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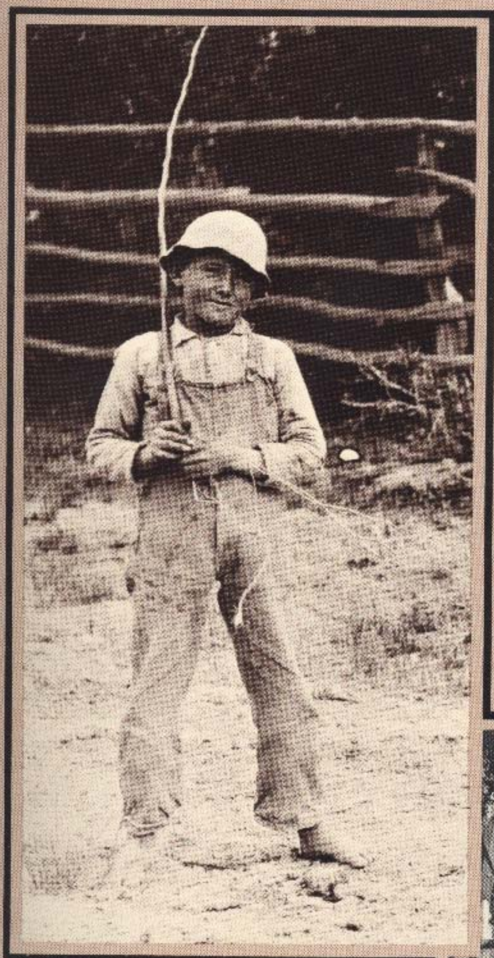

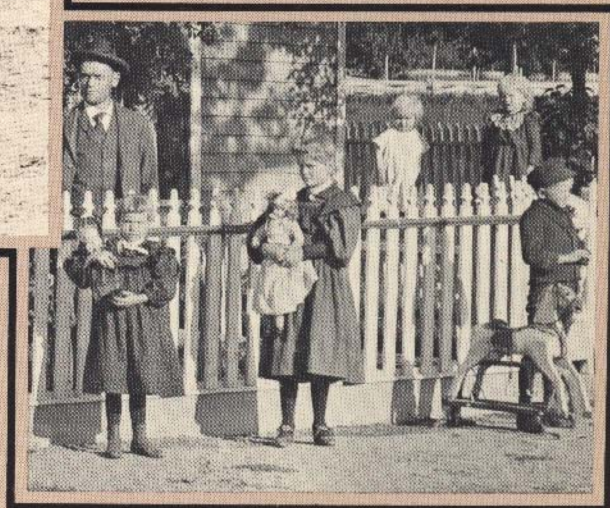

GROWING UP IN UTAH

UTAH
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THE COVER *At play or at work Utah's children were typically American: the barefoot boy with a stick fishing pole and the dressed-up children with their store-bought toys (George Edward Anderson photographs, courtesy Brigham Young University); the Boy Scout tuba player in an LDS church MIA band, Rowland Hall girls playing basketball, and coal miners age fourteen and over at Scofield (USHS collections); the Christian Otteson girls at a daily farm chore in Huntington (George Edward Anderson photograph, courtesy Rell G. Francis, Heritage Prints).*

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The Pinto Ward chapel and school, built in 1866, illustrates the tendency to merge church and state in early Utah history. USHS collections.

A New Community: Mormon Teachers and the Separation of Church and State in Utah's Territorial Schools

BY CHARLES S. PETERSON

IN THE SUMMER OF 1978 UTAHNS OBSERVED an extended court case dealing with released time and public school credit for religious instruc-

Dr. Peterson is professor of history at Utah State University and a Fellow of the Utah State Historical Society. This article is a revised version of a paper delivered at the Mormon History Association meeting in San Francisco, December 1978.

tion at the Logan LDS Seminary. Contradicting testimony, angry charges, and the physical breakdown of the judge at a critical point introduced elements of sensationalism that attracted wide interest. Among other things the "released time–public credit" case demonstrated that the proper adjustment of religious and public roles in education was still a vital issue to many Utahns. For some the location of seminaries adjacent to public schools, lunch room habits of seminary teachers, and indeed the very social relationships that developed in the seminaries represented church invasions of public functions. For others, where one ate lunch, like released time and public school credit, were conveniences utterly devoid of offense. In the end the judge issued a split decision under which released time provisions remained standing and public credit fell, enabling both sides to claim victory.

Whatever the merits of the released time and public credit issues, it may be noted that the case was an expression of a long-term process by which the educational realms of church and state are being defined. As suggested by the Logan Seminary case, this process has often been a matter of court action. But it has also involved political conflict, sectarian competition, administrative adjustments, and the growth of the idea that public education is vital in America and that it should be devoid of religious content.

In Utah history questions about the roles of church and state in education were most hotly contended during the latter third of the nineteenth century as part of the general effort to bring the Mormons into a fuller conformity with national political and social norms. At the conclusion of that period Mormons yielded in their determination to teach religion as part of the public school curriculum and generally accepted the national formula by which religious neutrality was maintained in public schools. The long, slow process of this adjustment was marked by bitter feelings. This article proposes to call attention briefly to a general development of this change and to give a somewhat more detailed account of a group of new Mormon converts who helped adjust the roles of church and state in Utah education.

