

# HISTORY OF UTAH

1847 to 1869

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## CHAPTER XXXI

## EDUCATION IN THE SIXTIES

## EVOLUTION OF THE SYSTEM

Intellectual strivings of this decade focused largely on the betterment of the school system. Popular opinion swung increasingly to the view that education was an important public rather than a partially private function, and that the licensing, supervision, and compensation of teachers was a responsibility of government rather than a private duty. Publicists were advocating free common schools. The *Deseret News* of Dec. 5, 1860, mentions that Evening Free Schools for young and old are being conducted in the 14th and 6th Wards. The Union Academy, a school of this type, was opened in 1860 under the direction of Orson Pratt. Meantime, Brigham Young's private school-house had just been completed.

Governor Alfred Cumming commended the evidences of progress that met his eye, in his message of Nov. 12, 1860: "I have witnessed with pleasure the evidences of increasing interest in the subject of education. In this city and throughout the Territory, many large and spacious school houses have been built, and the sight of hundreds of children who daily attend them is very cheering." Yet he pointed the way of future advance in this sentence: "But as yet you have no free or common schools; and I would again impress you upon the vital importance of appropriating a portion of the Territorial revenue to the establishment and maintenance of such schools."

Already a committee of the legislature had been instructed to report on the feasibility of raising \$5,000 for the purchase of uniform school texts and the elaboration of a plan for the disposal of the same in such a way that the poorest pupils should have access to them. The practicability of publishing school books at home was likewise receiving consideration. This committee was also to investigate the state of affairs of the University of Deseret.

Comparative statements showing the cost of textbooks from the Pacific Coast, the Eastern States, and the cost of printing them at home were submitted by a legislative committee, Jan. 10, 1860.

The price quotations on a thousand copies each of Webster's Speller, Town's first, second, third, and fourth readers, Smith's Grammar, and Ray's Arithmetic, were lowest in the Eastern Market and highest in the local.

A legislative committee, after conference with the Superintendent of Common Schools during the succeeding session, reported a lack of uniformity in textbooks. Those most extensively in use were Webster's Elementary Spelling Book, McGuffey's Series of Readers, Smith's Grammar, and Ray's Arithmetic. County Educational conventions were recommended by this body.

Gov. John W. Dawson's address of Dec. 10, 1861, emphasized the responsibility of the State in the education of the masses. "Every child in the Territory should be educated, because they are the children of the Territory and the subject of its guardian care."

The textbook situation was deplorable, according to Supt. Campbell's report of Jan., 1863. "The great difficulty in school matters here is a lack of uniformity in text books, which renders the labors of the teacher very arduous, without corresponding benefits to the pupil. The time has arrived, in my opinion, when we should compile and publish our own school books. . . ." Lack of sufficient home-made paper proved a serious obstacle to the adoption of this project.

The legislative recommendations of Governor James L. Doty, Dec. 12, 1864, expressed strong conviction that "schools, and the means of education, ought to be provided in every settlement in the Territory. Without this is done, the mass of the people will soon become grossly ignorant, the abject slaves of wealth and power, and the miserable dupes of every charlatan in religion or in politics."

Albert D. Richardson, in his *Beyond the Mississippi*, published in 1867, relates this circumstance which occurred in 1865: "By Brigham's invitation I spent an hour in his school. Its register bore the names of thirty-four pupils; three, Brigham's grandchildren; all the rest his own sons and daughters. There were twenty-eight present, from four to seventeen years old, on the whole looking brighter and more intelligent than the children of any other school I ever visited.

"With three of the prophet's daughters I had some conversation. Their language is good, and their manners graceful. One has

a classic face; and another is so pretty that half the young men of the church are in love with her. Afterward, I visited the ward schools of the city. There, the foreheads are narrow and the average intelligence low. Tuition costs from four to ten dollars a quarter. There are no free schools in Utah."

The latest educational doctrine would have met with immediate adoption except for the monetary burden that it entailed. Thus the crux of the problem lay in its financial aspects. Frontiersmen could ill-afford the heavy expense, unassisted by federal aid. George A. Smith, in a conference sermon of Oct. 8, 1865, summed up the situation as follows:

"We have never had one dollar from any source to aid in the cause of education. We have built our school houses, hired our school teachers, paid the school bills for our poor—have done everything that has been done in education, without one dollar of encouragement from the parent Government. I have been astonished at this. I suppose it is the policy of the Government to extend the facilities of education, but it has not been done here; not one solitary dime has been received by Utah, while millions upon millions have gone into the treasuries of other states and Territories for school purposes from the Federal Government."

