, as can be done with the standard Roman alphabet. Vil dis solve the problem? I dunt tink zo. Phonetic spelling is useful when pronunciation is rigidly standardized. This was certainly not the case in territorial Utah.

S.S. Ivins gives another explanation.

> It was charged that the Mormons inaugurated their language reform as a scheme to maintain their isolation and to prevent "outsiders" from knowing what was happening in Utah. It does not appear that these were major objectives of the experiment, although the exclusion of Gentile scribblings was undoubtedly one of the benefits which it was hoped would be realized. T.W. Ellerbeck said that the alphabet was adopted by the University regents "with the view of enabling our youth to learn more easily to read and spell, and to hinder or prevent their access to the yellow colored literature of our age or any unwholesome reading. And the Deseret News, discussing the purposes of the reform, declared:
> "The greatest evils which now flourish, and

> under which Christendom groans, are directly traceable to the licentiousness of the press . . . It is our aim to check its demoralizing tendencies, and in no way can we better do this, than by making the knowledge of the Deseret Alphabet general and by training the children in its use."
> (Ivins. "The Deseret Alphabet", Utah Humanities Review, Vol. I, no.3, July, 1947, p. 238. The quotation from the Deseret News was printed August 13, 1868.)

This explanation has some merit, especially considering the isolationist attitudes which prevailed among Mormons in 1853. The enthusiasm for the Deseret Alphabet prevalent from 1867 to 1869 is difficult to explain in these terms, however, because the territory was becoming more and more open to outside influences. This is true especially in 1869 and afterwards due to the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. This event made possible the contacts with the outside world ending the isolation of Mormondom forever. The Deseret Alphabet may be simply one of the uniquely Mormon cultural artifacts which perished with the end of isolation. It is doubtful that most Mormons wanted a unique alphabet in order to isolate their thought from the rest of the world. There is ample evidence that they viewed the end of their isolation as a blessing and an opportunity. After all, much of the railroad track laid in Utah for the original transconinental line was laid by Mormons.

A third explanation for the importance accorded to the Deseret Alphabet lies in the person of Brigham Young. Young was always the most ardent supporter of the plan to make the spelling of the English language phonetic. It was he who, as governor, urged the regents of the University of Deseret

to devise the phonetic alphabet. And it was he who urged the legislature to appropriate money to support the project, even when the University itself languished for want of appropriations. Why was Brigham Young so interested in this matter?

The fact that, as President of the L.D.S. Church, Young had at his disposal the services of clerks who did most of his writing for him has obscured a facet of his life which has recently been revealed: that he could not spell. Most of President Young's writings were either dictated to his clerks or entrusted to them to write for him. Dean C. Jessee has identified holograph writings of Bigham Young in the extensive collection of the Archives of the Historical Department of the L.D.S. Church. These holographs show that Young had a great deal of difficulty with spelling.

> The personal writings of Brigham Young in the church archives consist of three diaries, forty-nine letters, on notebook, and eleven other documents, all written between the years of 1832 and 1875. The phonetic spelling of these writings shows a man who had very little formal schooling.
> (Jessee. "The Writings of Brigham Young", Western Historical Quarterly, Vol. 4, July, 1973, p. 274.)

Jessee argues that Young's inability to spell was not a symptom of a lack of mental ability, but rather a consequence of his lack of formal schooling. Because of his many other accomplishments we should agree this is the case. Jessee says

> Had Brigham Young been speaking and writing a phonetically spelled language such as German, his autograph writings would have appeared to the reader then and now as literate as those of any intelligent man

> with a solid education. As it is, the inconsistencies of English orthography evaded him through his life. What quirks of spelling he observed and tried to incorporate into his writing served only to confuse the system of "spell as it sounds" he had evolved for himself. He often added a meaningless e to the end of a work, probably because he had noticed the silent vowel on some English words and recognized that they did not alter the sound in any way he could observe. Go becomes goe, do become due, for example. The verb write he rendered wright, obviously from his having noticed right and the w on write. His natural inclination to spell the two words the same, according to their sound, gave way to a desire to be consistent with a system of spelling foreign to his own.
> (Jessee. "The Writings of Brigham Young" Western Historical Quarterly, Vol. 4, July 1973, p. 275.)