It is not easy to understand today just how foreign modern educational concepts would have seemed to the first generation of Mormons. It is true Joseph Smith's teachings included the ideas that "the glory of God is intelligence" and that "man is saved no faster than he gains knowledge."[1] It is also true that Brigham Young founded two institutions of higher education and that Mormon converts of the first years included numerous people with some learning as well as a few doctors and lawyers. Yet, for the earliest Mormons many of the attributes of education were alien indeed. Life was literally a training ground for eternity. In it, temporal training had its place, but education in the formal sense was suspect as part of the worldly tradition of class distinction, inequality, and selfishness from which Mormons were trying to withdraw. There was a dearth of qualified teachers in the early Utah years; and many who were educated either could not afford to teach or were diverted from it by pioneering, concern with salvation, or the conviction that the great teachers, after all, were life's experiences and the Holy Ghost. Under these circumstances Mormons who did possess a conviction that schooling was important often had to turn to outside teachers to give their children proper opportunities. The much-talked-of University of Deseret was for two decades virtually unstaffed and unattended, little more than a paper school. The Mormon set of mind was authoritarian rather than questing. When it did question it tended to pursue such tangential schemes as the Deseret Alphabet by which Mormons hoped to promote a great breakthrough in human communications. Schools ran spasmodically in makeshift facilities or met in churches that doubled as public buildings. Teachers were poorly paid and taught only elementary subjects. Not only were there no high schools and no university students, but education was often feared and distrusted as were legal theory, medicine, and philosophy. Virtually no Mormons went outside to school. Even Brigham Young's older sons were deprived of this opportunity and went into church service in part because it was the only option open to them.[2]

Implicit in the foregoing is the fact that separation and specialization were beyond most early Utah Mormons. They were unable to appreciate them as concepts and unable to apply them practically in their lives. Early Mormonism was a lay religion that made only scant distinction between the temporal and the spiritual. The overriding purpose of the gospel was to bring all things into one under God. Divisiveness was an anathema whether it appeared in the form of dissenting doctrines, political parties, or separate public and religious instruction. Furthermore, Utah's pioneer

[1] Doctrine and Covenants 93:36 and Joseph Fielding Smith, ed., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith . . .* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), pp. 137, 217.

[2] Several of Brigham Young's younger children were sent east to school. See Dean C. Jessee, ed., *My Dear Son: Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1974). For another who later left Utah for an education, see Gene A. Sessions, ed., *Mormon Democrat: The Religious and Political Memoirs of James Henry Moyle* (Salt Lake City: Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1975), pp. 75–76, 128–50.

Mormons were thoroughgoing generalists who performed all manner of services for themselves because specialization was physically beyond them. Thus, to a degree uncommon among Americans of their time, they were poorly prepared by values or circumstances to distinguish between public and religious roles in education or to recognize teaching as a distinct profession.[3]

Elsewhere in the United States public education had been initiated by the last third of the nineteenth century, and a growing number of Americans had exchanged suspicion and fear for confidence that learning promised the good life.[4] A conviction was also spreading that learning was the right of all Americans rather than the citadel of snobbery or the preserve of class distinction. To safeguard themselves against each other America's Protestant churches had also given their support to religiously neutral public schools where if their own principles were not taught, at least conflicting concepts were also restricted. In addition, Protestants were beginning to teach doctrines of enlightened and educated patriotism that some scholars now call the "religion of the republic."[5]

[3] My views on the limits of education in early Utah (1847–69) are worked out in "The Limits of Learning in Frontier Utah: A Reinterpretation," keynote address at the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, November 1978. Earlier studies useful in formulating my thoughts on both the early and late periods of territorial education include: Stanley S. Ivins, "Free Schools Come to Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (1954): 321–42, "Latter-day Saint Schools" in Kate B. Carter, ed., *Heart Throbs of the West*, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1939–51), 11:93–145: "The University of Utah and Other Schools of Early Days," *Heart Throbs*, 12:1–52; Levi Edgar Young, *Dr. John R. Park, In Memoriam* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1908); Ralph V. Chamberlin, *Memories of John R. Park* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1949); Ralph V. Chamberlin, *Life and Philosophy of W. H. Chamberlin* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1925); John Clifton Moffitt, *John Rocky Park in Utah's Frontier Culture* (Provo, 1947): Reinhard Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser* (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1928); Alma P. Burton, *Karl G. Maeser, Mormon Educator* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1953); Arthur M. Richardson and Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., *The Life and Ministry of John Morgan* (Salt Lake City, 1965); M. Lynn Bennion, *Mormonism and Education* (Salt Lake City: LDS Department of Education, 1939), John Clifton Moffitt, *The History of Public Education in Utah* (Provo, 1946): Ralph V. Chamberlin, *The University of Utah: A History of Its First Hundred Years, 1850 to 1950*, ed. Harold W. Bentley (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1960); Ernest L. Wilkinson, Leonard J. Arrington, and Bruce C. Hafen, eds., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 4 vols. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975–76), vol. 1, Royal Ruel Meservey, "A Historical Study of Changes in Policy of Higher Education in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (Ed.D. diss., University of California, 1966); T. Edgar Lyon, "Evangelical Protestant Missionary Activities in Mormon Dominated Areas, 1865–1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1962); Laverne C. Bane, "The Development of Education in Utah, 1870–1896" (Ed.D. diss., Stanford University, 1940); John W. Fitzgerald, "One Hundred Years of Education in a Utah Community" (Ed.D. diss., Stanford University, 1948).

[4] For well-known references to these developments see Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*, vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 105–25, Merle Curti, *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier Country* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 379–80.

[5] Sidney E. Mead deals with this topic generally in his *The Lively Experience* (New York, 1963), especially pp. 134–55.

Not surprisingly, the Protestants contributed to a division between the church and state functions of education in Utah. In the years immediately after the Civil War the home mission movement focused its attention on the West, and ministers and missionaries plied the frontiers waging war against crudeness, ignorance, crime, lawlessness, and prostitution, as well as against polygamy. Although a young Congregational missionary named Josiah Strong almost singlehandedly brought religion, refinement, and order to neighboring Cheyenne, Mormon Utah proved virtually impervious to the first missionary efforts.[6] Not even the sons of the Prophet Joseph Smith, then well on their way to Protestant conformity, made discernible inroads during missionary visits of the 1860s.