Taxation difficulties arose to handicap the efforts of Educational builders, as revealed in a sermon by Brigham Young, Dec. 22, 1865:

"The Bishop of the 13th Ward tried to collect school taxes from some of the 'Gentile' population. They refused to pay, and suits were commenced before the District Court. That court decided that we had no right to make a law to collect taxes to build school houses. In any of our neighboring Territories an opposite decision would have been given; but here expounders of the law encourage outsiders not to pay a single dollar of taxes if they can help it, or do anything to improve the city, to erect public buildings, or to maintain public peace and good order."

The federal policy of withholding assistance from an infant colony was severely arraigned by George A. Smith in a sermon of April 8, 1872:

"It appears to be a portion of the policy of the national government never to do anything for schools in a Territory. When a Territory becomes a State, the policy of Congress, in past years,

and it will probably continue to be so in years to come, has been to extend liberal privileges and immunities, in the donation of lands and of the per cents from the sales of public lands within the State for educational purposes—the support of common schools and universities. This parsimonious policy towards Territories may be an enlightened one, and it may not; having lived in a Territory most of my life I may not be considered a proper judge. Suffice it to say, however, that so far as legislation for education is concerned, or any encouragement or assistance extended from the United States to the people of the Territories, their children must be raised in absolute ignorance. The result is, that whatever progress is made or improvement attained in these directions in the Territories is due entirely to the energy, enterprise and enlightenment of the inhabitants—the hardy pioneers who break the ground, make the roads, fight the Indians and create the State."

#### THE SCHOOL LAW OF 1866

Climaxing the evolution of the school law during two decades was the enactment of Jan. 19, 1866, which introduced vital changes. Provision for the support of common schools underwent important revision. The compensation of the teacher now came within the province of the law. The principle of reliance on tuition fees and voluntary contribution, fine in its day, was superseded by the more modern concept that the responsibility of fostering interest, maintenance of plant, and even of financing teachers' salaries, devolved primarily on the State or Territory and its subordinate governmental units. However, the presence of the word "may" in the clause, left the exercise of this function in the category of a permissive rather than a mandatory power. Public opinion was swinging in the right direction, however, and time would yet write "must" in place of "may".

The Trustees were authorized to levy and collect a two and one-half mill tax for building and repair purposes, but the taxpayers themselves, by a two-thirds vote, could lift this rate to thirty mills. Identical procedure was necessary to secure an additional levy of not to exceed ten mills to compensate teachers and provide equipment. Popular election of superintendents became the vogue, and the term of trustees was lengthened to two years. The Territorial

Superintendent was elected by joint session of the Legislative Assembly.

Material benefits from this law were contingent on the ability of the citizenry to finance the advanced program. Public land grants had proved efficacious in promoting educational interests elsewhere, and Utahns entertained large hopes of revenue from this source. Section 36 in Salt Lake City was especially valuable and Supt. Campbell tried to ascertain what steps, if any, could be taken to secure a patent to it. The disheartening response of the Commissioner of the Land Office, dated Oct. 14, 1867, read: "In reply to your letter of the 27th ult., I have to state that sections 16 and 36 are reserved for schools in Utah Territory, but title thereof cannot be acquired until further legislation by Congress, making the 'grant in place,' which is not usually done until the community passes from a Territorial condition to a State."

This decisive reply made relief for education contingent on admission to the Union, and hence re-opened the struggle for statehood.

Supt. Campbell's report of Feb. 19, 1868, stated that the minimum charge per quarter for tuition in most of the counties was \$3. "Although the present school law permits trustees when authorized by a two-thirds vote of the tax-payers in the district to assess and collect taxes for building school houses and also for the payment of qualified teachers, there are but few districts which operate in accordance with this provision; nearly all the school houses in the Territory have been built by the voluntary liberal donations of the citizens, and the teachers have almost invariably been dependent on the tuition fees obtained from their pupils."

#### BETTERMENT OF THE COMMON SCHOOLS

While the educational trend was distinctively toward a free public school system, financial limitations hampered the realization of the objective. Moreover, elements in the population were still adverse to changing the system from its partially private status to an exclusively public function. Clearly a campaign of education was necessary.