This deficiency in his spelling ability and inclination towards phonetic spelling does explain President Young's enthusiasm for the phonetic Deseret Alphabet no matter what other advantages might be gained from adopting a new system devising and promoting the Deseret Alphabet not because it would be a boon to immigrants and not because it would isolate Mormons from the rest of American culture, but because Brigham Young was personally unable to master English spelling. Also, he was in a position of power and influence which enabled him to do something to reform the inadequacies of our traditional system of spelling. What he was not able to do, in spite of his power and influence, was to make others use the system for any great length of time. In teh end it proved more expedient to teach people the traditional system regardless of its shortcomings, than to reform the spelling system which has developed over centuries of use in English-speaking countries.

IV. Teacher, their Roles, Rules and Restrictions

Because of the general lack of books and other teaching materials, the role of the teacher was even more central in the process of schooling in the Utah territory than it is in Utah's schools today. However, it appears that few of the people who answered the calling to be teachers were prepared for the task ahead of them. The few who became outstanding teachers were recognized as examples of intellectual vigor and personal integrity for others emulate. For many others teaching was only a temportary occupation whcih prepared women for roles as wives and mothers and which prepared men for careers in business, arming, and so forth.

Danielson relates a story about a teacher in Richjield in the 1880's who had no shoes, not to mention his lack of a college educationl

> The following anecdote was related by Mr. Morrison about his first teaching experience at the age of 15:
> "Mr. Morrison said he felt like he should dress to look a little dignigied while he was instructor. He wanted very much to have a pair of shoes to wear, but as the pay was mostly produce, or whatever people could get, it was impossible to get enough money to buy shoes, so he was obliged to go on teaching barefooted."
> (Danielson. History of Education in Sevier County, Thesis, University of Utah, 1951, p. 21.)

William R. Palmer tells the story of another teacher who wanted a wardrobe.

> The most ingenious scheme devised for financing the schools comes from the little defunct town of Hebron, six miles west of

> Enterprise. The people were poor and it was almost impossible to employ a teacher. The Bishop's eighteen-year-old daughter, called Sis Terry, had had some schooling and the job was wished on her. The only thing the people had to spare was milk and this they had in abundance. Sis agreed to teach for a bucket of fresh milk per week payable every Friday morning. That was easy for the people, so every Friday morning a stream of good full milk pails arrived at the schoolhouse. She took the milk home and made it into cheese. When spring came and school closed, the Bishop hitched up his team, loaded Sis and her cheese into his wagon and drove to Salt Lake City. The cheese was traded to Z.C.M.I. for goods and Sis came home with a brand new ardrobe and the finest trousseau that any girl in the country had ever had. When this great and resourceful woman grew older, her true christian name, Mary Ann, more befitting her years and social standing, came to the surface. She lived to be ninty-four years old and her mind never dimmed to the end. She was as full of grace and charm as she was of years.
> ("Early Utah School History", in Bethers History of Schools in Iron County 1851-1970, 1972, p. 26.)

It was common for people to become teachers at a very young age in those days. Few people had more than an Eighth Grade education so higher education was not a requiremetn for teachers in the territory. Because the schools were ungraded the older students were often called upon to teach younger students. The use of older sturdents as tutors or "Monitors" actually made them apprentices to the teacher and provided them with some background and experience in teaching which they could use if they were called upon. D. James Cannon relates the story of how John W. Smith became a teacher.