Almost as if to confirm Mormon distrust of education, it was through schools that the home missions finally established a beachhead. Beginning with the Saint Mark's Episcopal School in 1867, home mission schools expanded steadily until by the 1880s upwards of one hundred of them employed more than 300 teachers and enrolled a maximum of more than 9,000 students, including many Mormon and Jack-Mormon young people.[7] To begin with, most of the mission schools—like the Mormon-controlled common schools—offered only elementary courses; but by the mid-1880s they operated many high schools, and education assumed an increasingly evangelistic character as an attempt to capture the minds and aspirations of the young was added to the enthusiasm and fervor of religious faith.

With a show of tolerance Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders first welcomed the Protestants, making facilities available and encouraging Latter-day Saints to attend their meetings. But the threat to Mormon young people quickly brought this era of good feeling to an end. The mission schools were opposed from the pulpit, where Protestant teachers were denounced and the Saints counseled to send their children only to the Mormon schools. Fraternization was frowned on, and teachers and missionaries were avoided and even occasionally harassed. A good example of the latter unfolded at southern Utah's St. George where G. M. Hardy's meetings were broken up by braying donkeys and pranksters togged out as the fabled Three Nephites.[8]

[6] See Dorothea R. Muller, "Church Building and Community Making on the Frontier, a Case Study: Josiah Strong, Home Missionary in Cheyenne, 1871–1873," *Western Historical Quarterly* 10 (1979).

[7] Daniel S. Tuttle, *Reminiscences of a Missionary Bishop* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1906); Ivins, "Free Schools"; Lyon, "Evangelical Protestant Missionary Activities"; E. Lyman Hood, *The New West Education Commission, 1880–1893* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1905), p. 2.

[8] Juanita Brooks, *Uncle Will Tells His Story* (Salt Lake City: Taggart & Co., 1970), pp. 46–47.

Fear that free public schools would exclude spiritual instruction firmed into determined opposition toward tax-paid compulsory education as well as efforts to improve the quality of Mormon teaching. In the struggle to achieve these ends Mormon legislatures cautiously worked out a series of laws under which it was possible to make modest gains in teacher training, administrative reorganization, consolidation of schools, and standardization of textbooks. Other significant reforms, however, were adamantly opposed. Tax-supported or free schools were rejected out of hand as were all efforts to make school attendance mandatory.[9] In much the same manner as Mormons supported woman suffrage to demonstrate that polygamy was not repressive, church members worked energetically to make the system succeed and pointed with pride and satisfaction to its very real accomplishments.

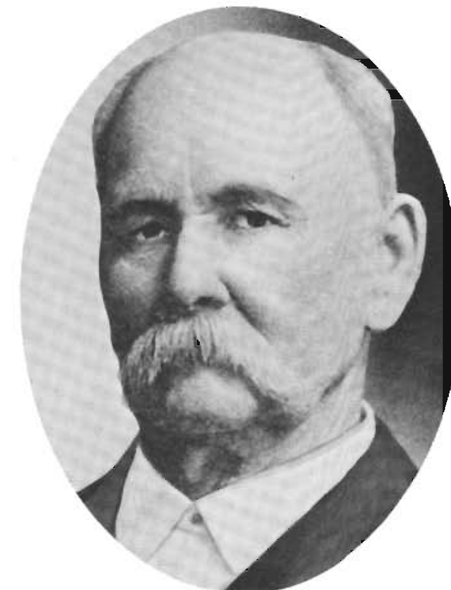
After 1880 changing times and stringent federal laws altered Mormon views about education and reduced the extent to which they could control public schools. As a consequence, dramatic changes were accepted if not indeed embraced. Beginning in the mid-1880s the Latter-day Saint academy system provided an effective counter to the Protestant high schools.[10] Then in 1890, in a development that was only eclipsed by the dropping of polygamy, Mormons accepted tax-supported public schools and compulsory education. Thereafter, a church education system was quickly established.[11]

Facilitating the transition to secularized, free public schools were a group of educators who emerged as a distinct and specialized community within Mormon society in the decades preceding the 1890s. Actively sponsored by Mormon leaders, this community adapted national and educational trends and principles to the Utah situation and contributed to a growing ability to distinguish between and segregate the functions of temporal and spiritual learning. In addition, they eased earlier fears of learning and encouraged Mormons to regard education as a new frontier for youth. In time, Mormon educators emerged as a new elite, attracting a growing number of followers who found new professional and economic options and created a folk history that did much to define

[9] Ivins, "Free Schools."

[10] Meservy, "Higher Education in the Church," pp. 125–67; Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, pp. 147–201; Frederick S. Buchanan, "The Rise of the Mormon Academy," paper in author's possession; D. Michael Quinn, "Utah's Educational Innovation: LDS Religion Classes, 1890–1929," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1975):379–89.

[11] Ivins, "Free Schools"; Howard R. Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846–1912: A Territorial History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 385–87, 389, 405; Quinn, LDS Religion Classes."



Educators Warren N. Dusenberry and Wilson H. Dusenberry advanced the educational level of schools in Provo before moving on to other interests. USHS collections.

roles within the new community and to fix its place in the larger Mormon society. Few in number, the first generation of this developing community consisted, with two or three notable exceptions, of new converts, most of whom were Americans who came to Utah as part of the general westward movement and stayed to teach and join the Mormon church. The pages that follow will undertake to portray this group and characterize their achievements.