Ways and means of augmenting the school revenue found increasing favor with the Legislature. In a toll road grant in Tooele County, as early as Jan. 22, 1864, it was specified that ten per cent

of the proceeds should go to the common schools. Likewise, in a toll bridge concession in Cache County, approved Jan. 13, 1865, the Territorial Treasury became the recipient of five per cent of the receipts, the same to be disbursed for the benefit of the common schools. A year to a day later a similar provision went into a charter for a toll bridge over Bear River in Boxelder County. The Overland Mail Company was authorized to construct a graded road across Dugway Mountain in Tooele County, collect toll for ten years, and to pay into the Territorial Treasury, for the use and benefit of common schools, five per cent of all tolls collected thereon. Approved, Jan. 20, 1865. Meantime the Territorial Superintendent was required to sue those companies that failed to pay into the treasury the sums due the common schools.

Governor Charles Durkee was a devotee of free public schools. This is evidenced by his advice of Dec. 11, 1865: "It is my settled conviction, that the property of a State or Territory should be taxed to defray all expenses of the education of its children." Durkee conceded that the time had not arrived for the inauguration of so advanced a program in Utah, owing to the fact that school lands were not yet available for the support of such a project. He recommended that Congress be asked to devote the proceeds from the sale of town sites in the Territory to a school fund, and a petition embodying this thought was soon on its way to Washington, D. C. The governor made the further suggestion that district taxation for educational purposes should be made imperative rather than optional.

Another permanent source of revenue became available by enactment of the provision, Jan. 17, 1866, that the net proceeds from the sale of animals from the Estray Pounds should be disbursed in the county by the county school superintendent.

This pertinent excerpt appeared in Gov. Durkee's message of Dec. 10, 1866: "Although, owing to the sparceness of our population and a want of means, a common school system cannot be, perhaps, at once entirely perfected, yet such steps as are practicable should be taken toward making the means of education free to all children within the Territory."

Supt. Campbell reported to the Legislative Assembly, Jan. 18, 1867, that the compensation received by teachers and the amount raised for buildings had been compiled according to the

specifications of the new law. "Tuition fees range from four to ten dollars per quarter per pupil for teaching the common English branches. School houses have been generally built by voluntary contribution. But few districts, if any, have assessed a tax for the purpose of paying teachers." He concluded: "When it is considered that the inhabitants of this Territory have improved and sustained the present school system without the aid of a school fund, or a single dollar from the coffers of the parent government, the need of praise will be awarded them by the friends of education."

The relationship between the University of Deseret and the public schools was severed by rescinding the jurisdiction of the Chancellor and Regents over the lower processes of education, Feb. 20, 1868, and the passage next day of a measure defining Common Schools as those organized by boards of trustees in the several districts under the supervision of county superintendents. It was agreed that the Common Schools "shall be entitled to a just and equitable proportion of any public school fund, arising from the General Government or by Legislative enactment of the Territory." Henceforth the Territorial Superintendent was appointed by and responsible to the Legislative Assembly.

The School Law of Feb. 21, 1868, warrants attention and emphasis for further meritorious provisions. The county superintendent was authorized to proceed against delinquent county poundkeepers or others who withheld funds due from the sale of stray cattle and other sources. Highly significant was the educational policy laid down in section nine:

"Nothing in this act or any former act shall be construed so as to appropriate any part of the school funds to any private, select or high school or any boarding school, or academy, or any school whatsoever, not under the immediate control and direction of the school district Trustees." A sharp line of differentiation was drawn between Church and private institutions of learning on the one hand, and State institutions on the other. Only the latter might participate in tax moneys.

Acting-Governor Edwin Higgins, in his address of Jan. 11, 1869, mentioned that while the act of 1866 undoubtedly looked to the establishment of free schools, that ambition had not been realized. "The organization of schools as they now exist, is based

upon a combination of the plans by which Select and Common Schools are supported; taxation, tuition fees, and voluntary contributions being resorted to in order to procure means to carry them on, but I am not informed of the existence of a single Free School in the Territory." He recommended the creation of a normal school.

The reaction of the superintendent found expression in his report of Feb. 16, 1869: "The subject of free schools has been recommended by the acting Governor and many influential citizens. In a few of the counties this desirable status in relation to schools might be attained by the assessment of a very high tax; but legislators from other counties represent that it would involve the assessment of such a heavy tax as but few of their constituents would be willing to pay." He hoped for immediate statehood so that the land grants might be turned into a school fund. The establishment and maintenance of a normal school was urged as of paramount importance. He favored the use of a percentage of the money realized from the sale of stray animals in each county for the maintenance of this institution.

George A. Smith, in a discourse of June 20, 1869, refers to the problem of education.

"The Latter-day Saints have built a commodious schoolhouse in every ward of the various cities and through all the settlements of the Territory. *They have done all they could to promote education*, but they have received no assistance from any source on earth. Almost every newly settled country has received certain donations in land and money to aid them in support of their schools, but in this Territory we have never received a cent. The money that has been expended for the furtherance of education in this Territory has been by the voluntary will of the parents."