> Johnnie entered school at five years of age. He went one mile daily to the school

house at the old fort in Willow Creek. He was drafted for a school teacher in October, 1884. He was then sixteen years old and lived at Draper, Salt Lake County, Utah. jBishop James Crane of Herriman Fort had come to town looking for a school teacher. He met Willie Stewart (Wm. M.) and asked him if he knew of a teacher they could get to teach at Herriman. Willie said, "no, I don't." But added, "I have a boy here, in my school at Draper, who can serve you will in this capacity if you will hre him."
Who is this boy?"
"He is Johnnie Smith, the blacksmith's son."
Well, let's go up and see him."
Johnnie was in the canyon at the time and his father was loath to let the boy go, saying Johnnie was too young and toolacking in education for such a responsible position. But Willie was insistent, saying that Johnnie was further ahead in book-learning than his father thought and if he would let the boy go, Herriman would have a competent and energetic teacher. The blacksmith finally greed to let the boy go and try.
It was arranged that the work was to begin Monday morning next and Johnnie was to get forty dollars per month and board 'round--taking part of his pay from the tuittion the children were to pay monthly.
Johnnie returned from the canyon late that night. It was laready dark. The rock-oil lamp gave but a dim light to the room. Johnnie was tired and dirty. His mother looked at him a minut then began to cry. What was the matter? he wondered. When his mother could control her feelings she said, "Your father has hired you out for a achool teacher. You are to go to Herriman Fort and begin work Monday morning."
Johnnie was completely dazed, too tired to take a bath and too filled with emotion and excitement to sleep. But the night passed and a double-scrubbing in the family's big wooden tub in the moring estabished a little calmer attitude, equilibrium, and stability in his thinking.
Willie Stewart side-stepped and sloughed his Sunday School duties for the day and came up to the blacksmith's house to see Johnnie. He brought a blank roll book, a

short-handled school bell, a ruler, a few books, and a rawhide whip. He said of the whip, "Put this in the table drawer, but don't use it." This advice was a little out of line with the coaching of those days because "lickin'" and learnin'" went hand in hand with school teaching. "Spare the rod and spoil the child" was the traditional philosophy. Willie poured out a copious amount of advice and a rippling stream of assurance and encouragement. Later in the day Johnnie rode in the white-top to Herriman to begin a new and thrilling experience. With him were two boyfriends and three young ladies from the neighborhood who were all equally thrilled with Johnnie's new adventure, which seemed to lift him to the top of the world.

Johnnie was directed to go to Henry Tempest's house to begin his school teaching career. Upon inquiry the house found and a most happy and ~~he~~rous greeting was given the new teacher and his friends. Upon the insistence of Mrs. Tempest and all of the children, the teacher and his friends joined them in lunch.

School began the following morning with about fifty children ranging from five to twenty-five years of age. Prayer, and a couple of songs, opened the new term and experiment.

The young ladies of the schoolsoon discovered that the new teacher was bashful. This discovery almost upset the apple-cart, for they would deliberately congregate in front of the teacher's table and ask all sorts of questions about their lessons just to embarrass him. Before the school term ended, however, bashfulness was literally worn out of him, never to return in a long lifetime.

About the middle of October, juder to name of John W. Smith, a letter came through the mail requesting him to close school on Friday and come to Salt Lake City to take a teacher's examination. John made this trip on horseback. He left home in Draper at 4:00 o'clock a.m. and reached Salt Lake City in time to meet the examining board at 9:00 o'clock. He spent two days writing examination papers. There were eighteen other candidates in the room. About two weeks later, John received a teacher's cer-

tificate valid for two years. He has held such certificates for sixty-six years and holds one now valid for life. His first certificate was signed by John Morgan, County Superintendent of the Salt Lake County schools, Charles F. Wilcox and Joseph G. Toronto, County Board of Education.
(Cannon. The Story of John W. Smith: First Superintendent of Rural Consolidated Schools, Sugarhouse, Utah: Bulletin Publishing Co., 1951, p. 3-5.)

Emily Miles Sleight tells how her father became a school teacher almost by accident. One day while in town to get supplies he overheard some men talking about the need for a teacher.