Among the earliest members of this nascent community were Provo's Dusenberry brothers, Warren and Wilson. Of Pennsylvania Dutch background, they had been raised in Illinois. After acquiring a common school education they came west in 1860, pausing in Provo before proceeding to California where Warren attended Vacaville College, an obscure frontier institution, and Wilson the community schools. Age twenty-six and twenty-one and possessed of boundless energy and expansive temperaments, they returned to Provo in 1862 where Warren immediately began teaching in the ward schools. In 1863 they founded the private "First Dusenberry School," which operated successfully for several years, and in 1864 they joined the church.[12] In 1869 they established an advanced school, which quickly became the Timpanogos Branch

[12] Quoted from Wilson Dusenberry Diary in Wilkinson et al., *Brigham Young University*, 1:34–35.

of the University of Deseret. Drawing more students than the parent school, the Timpanogos Branch continued under Warren's direction at the heart of central Utah's cultural development until 1875 when Brigham Young stepped in to create Brigham Young Academy. Warren served as principal of the academy for the first term.

During this period the Dusenberrys had struggled to bring discipline to "brats determined on having a spree," chilled when the "Young-uns kicked the stove down," and found tuition collecting to be the "toughest part of launching an educational enterprize." They also found teaching to be "a carnival of joy"—producing the deepest "ties of affection."[13] Adding literary, athletic, musical, and dramatic programs to more conventional instruction, they had Provo's schools "jogging along very well" and contributed to a real cultural advance in a town that had previously merited the saying "Provo or Hell."[14]

In the long run the Dusenberry brothers proved to be too expansive to remain in the developing school community. Commercial enterprises and political activities attracted them both, and Warren became increasingly preoccupied with law. But for a dozen years they added color and zest as well as direction to Provo's educational development.

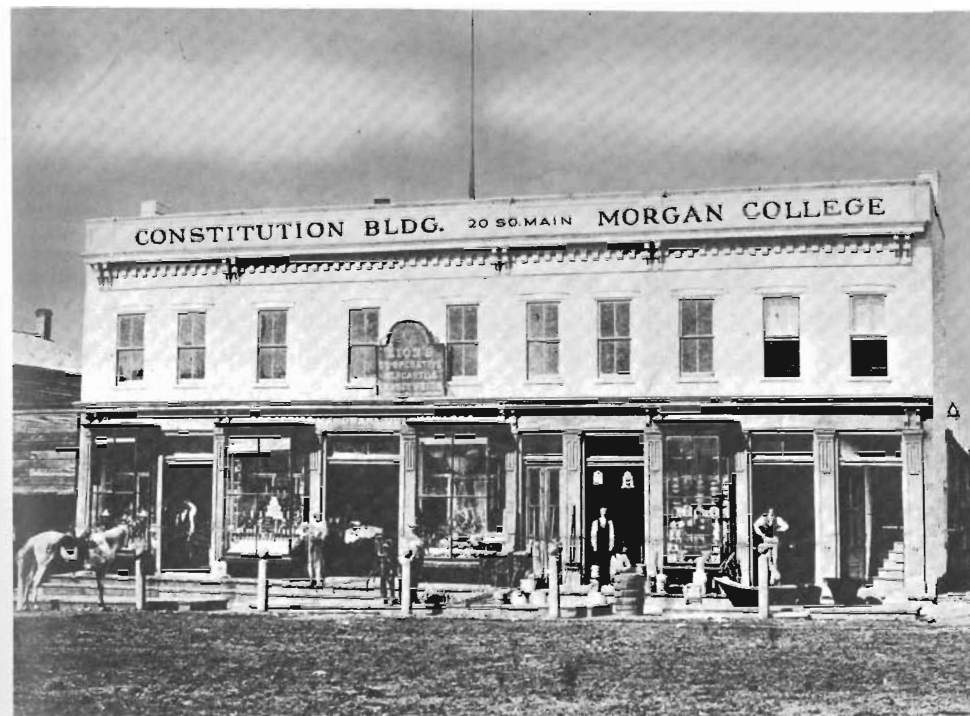
Similar in many respects was John Morgan. Born and raised in the Midwest, he fought in the Civil War, studied for two years at Eastman's Commercial College in New York, and then made an unsuccessful business attempt in Tennessee. In 1866 he accepted a contract to drive cattle to Salt Lake City for William Jennings, a Mormon businessman. Morgan liked Utah and decided to stay, opening Morgan's Commercial College in January 1867 and joining the Mormon church that November. With an emphasis on the practical that must have warmed Brigham Young's heart, Morgan based instruction on experience in simulated businesses, intending to "gradually merge the school into a 'bona fide' Mercantile Institution."[15] In time a normal course was added and, as a public service, a library opened. Tuition was pegged at the stiff rate of $15 per quarter, although for $35 (later $50) "a life scholarship" could be purchased that admitted the holder to the entire course and refresher classes at any time.[16]

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., 1:36; Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, p. 46.

[15] *Morgan's Commercial College, the Pioneer College of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1869), p. 2.

[16] Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., "Morgan College" in Carter, *Heart Throbs*, 12:12–13. See also John Morgan Collection, Utah State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City, for paid up scholarship in the name of T B. Brinton; and Levi Mathers Savage, "Journal of Levi Mathers Savage" ed. by Ruth S. Hilton, mimeographed (Provo, Ut., [1955]), p. 8, for reference to a $50 fee for lifetime scholarship.



Morgan's Commercial College was housed in the historic Constitution Building on Salt Lake City's Main Street. Photograph has been retouched at some time. USHS collections.

With segregated courses for men and women, Morgan's school was an immediate success. For the 1872 school year 689 students enrolled, although many were qualified only for primary work.[17] As suggested by a class roster for 1869, most of Morgan's students were from Salt Lake City, with only 33 of 273 coming from elsewhere in the territory and, interestingly, 5 from midwestern states.[18] Some 2,000 or more students probably attended in the eight years of the institution's life. In this light it is obvious that Morgan's College not only provided practical training but created a broadened community for young people. Bashful, work-hardened boys from the "clodhopper wards" associated on a par with the self-confident daughters of Brigham Young, at least one of whom led people to believe "she had never done any kitchen work even down to setting a table."[19] Almost afire with a passion to learn, avid youngsters

[17] Ralph V. Chamberlin, *Life Sciences at the University of Utah: Background and History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1950), as cited in Morgan, "Morgan College," p. 15.