> On one of those trips to Panguitch, John had to wait over to get some blacksmithing done on his wagon and shoes for the horses. One afternoon there was a crowd of men at the shop and father overheard one man ask another if they had found a school teacher for the winter, right then they all began to talk at once, "Have you tried this one or that one, well no, we tried her last year and those big boys drove her right out in the street." Another spoke up and said, "What we need is a man teacher to show that bunch where to head in." They were really concerned on what to do. Just then father left his work and told the blacksmith he would be back in a few minutes, he was dressed very shabby with patches on his pants, but that was no worry to him, so he faced the crowd and made himself known and said, "I graduated from two colleges in the city of London, how would I do to teach your school?" One of the men was a school trustee but the rest were very rude and made jokes about that Englishman, just then another man joined the group and was introduced by the trustee as our clerk of the school board. These men started asking father questions, father answered them all till they were satisfied. They also mentioned United States History. Then they wanted to know where he was staying and made an appointment for that evening. Before they came father was a little worried about

United States History, sure enough that, was what was asked, dates of the early United States History, so father said that was the only thing they did not teach in the British schools, but if you will lend me a history book I will have it all by tomorrow. Sure enough by the next evening he had memorized all and more than they ever asked, he had all the important dates and happenings in his head. The trustees were very pleased and signed him up for the job to teach the Panguitch School for six months, his first school in Utah. The next day he went home to Kanab and told Emily the good news. They had all the help they needed to pack up and go. The cow was dry and some other cattle such as calves were left with a relative for the winter. The bedding, trunks, barrels, and boxes were put in the wagon. Father, Mother, and four children were on their way. The trustees had found a house; another log cabin much like the one they left behind, same as all the rest in those early days. Mother had some relatives living there also, a half brother and her father's second wife.

There were also some good neighbors who came to help and the family was soon settled and school was to start the following Monday. Everything went fine until those toughs made trouble, who were the cause of it all the year before. They did not intend to start school, just wanted a fight with the new teacher. (Thought it would be easy, three to one.) Father was young and strong and was ready for them. They started to talk rough so he knocked one down and kicked another, one more to go, he made one pass and father grabbed him with one hand and hit him hard then turned him around and took him with one hand on the shoulderand the other by the seat of the pants and threw him out of the door where he sprawled on his face. The others crawled to the door and made their escape.

(Sleight. "John Horne Miles - A Quick Sketch," Ms. in L.D.S. Church Historical Department Archives.)

It appears, then, that the examination for teachers in Panguitch

was in two parts. Part one was a test of the teacher's mental capacity, part two was a test of the teacher's ability to maintain order in the classroom.

A third test in most of the early schools was based on the theacher's moral and religious qualifications. We have already discussed the conflict between the Mormon and Non-Mormon elements in Utah society and its expression in the territorial schools. It was common, then, especially in rural communities which tended to be close to one hundred percent Mormon, for the school trustees to ask teachers about their morals and their views on religion. William R. Palmer discusses this matter.

> As early as 1852, a beginning at regulation and standardization was made in the southern counties. Doubtless, the same was true in all the counties in Utah if one looked up their records. The first step was the appointment by the respective County Courts of a board of examiners consisting of three members whose duty it was to examine the qualifications of would be teachers. They were to examine applicants as to their fitness and to certify those who met the standards set up. Few, perhaps, of the appointed examiners had the scholarship to judge the pedagogical qualifications of applicants, but there was a uniform determination to exclude from the schools the morally and spiritually unfit. Some of the questions asked were, "Are you morally clean? Do you keep the commandments of God and live an exemplary life before man? Do you respect virtue and defend chastity? Do you become intoxicated on strong drink? Is your language free from profanity and all vulgarity? Do you believe the Book of Mormon and accept our leaders as men of God?" Such questions sound strange to us today, but these were wholly Mormon people and they were concerned that there children should not fall into the hands of teachers who would destroy their faith.
> ("Early Utah School History" in Bethers. A History of Schools in Iron County 1851 - 1970, 1972, p. 19-20.)

The first schools in Utah were private schools which attracted students according to the ability and personal magnetism of the teacher. These schools were not regulated in any way. Upon the establishment of territorial status in 1851, however, the legislature acted to establish standards for teachers. The plan which was adopted put the University of Deseret in charge of the training of teachers as well as directly in charge of a school for paupers. Section 12 of the ordinances incorporating the University, states that:

> It shall be the duty of the Chancellor and Board of Regents as soon as funds arising from donations or otherwise may justify, to establish a free school institution for the benefit of orphans and other indigent worthy persons. (Laws and Ordinances of the State of Deseret, Salt Lake City, 1919, p. 93.)