[18] See the list of students in Richardson and Morgan, *The Life and Ministry of John Morgan*, pp. 51–52.

[19] Sessions, *Memoirs of James Henry Moyle*, pp. 66, 74.

from the territory's villages were thrown together with both young and old of the Mormon elite and sometimes maintained continuing connections with them that influenced the church's development.[20]

Understandably, John Morgan was gratified at the college's success. Among the achievements to which he felt it contributed was the growth of teaching as "a profession, instead of employment to be changed at the first opportunity."[21] Many years later his biographer claimed that the University of Deseret's first real steps towards an advanced course of study came as a result of Morgan's remarkable success.[22] Whatever the case, Morgan did recognize that the times required higher education. Not only did he apparently make it pay (at least until after the panic of 1873), but as an educator he attained a position in Mormon society only a little behind the established leaders of church and business. It seems likely that his subsequent role as a prominent missionary and general authority depended in part on the start thus acquired.

Other early Utah educators of American background include Francis Marion Bishop, Henry Schultz, Joshua Reuben Clark, Louis Moench, and the Cook sisters, Mary and Ida Ione. Bishop fought in the Civil War, studied science at Illinois Wesleyan, and came to Utah with John Wesley Powell. Bishop soon became a Mormon, married the daughter of Apostle Orson Pratt, and taught science at the University of Deseret for several years in the mid-1870s before establishing an assay business in Salt Lake City. Little of the eulogistic folk history related to other teachers was attached to him, and one is inclined to conclude that Bishop's teaching appointment may have been related to his father-in-law's position or to his association with the Powell surveys. If nothing else, his period as a professor points up the connection between the emerging Mormon educational community and developments in the Midwest and nation as a whole.[23]

[20] For an example of a village Mormon who attended Morgan's College and established associations that lasted a lifetime, see Savage, "Family History Journal"; Charles S. Peterson, ed., "'Book A — Levi Mathers Savage': The Look of Utah in 1873," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (1973):8, 9. From a later period the diary of John M. Whitaker records similar results from Whitaker's experience at the University of Deseret. Original in Archives Division, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

[21] Cited in Richardson and Morgan, *Life and Ministry of John Morgan*, p. 50.

[22] Ibid., p. 70.

[23] W. L. Rusho, "Francis Bishop's 1861 River Maps," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 37 (1969):207–13; Don D. Fowler, ed., *"Photographed All the Best Scenery": Jack Hillers's Diary of the Powell Expeditions, 1871–1875* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1972), p. 17; Elmo Scott Watson, ed., *The Professor Goes West: Illinois Wesleyan University Reports of John Wesley Powell's Explorations, 1867–1874* (Bloomington, Ill.: Illinois Wesleyan University Press, 1954). Wallace Stegner says that Bishop was a graduate of Illinois State Normal University with which Powell also had connections; see *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1953), pp. 124, 140.

"Poor Henry Schultz," as Karl Larson, historian of southern Utah, has called him, came to Utah to teach at Saint Mark's Episcopal School.[24] He lost his job when he joined the Mormon church but, with the mission spirit still strong, traveled in 1874 to St. George where he proposed to establish a normal school. In this undertaking his interests corresponded with those of Apostle Erastus Snow who arranged for him to be paid from the local tithing office, which was to be reimbursed from tuition payments. St. George had few surplus resources at best and with a temple under construction carried an almost unbelievably heavy church burden.[25] Schultz learned quickly that to arrange for pay was one thing and to get it another. Soon a cankered dialogue was running with Schultz complaining that it was "an utter impossibility, to be satisfied" unless his *"Real Wants"* were met.[26]

He also appealed for food, clothing, and $30 per month to meet his bills. Almost dumbfounded at his presumption, Snow sputtered that this was "more than our own families consume" and assured him that it was impossible to guarantee even $12 or $15 a month. Ultimately, Schultz left in frustration, but not before an effort to operate on a private tuition basis had shown that without the support of local leaders it was impossible to attract "enough Scholars" to pay even for "fuel of Said School."[27]

Much more successful in coping with the Mormon frontier was Joshua Reuben Clark. Son of a Church of the Brethren minister, he was born in Ohio, raised and educated near South Bend, Indiana, and fought in the Civil War before coming to Utah by way of the Montana gold fields in 1867. He was immediately attracted to Mormonism and joined the church within a few weeks. Settling in Grantsville west of Salt Lake City, he taught in the public schools, headed the Tooele County Educational Association, served many terms as county school superintendent—giving that elective position elements of professionalism it lacked in most rural counties—and was a leader in cultural endeavors of every kind. His interest in books was broad, and Dwyer's Book Store was one of his regular stopping places in Salt Lake City. His role was largely confined to Grantsville and Tooele County, but in that local context his contributions were

[24] A. Karl Larson, *Erastus Snow: The Life of a Missionary and Pioneer for the Early Mormon Church* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971), p. 585.

[25] A good account of the problems at St. George and the building of the temple is found in A. Karl Larson, *"I Was Called to Dixie," the Virgin River Basin: Unique Experiences in Mormon Pioneering* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961).

[26] Moffitt, *History of Public Education*, pp. 314–16.