The legislature also created the office of the Superintendent of Primary Schools of the Territory of Utah. Further, the roles of counties and cities in the creation of school districts and the hiring of teachers were defined. The law specified that prospective teachers were to be examined.

> It shall be the duty of the county court to appoint a board of examiners, three competent men whose duty it shall be to hear and determine the qualifications of school teachers and all applicants of a good moral character that are considered competent shall receive a certificate to that effect signed by the board. (Laws of Territorial Utah, 1851-1852, p. 97.)

The emphasis on moral character in the law was very clear. It is quite certain that this requirement was strictly enforced, since the examiners in many, if not at all, communities included the local Mormon Bishop and his two counselors. The plan to involve the University of Deseret in the preparation of teachers

for the territory faltered, however, because the University was not funded by the legislature and it was unable to continue operation. The University was not closed, though classes were not held from 1853 to 1869 when it reopened and became an important teacher training institution from that time to the present.

Especially during the period when the University was closed, the burden of selecting teachers fell directly on the local boards, with some guidance from the Territorial Superintendent of Instruction. The laxity of the examining boards was the subject of much criticism during the 1850's and 60's. The laws were amended to allow each country to employ a county superintendent of schools who would oversee the teachers. This was an important step in the professionalization of education in Utah because the county superintendents were able to promote higher standards of training and peagogy than the lay boards of education.

The legislature began appropriating money for local school districts in 1874. In 1880 the legislators voted to withhold appropropriations from districts which hired uncertified teachers. This requirement was evidently not taken very seriously by school trustees. Both the official reports of the schools and the personal reminiscences of teachers indicate that many taught for years without proper certification.

One of the problems with obeying the law requiring teachers to be certified was that the law required all teachers to be examined annually, usually at their own expense. Jacob S. Boreman, the eighth Territorial Superintendent of Schools, recommended that this requirement be changed to require only one examination, ex-

cept in unusual cases.

> Statute required all teachers in district schools to pass an annual examination to ascertain their fitness for the position of teachers. This seems a useless provision. One examination should be sufficient. It would be proper to provide for reexamination where it would appear that a person has improperly been given a certificate.
> (Biennial Report of Territorial Superintendent of Schools, 1888-1889, p. 7.)

This recommendation was accepted by legislators. The law was amended to allow certification to be granted for life after passint the examination. Normal school graduates were given certificates automatically upon graduation of the assumption that the completion of the normal school training was proof of competency as a teacher. (Most of the discussion of certification has been gleaned from The History of Teacher Certification in Utah by Cloyd O. Bartonek. Thesis, University of Utah, 1948.)

Many teachers were able to overcome the difficulties associated with frontier life in Utah. Some of them are rememberd and revered still. Dr. John R. Park was a teacher in Draper, Utah until his talent for teaching became so widely known that he was asked to become President of the University of Deseret in 1869. Dr. Karl G. Maeser was the founder of the Brigham Young Academy in Provo, forerunner of the Brigham Young University. Louis F. Moench was a teacher in several schools in Ogden before he was called to be the first principal of the Weber Stake Academy, now Weber State College. Many teachers deserve to be recognized for their contributions to Utah education in the territorial period. Unfortunately, there is little information about them available at

the present time.

The founders of Utah sought teachers who were morally clean, intellectually qualified and capable of managing a large and often diversified group of students. Orson Hyde, a Mormon Apostle, summarized the qualification which the people of Sanpete County desired in a teacher in a letter to the Deseret News.

> Our people in Sanpete are considerably anxious about schools. We have now very good ones in every settlement, but we want just about twice the number that we have; and the only reason why we have not all we require is the lack of competent teachers. We would like young or middle aged men of good character, not particular whether they are Jews or Gentiles, if they are morally upright men, whose orthography and pronunciation are correct who can pass an examination in reading, writing, geogrphy, arithmetic, and grammar. Qualifications in other branches would not be the least objectionable, but a good practical knowledge of the foregoing branches will be strictly necessay. We would prefer men of our own religious faith for teachers, if they can be obtained; but if not, teachers of any other faith will do with good moral character.
>
> Some think that any sort of teacher who may want a home and employment will do for Sanpete; but it is a mistake. We want faithful and qualified men, and are willing to pay such for their services. A few competent female teachers could also find situatins here. They can apply to F.C. Robinson, Esquire, Manti, Superintendent of Common schools in Sanpete County. (Deseret News, 16:104 (March 12, 1867).)

Hyde's letter makes it clear that good teachers were scarce in the Utah territory and that they were considered to have a very important role in the community.

V. Country Schools as Historic Sites

The school buildings in most communities in Utah went through four stages of development during the territorial period. The first schools in many communities were what we call home schools. They were held in tents, wagons and private homes. The second stage of development was the ward schools. They were held in Mormon meeting houses called ward houses. The third stage of development was the district school. The district school buildings were separate from the churches, though they were still closely controlled by local Mormon leaders. The fourth stage of development was the free public schools which came into being after 1890 when legislation was passed which permitted the funding of free non-sectarian schools by the state. In addition non-Mormon sectarian schools were established beginning in the 1870's and remained a potent force in Utah education throughout the territorial period. Identifying each of these types of schools as historic sites presents special problems. Because it would be impossible to comment on all of the school buildings in the territory in the space allowed here, the schools of Iron County will be discussed. They are typical of the state's rural schools and they have been especially well documented.

The first school in the county was conducted at Parowan by Apostle George A. Smith in his "wicky-up" which was not a school building. It was a couple of wagons drawn together for shelter around a campfire. It is doubtful that the site of this school could be established after so many years.

Forts were built in several communities to protect the settlers from Indians. The original forts were torn down long ago. However, a replica of one of these forts is being constructed at Cedar City on its original site as a tourist attraction. Schools were held in the forts in the early days as a measure of protection for the children.

Churches, such as the Old Rock Church in Parowan, were used extensively as schools. This fine old church is in a very good state of preservation. It was built in 1866. It is now owned by the Daughters of Utah Pioneers and is listed on the National Historic Register.

A photograph of the concrete school house built in Parowan in the 1870's is shown in Bethers' History of Schools in Iron County 1851-1970, p. 197. Tethers does not indicate whether this school is still standing. It was probably one of the first buildings constructed as a school separate from the L.D.S. ward hall in Iron County.

Through the territorial period schools in Paragonah were located successively in the town fort, in the home of John R. Robinson, in the ward meeting house, and in the Relief Society Hall. Parowan, Paragonah and Cedar City were the first settlements in Iron County.

Other settlements which flourished in Iron County during the territorial period included Kanarraville, Pinto, and Enoch. Marvin Christensen described the school at Kanarra.

> The settlers established a school first thing upon arriving at the new settlement. It was located in a log building along with the church until it burned down. A new building was built in the northeast

> corner of the town square with the church upstairs and the school down in the bottom. This was divided into two long rooms. One side for the four small grades and the other side for the upper grades. School was taught to the eighth grade, and then if you had enough money to go to Cedar and stay, you could attend high school. There were a few who did go. Most of the children only went to the eighth grade and that was the end of their education. The rooms had a blackboard at the front and a long bench. The students would come up to the front and receive instruction, then they would go back and another group would go up to the front bench. ("Early School System at Kanarra" in Bethers, A History of Schools in Iron County 1851-1970, 1972, p. 217.)

Of the school at Pinto, Bethers observed that

> In 1866 a rock house was built in Pinto which served as a church, the school, and a recreation center for the rest of Pinto's days. David W. Tullis did most of the mason work. Joseph Eldridge and Oscar Wood did the carpenter work and the painting. (Bethers, A History of Schools in Iron County 1851-1970, 1972, p. 224).

At Enoch the first school was held at the Co-op Ranch, using one of the ranch houses for their school. Later a log school house was constructed with donated labor.