[27] Ibid.

large, both as a teacher and an administrator and as an almost legendary figure around whom educational traditions and loyalties formed and by whose values young people were inspired. Although his son J. Reuben Clark, Jr., achieved great renown as a member of the First Presidency of the church, it is worth noting that the elder Clark was recognized more in the context of a developing local educational community than as a church leader.[28]

Louis Frederick Moench was an educator in the complete professional sense of the word and more than most depended entirely upon education for his livelihood and his position in the community. Born in Germany in 1846, he left his native land as a youth, migrating to upstate New York in 1856. Possessed by an almost insatiable thirst for learning, he moved west, studying at Chicago's Bryant-Stratton College before striking out for California in the mid-1860s. En route his wagon burned, and he was forced to stop at Salt Lake City where he remained. By 1868 he had joined the Mormon church and signed on as a teacher at the University of Deseret. Thereafter, he worked closely with the educators in the territory; taught at Brigham City; founded private, public, and church schools at Ogden; served as superintendent of schools in Weber County; and laid the groundwork for Weber State College. Failing health in the early 1890s led him to study medicine briefly in Cincinnati, after which he opened a practice at Pocatello, Idaho. By 1894, however, he was back at Weber Stake Academy. Still plagued by ill health, he served as principal of church academies in Arizona, Colorado, and Utah after the turn of the century.

A brilliant and scholarly man, Moench lacked the expansive self-confidence one sees in the Dusenberrys and John Morgan. On the other hand, his achievements were broad, and he touched hundreds of scholars, including such figures as David Eccles and Charles W. Nibley, with an enthusiasm for music and drama as well as the humanities and sciences.[29] He was supported and put forward in Mormon society by church leaders as an educator and contributed significantly to the scholarly community

[28] Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901–36), 3:49; David H. Yarn, Jr., *Young Reuben: The Early Life of J. Reuben Clark, Jr.* (Provo, Ut.: Brigham Young University, n.d.), pp. 17–20, 45–49. See also Alma A. Gardiner, "The Founding and Development of Grantsville, Utah, 1850–1950" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959), and John L. Clark, Tucson, Ariz., to author, March 30, 1978.

[29] Record of Moench's activities is found scattered in newspapers, church reports, and letters of the time. See also Walter A. Kerr, "Life of Louis F Moench, Founder of the Weber Stake Academy (Weber College)," paper presented to Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, 1951; and Louis F. Moench and John R. Park, "Report" in *Biennial Report of the*

generally. He rightly deserves to be regarded as the father of education in Ogden and Weber County.

Playing prominent and complicated roles in the emerging community of learning were Mary and Ida Cook. Educated in New York normal schools, they came to Utah in 1870 after Mary, who was fifteen years Ida's senior, had taught at reputable schools in Chicago and Saint Louis. Within a year they were baptized Mormons and began to win acclaim for the excellence of their teaching and their efforts to grade the "irregularly schooled Utah children."[30] This resulted in Mary's selection to head a model school in connection with the University of Deseret's teacher-training program. Soon dubbed "an Apostle of education" by historian Edward W. Tullidge, she presided for a short period over the university and continued to hold forth in her school at the Social Hall for several years before she made an unsuccessful attempt to solve the problems at St. George that had laid "poor Henry Schultz" low.[31] Thereafter, she gradually disappeared from prominence. Ida, on the other hand, moved aggressively for more than two decades, playing an especially important role in Cache Valley until 1891 when she, like her sister, left the state.[32]

They were extraordinary women, but they were women, and therein lay limitations. Both found real opportunity and were given positions of eminence and responsibility, yet neither had opportunity to travel on church assignments in behalf of education as did some male educators who, on the face of the record, seem little if any more qualified. In addition, each was nominated to the office of county school superintendent, but both were finally excluded from that office because they were women. Like other Mormon teachers their careers crossed back and forth over the confused lines of private enterprise, religious influence, and public obligation, but for them as women it added up to a little different experience.

Although a remarkable number of leaders in the emerging community of educators were recent converts to Mormonism from the Midwest, several important exceptions exist. Robert L. Campbell and John

Territorial Superintendent of District Schools (Salt Lake City, 1880); Leonard J. Arrington, *David Eccles: Pioneer Western Industrialist* (Logan: Utah State University, 1975), pp. 45, 55. Eccles, whose schooling was brief, was typical of many Mormons who felt that advanced education produced "learned fools"; and he resisted the desires of his wife to send his own sons to college, although later in life he became a board member for Weber Academy in which capacity he served ably and with enthusiasm (p. 134). For reference to Nibley's indebtedness to Moench, see Kerr, "Life of Louis F. Moench."

[30] Jill Mulvay, "The Two Miss Cooks: Pioneer Professionals for Utah Schools," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1975):397.

[31] Ibid., pp. 403–4.

[32] Ibid., pp. 408–9.

Taylor stand out because of the very absence of other British, among other reasons. Converts from the British Isles came largely from the working classes and from the great industrial cities but included many individuals of intellectual inclination and scholarly attainments. Rather than finding their roles in education, however, most of these turned to business, to the clerical offices of the church, or to journalism and writing. Indeed, the record suggests that British converts lacked the sense of educational mission that so often came from the postfrontier areas of America.[33]

Robert Campbell was born in Scotland where in 1842 he joined the church to which he thereafter devoted his life. During the period under discussion he simultaneously held the offices of chief clerk at the Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake County and territorial superintendent of schools, and clerk for the all-Mormon legislative assembly. In addition, he was a sometime teacher.[34] As superintendent of territorial schools he advocated graded schools, tax support for education, and standardized textbooks; and during the time of Mormon concession that marked the 1872 statehood drive he even advocated free public schools.[35] Significantly, he was also one of the primary supporters of the Deseret Alphabet. In view of all this one is inclined to regard Campbell as a transitional figure. That he was an educator and a professional cannot be doubted. Yet, he was also a jack-of-all-trades sort of Saint whose real specialization was Mormonism and whose only real community appears to have been the church.