> This log building was built on a red rock foundation on which an attempt had been made earlier by the school district to build an adobe building for a school. When the walls were about up to the square, the south side blew in and then the men of the community began the log building. (Hunter Grinshaw says the building was located about one hundred yards south of Gibson's house.) All the men of Enoch rallied around to help. It was all done by donations. A stage was made in the west end. The curtain, side and back scenes were made and painted by Charley Anderson, painter. For years theaters, dances, children's operettas, community parties, church meetings and public school was held in this building. Both writers of this history took part in the public

> activities and received their early education in this "Old Log School House," as it was known. (Bethers. A History of Schools in Iron County 1851-1970, 1972, p. 257.)

The sectarian schools in the county included two Presbyterian schools and the Mormon Parowan Stake Academy. The first Presbyterian school to open was at Cedar City in 1880 by Rev. W. C. Cort. The teacher was Miss Eliza Hartford. The school closed in 1885. This building apparently no longer exists. The present Presbyterian Church in Cedar City was constructed in 1926.

The Presbyterian School in Parowan was established sometime between 1880 and 1884. Dora Page gave an account of this school which we have quoted on p. 20-21. The school continued to flourish for many years. Bethers' History includes a picture of the school with teachers and students outside taken 1896. The present status of the building is unknown.

Though most of the schools in the county were connected with the L.D.S. Church, as we have seen, the Parowan Stake Academy was the only one in which the Church paid the teachers. Teachers were recruited from the Brigham Young Academy at Provo.

Bethers is not specific regarding the date when this school was established. He does indicate that the school occupied several different buildings during its existence.

> This school was first held on the second floor of the Knell building and is presently being used by Marsden's Men's Clothing and Cardon's Shoe Store. The school later moved to the City Court House when it became too crowded for these quarters. (Bethers. A History of Schools in Iron County 1851-1970, 1972, p. 185.)

Once again it is interesting to note that because of the lack of separation between church and state in Utah, the Mormon private

school was held in the City Court House for some years.

Bethers has documented the existence of rural schools in twenty-five communities in Iron County. Those which are not discussed above are believed to have been founded after statehood was granted in 1896.

If these schools can be regarded as an accurate cross-section of the rural schools of the territorial period then it appears that most of the buildings have been torn down or converted to other purposes. Only the Rock Church at Parowan is known to exist today.

VI. Country Schools Today

The school at Grouse Creek in remote western Box Elder County is the only traditional one-room ungraded school known to exist in Utah today. Most such schools were closed soon after the school district consolidation law was passed in 1915. Since that time children in rural communities have been bused from their homes to centrally located schools.

The Grouse Creek School remains open only because it is too far from any larger community to justify busing the children. But even that school has been modernized. A new school building was constructed about five years ago. The old building was torn down.

The builders and developers of Utah communities have generally torn down old school buildings. Few of them remain today. A rock school house at Fillmore, a ward school at Kingston, a few old churches and other public buildings which were used as schools on a part-time basis are about all we have left of the school buildings of the past.

It is perhaps ironic, then, that Utahns are so interested in these old schools which they have allowed to be destroyed. The following poem exemplifies this nostalgia.

THE OLD COUNTRY SCHOOLHOUSE

It stood on a bleak country corner,
The houses were distant and few,
A meadow lay back in the distance,
Beyond rose the hills to our view.
The roads crossing there at right angles;
Untraversed by pomp and array,
Were cropped by the cows in the summer;
I've watched them there many a day.

In memory's hall hangs the picture,
And though years of sad care are between,
It hangs with a beautiful gilding,
And well do I love it, I ween.
It stood on a bleak country corner,
But boyhood's young heart made it warm
It gloried in the sunshine of summer
'Twas cheerful in winter and storm.

The teacher, oh well I remember;
My heart has long kept him a place;
Perhaps by the world he's forgotten,
His memory no time can efface.
He met us with smiles on the threshold,
And in that rude temple of art,
He left with the skill of a workman,
His touch on the mind and the heart.

Oh, gay were the sports of the noontide
When winter winds frolicked with snow;
We laughed at the freaks of the storm king
And shouted him on, all aglow.
We dashed at his beautiful sculptures,
Regardless of all its array,
We plunged in the feathery snowdrift
And sported the winter away.

We sat on the old-fashioned benches,
Beguiled with our pencils and slate;
We thought of the opening future,
And dreamed of our manhood's estate.
Oh, days of my boyhood! I bless you;
While looking from life's busy prime,
The treasures are lingering with me
I gathered in life's early time.

Oh, still to that bleak country corner
Turns my heart in its weariness yet,
Where leading my gentle young sisters
With youthful companions I met.

I cast a fond glance o'er the meadow;
The hills just behind it I see
Away in the charm of the distance,
Old schoolhouse! a blessing on thee!

-Author Unknown
Courtesy of Elizabeth McDonald
History of Hooper, Utah
Land of the Beautiful Sunsets
by John M. Belnap

Utahns have a great reverence for their past. The gathering of local history has been going on for many years by individuals and by groups such as the Daughters of Utah Pioneers. As a result of the efforts of these amateur historians almost every community in the state has published its own history. This has been especially true since the Utah centennial in 1947. Almost all of these histories devote a few pages to the local schools and their development.

Theses and dissertations on the schools of Utah have been completed at the universities in the state. Several of these have been particularly useful in compiling this report.

Utah's school history has been treated enevenly by professional historians. Levi Edgar Young published several articles about education. His books also contain chapters on the history of the schools. But Young was somewhat biased in his viewpoint. He attempted to create a past which would inspire Utahns to greater heights. He always reported everything he could find that was good; he minimized the importance of anything which might be considered bad.

Andrew Love Neff included much information about the schools in his History of Utah. Unfortunately, Neff's work does justice only to the broad outlines of Utah's educational history. The same might be said for most of the other histories of the

state, when they treat educational matters at all.

Local histories have contributed much more to the understanding of local educational matters. Joel Ricks and Everett Cooley's, The History of a Valley, is outstanding in this respect. Andrew Karl Larson's I Was Called To Dixie and his autobiography The Education of a Second Generation Swede epitomize the writing of local history, especially with regard to the role of schools in Utah's rural communities.

John Clifton Moffitt's The History of Public Education in Utah is the finest one-volume history of schools in Utah which is available. This work is supplemented by Moffitt's history of teacher organizations in the state, A Century of Service, 1860-1960: A History of the Utah Education Association. It is unfortunate that such fine work as that of Moffitt should also suffer from bias. His History of Public Education in Utah is a history of the Mormon schools. The Protestant schools are omitted because they are sectarian and, therefore, not public schools. On the other hand, schools held in Mormon churches and even the sectarian Mormon academies are included in his work. Publicly supported non-sectarian schools were not introduced into Utah until the 1890's when a liberal non-Mormon legislature was able to pass the enabling legislation. (These legislators were elected, by the way, because most Mormons were disenfranchised by the notorious Edmunds-Tucker Act because of their practice of and/or belief in the principle of polygamy.) Prior to the passage of this legislation all schools in Utah were to some degree private and sectarian in the sense in which those terms were applied to schools today.

A new generation of historians is writing about Utah's schools and teachers with more objectivity. Dr. Charles S. Peterson and Dr. Frederick S. Buchanan have both published articles on the history of education in Utah which show a more balanced view of the past than the previous generation of scholars would have been likely to portray.

The sources of the educational history of Utah in libraries and archives are considerable. The Archives of the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is an especially valuable resource. The minutes of Mormon ward and stake meetings are a source which has not yet been fully investigated. Pioneer diaries, letters and autobiographies are also valuable.

Each of the college and universities in Utah have some archival materials relating to the history of education in the state. Much of what is available in these collections is listed in the bibliography of the Country School Legacy Project. However, much archival material is not listed due to the usual difficulties of cataloging and indexing manuscript materials.

Two resources should be mentioned which are not within the state of Utah. These are the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley and the collection of Mormon Americana at Yale University. Both of these colletions are available to scholars on microfilm. The Bancroft Collection, in particular, has a great deal of material which relates to early schools in Utah. The original collection of H.H. Bancroft which was collected in the 1870's has been augmented by materials collected in the 1930's by a W.P.A. project directed by Hugh O'Neill.

Together these resources, both printed and archival, represent a valuable resource for studies of the history of education in Utah. It is to be hoped that the impetus provided by the Country School Legacy Project will stimulate new investigations of the history of Utah's schools.