Even more than Robert Campbell, John Taylor's contributions to education were incidental. A "spared martyr," his wounding at Carthage Jail when Joseph Smith was assassinated and his almost miraculous survival marked him as one of the great heroes of the church. Born in Westmoreland County, England, in 1808, he acquired "some proficiency in . . . Latin and Greek . . . and the higher branches of mathematics," but also served as an apprentice to a cooper and a turner.[36] As a Mormon leader he was gifted, articulate, and courageous. He read widely and by contrast to Brigham Young, who was not at home with the written word, he was a brilliant journalist and polemicist, if not indeed a man of letters. He distrusted scientists and once said they could do no more than "leap in the dark."[37] For philosophers he often expressed contempt. "Ignorant, learned fools," their "foolish dreamy . . . theories" could, as one pleased, be called "philosophy or fried froth."[38] No Mormon leader saw the threat of sectarian teachers and mission schools to Latter-day Saint youth in more urgent terms. "Shall we allow our children to be taught by them?" he once asked. "No never. . . . Let us (not) give them over to the powers of darkness to be taught by the enemies of God and his people."[39]

It was in this connection that John Taylor made vital contributions to education. Days before Brigham Young's death in August 1877 he was elected territorial school superintendent, a position he held for the next four years. Along with the burdens of presiding over the church, Taylor administered the schools from his church offices and in some degree through his son-in-law and private secretary, L. John Nuttall. Taylor made matters of education the subject of long, cogent reports in which church and state are thoroughly mixed and spoke regularly about schools in his sermons.[40] In addition, Mormondom's most prominent educators were selected to travel as Taylor's special envoys. Mixing church and state inextricably, they made hundreds of visits in which they met with church leaders and school trustees, addressed public and church meetings, and conducted the business of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, a church auxiliary.[41]

Taylor's dual role as church president and public school superintendent—together with his management of school duties through emissaries who differed little if at all from the subordinates who represented him in ecclesiastical business—mixed church and state with a forthrightness remarkable even in Utah. This was a significant development because of what it suggested to Mormons generally and to the Gentiles of Utah and the nation. On the other hand, it also contributed to a growing ten-

[33] Articles by Ronald Walker have interpreted the Godbeite dissent as a reflection of dissatisfaction among certain intellectually inclined Latter-day Saints of English background. Interestingly, none of these appears to have been prominently connected with the development of education. See Walker's "Commencement of the Godbeite Protest: Another View," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (1974); "Edward Tullidge: Historian of the Mormon Commonwealth," *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976); and "The Stenhouses and the Making of a Mormon Image," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974).

[34] Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia,* 3:613.

[35] See the territorial school reports for 1862 to 1874, especially 1872 in which Campbell indicates that county superintendents favored free schools and that public sentiment was "sufficiently ripe to justify favorable legislation"; also see Moffitt, *History of Public Education,* p. 122.

[36] B. H. Roberts, *The Life of John Taylor* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1973), p. 21.

[37] *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (Liverpool, 1854–86), 20:119.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., 20:134–35.

[40] *Biennial Report of the Territorial Superintendent of District Schools . . . 1878 and 1879* (Salt Lake City, 1880), *Biennial Report of the Territorial Superintendent of District Schools . . . 1880 and 1881* (Salt Lake City, 1882); *Journal of Discourses,* 19:248–49, 20:119–20, 134–35, 179–80, 21:368–69.

[41] *Report . . . 1880 and 1881.*

Karl G. Maeser and John R. Park capped their careers as educators by heading the state's two major universities: Brigham Young University and University of Utah. USHS collections.

dency toward specialization that in the long run helped to separate church and state in the territory. In this connection, it is important to note that the traveling educational authorities enjoyed the full benefit of Taylor's position. They also shared in the rhetoric of praise that Mormons lavished upon their leaders. Together with the tradition of gratitude and appreciation already accumulating around the persons of prominent educators, this deference contributed to the enviable and distinctive status that teaching and teachers were coming to enjoy in Mormon society.

Ranked with Louis Moench as Taylor's chosen educational missionaries were John R. Park and Karl G. Maeser. More than perhaps any others, Park and Maeser stood at the center of educational developments in late nineteenth-century Utah.[42] Their backgrounds differed in important respects, as did their careers, and yet many important parallels exist. Maeser was German and well educated in that country's teacher-training institutes. In 1855 he joined the church in Germany, making him the first of the new educators discussed here to become a Latter-day Saint and also the only one not converted after arriving in Utah. Park, like so many other first-generation Mormon educators, was from the Midwest. He was educated at Ohio Wesleyan Academy and at a medical affiliate of the University of New York, and in 1861 headed west. Maeser

[42] See books cited in note 2 above.

was considered something of a prize catch, and a honeymoon of sorts marked his entry into the church. Park came to Utah quietly, left, returned, and joined the church utterly without fanfare. In America, Maeser headed Union Academy, a well publicized boys school that died aborning in Salt Lake City, and taught in the Young family school. Park made the tiny hamlet of Draper into what locals, impressed with the University of Michigan's prominence, extolled as the "Ann Arbor of the Rockies." In 1867 Park was hired to head the University of Deseret. Nearly ten years later Maeser was sent to replace Warren Dusenberry at Brigham Young Academy with the charge to "not teach even the ABCs without the Spirit of God."[43] Each man remained at the head of his respective institution, defining the character of church and public education in a Mormon-dominated society, until the 1890s when each left to undertake broader responsibilities. Park took over as state superintendent to work out the delicate balances of a free public school system both Gentiles and Mormons could live with. Maeser became head of the church's educational system, which was moving rapidly toward its twentieth-century patterns.

Both men attracted followers by the hundreds in a society where previously only church leaders and perhaps a few business leaders claimed followings. Indeed, the loyalty of the followers had been reserved mainly for the church itself by the hierarchical character of its leadership. Consequently, it was a clear measure of changing times when followers of Park and Maeser left a record of loyalty and appreciation rarely equalled even in the adoring literature that honored leaders of the church.[44] Of greater consequence than eulogies, however, was the fact that Park and Maeser were emulated in spirit, conduct, and professional connections by a growing community of young people who, in turn, were loved and respected in their own right, thereby touching the entire Mormon society. Suggestive of this, and yet entirely typical, were the comments of James H. Moyle about "Dr. Park, who so quietly and modestly moved in that community":

> Who can now tell what part the University of Deseret played in the great drama, and just why there was attracted to it a simple, obscure character like Dr. John R. Park, a physician who was promoted from school teacher

[43] Burton, *Karl G. Maeser*, p. 26.

[44] A good place to make comparison of this kind is in Sessions, *Memoirs of James Henry Moyle*. Moyle observed many church leaders and was very close to some. His observations are always respectful but rarely affectionate, and by comparison to his warm assessment of John R. Park they are sometimes downright cool.

> in [an] obscure village . . . ? Who can unfold to our view the magnitude of the splendid work he did and the ramifications of the . . . influence he wielded over the lives of so many of the generation who came in contact with him. How far was he and the university he loved responsible for the accomplishments of the thousands who came within the realm of his and its sphere? . . . I never heard of Dr. Park having . . . worldly possessions. How choice and rare a character he was. It is thus to my school teachers, the Deseret University, and Dr. Park that I attribute my opportunity for mental development and elevation from the humble walks of a west-side clodhopper to wider fields of growth and progress.[45]

One more point should be made with respect to Park and Maeser before turning to some concluding remarks. The relationship they enjoyed with students depended to only a limited degree upon original thought. They and their contemporaries were not prolific thinkers and scarcely merit being called men of letters in the ordinary sense. Maeser was a moralistic thinker whose writings are admirable for their clarity and language yet are little more than a collection of homilies.[46] Nowhere is there evidence that he tried to work elements of the social gospel, social Darwinism, or other popular doctrines of the day into his writings. The biographer of Utah's George Sutherland, a Maeser student who was perhaps the most influential figure on the conservative Supreme Court of the 1920s and 1930s (and one of Utah's most forgotten figures) attributed Sutherland's unswerving commitment to social Darwinist principles to Maeser.[47] This, however, appears to be an unwarranted conclusion. Although subsequent teachers at Brigham Young University made halting attempts to reconcile Mormon thought to Darwinism, there is no evidence whatever that Maeser did.[48] Indeed, in an 1898 book, he spoke out forthrightly against it in a way that would have pleased John Taylor and doubtless did please current church leaders.[49] Park rarely went into print on this or any other subject, apparently preferring quiet personal instruction to the end of his days.

Thus, after 1867 education in Utah changed. Its development corresponded closely with an expanding emphasis on education nationally and was hastened by the arrival of the transcontinental railroad. The

[45] Sessions, *Memoirs of James Henry Moyle*, p. 66.

[46] See his *School and Fireside* (n.p., 1898).

[47] Joel F. Paschal, *Mr. Justice Sutherland: A Man against the State* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), pp. 8–9.

[48] For discussions of Mormon thought relating to social Darwinism, see, for example, N. L. Nelson, *The Mormon Point of View* 1 (October 1904): 364–67; Chamberlin, *Life and Philosophy*, esp. chaps. 6 and 7; Richard Sherlock, "The Controversy over Evolution and Science in LDS History," paper prepared at Harvard University.

[49] Maeser, *School and Fireside*, pp. 28–31

success of the Protestant churches in making the schoolroom a primary line in the campaign to Americanize and "Christianize" the Mormons shook Latter-day Saint leaders out of an educational complacency induced by the demands and isolation of pioneering. Increasing importance was placed on school attendance, and the church began to give more than nominal support to higher education. Stung by the Protestant effort to entice away its young through learning, Mormon society was also forced to accept branches of learning for which there had been no enthusiasm earlier. Also, doors of position and respect were opened to educational leaders, allowing them to be counted as a new elite.

Significantly, the leading figures in this development were new converts, mostly from the American Midwest, who had much in common with the Protestant missionaries and who had themselves lived through periods of frontier development similar in many respects to what was then underway in Utah. By contrast, few old-line Mormons and fewer British and Scandinavians emerged as leaders in the first generation of this educational renaissance. One also sees forming within the larger Mormon society a specialized community of educators with its own commitment to learning, its own social lines and traditions, and a new set of economic and intellectual opportunities. Second-generation educators soon joined them, but the founding fathers, especially Park and Maeser, were dominant figures in Utah education throughout the remaining years of the century.

Some advance was also made toward defining those elements of education essential to the church and those essentially public. As the era had begun lines dividing the two spheres either had not existed or had been hopelessly intertwined. The situation was complicated for a time immediately after 1867 by what may be called entrepreneurial schools or institutions run largely for profit. By 1880, however, private enterprise was receding as a factor, and higher education, at least, was following two courses: one religious and one public but both very much under Mormon influence as Maeser and Park pursued their separate paths at the Brigham Young Academy and the University of Deseret. Through the efforts of these men the institutional foundations of separation were pretty well defined in higher education by the 1890s.

Another development that contributed to separation of church and public education was the emergence of a specialized community of educators who, unlike John Taylor and Robert L. Campbell, could be Mormon and involve themselves in education without formally represent-

The Franklin School in Salt Lake City in the mid-1890s symbolizes the separation of the public schools from direct church influence. USHS collections.

ing the church in the process. In terms of institutions, some progress had been made toward relieving the tensions between the Mormons and the larger society. On the other hand, Mormon society was becoming more complicated as an educational community grew within it and new values were entertained. With such considerations in mind, it is apparent that growing separation of church and state in education during these years contributed significantly to the settlement of the Mormon conflict and to the social pattern by which Utahns have since lived.