Wise admonitions were accompanied, however, by dubious tendencies, illustrated in pulpit preachments.

President Daniel H. Wells, in a sermon of April 8, 1867, discussed schools and school teachers. "Let us provide schools, competent teachers, and good books for our children, and let us pay our teachers. I would have no objection to seeing the standard works of the Church introduced into our schools, that our children may be taught more pertaining to the principles of the gospel in the future than they are at present." *Teacher test of fitness should*

be acquaintance with and love for the principles of the Gospel.

President Brigham Young, speaking at the self-same session of the Conference, April 8, 1867, encouraged the formation of societies throughout the Territory to study the arts and sciences, also the establishment of evening schools and lyceums. "I do hope, and pray you, my brethren and sisters, to be careful to observe what Br. Wells has said in regard to introducing into our schools the Bible, Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and the Standard works of the Church, and all the works pertaining to our faith, that our children may become acquainted with its principles, and that our young men, when they go out to preach, may not be so ignorant as they have been hitherto." Mormons should know as much about the sciences and education as any people in the world. 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 only 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. Think of these things. Introduce every kind of useful studies into our schools."

Erastus Snow, in his remarks, Oct. 8, 1867, indicated that education was one of the subjects given by President Young for the Elders to preach upon.

"I cannot speak too highly in favor of those good books that have been recommended to our schools—the Bible, Book of Mormon, Book of Doctrine and Covenants, and all other good books . . . for the foundation of all true education is knowledge of God."

#### THE DESERET ALPHABET

Ceaseless effort was gradually evolving a superior school system, securing an increasing percentage of students, together with a lengthening of the school year, when an educational phenomenon found favor, which, while professing to be a forward, proved to be a retrograde movement.

This extraordinary program passes by the convenient designation of the Deseret Alphabet. Remy and Brenchley tell us that the "idea originated with the apostle W. W. Phelps, one of the regents of the University, and that it was he who worked out the

letters." They add: "The only discovery of which the University of Deseret can claim the honor, is that of an alphabet composed of forty characters, as simple as they are inelegant. Some persons have supposed that the object of this alphabet was to prevent access to the Mormon books and writings; but it is more probable that the only thing intended was to simplify the reading of the English language by establishing a determinate and uniform relation between the sign and its sound; in fact a phonetic alphabet." These observations were made in 1855.

The strange cause had discovered devotees considerably earlier. Brigham Young, in a letter to Orson Pratt, Washington, D. C., Nov. 30, 1853, comments: "The Regency of our University are quite busy at present, in trying to form a new, and better Alphabet, but have not time to agree definitely upon the different characters, hence will diligently continue their labors until a final result is arrived at."

The Regents in October, in fact, had appointed Parley P. Pratt, Heber C. Kimball, and George D. Watt, a committee to submit proposals for a text-book in characters based on a system of orthography wherein the spelling accorded with the pronunciation. Later each regent was urged to submit a linguistic contrivance of his own.

Governor Young lent encouragement to the innovation in his December message to the Legislature: "While the world is progressing with steam-engine power and lightning speed in the accumulation of wealth, extension of sciences, communication, and dissemination of letters and principles, why may not the way be paved for the easier acquisition of the English language, combining, as it does, great extension and varied expression with beauty, simplicity, and power, and being unquestionably the most useful and beautiful in the world. But while we freely admit this, we also have to acknowledge that it is perhaps as much abused in its use, and as complex in its attainment, as any other."

The Legislature gave its stamp of approval in this enactment of Dec. 28, 1855:

"Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah: That the sum of two thousand five hundred dollars is appropriated, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be drawn by the Chancellor, and expended

under the direction and control of the Chancellor and Board of Regents in procuring fonts of Deseret Alphabet type, in paying for printing books with said type, and for other purposes.

"The Chancellor and Board of Regents are authorized and required to furnish, or cause to be furnished, copy for all publications they may order, to control the sale thereof, and to apply the profits arising therefrom to the most advantageous promotion of education, including such payments to the Superintendent of common schools for services rendered under their direction, as they may from time to time deem proper."

Meantime the erudite Orson Pratt, who had returned to Salt Lake City, was assigned the leadership in the execution of this educational reform. He it was who went to St. Louis to insure accuracy in the casting of the new fonts of type. Happily at this stage the movement halted, but only for a decade. It was revived again in the late Sixties. The annual report of Supt. Robert L. Campbell of Jan. 18, 1867, contained this paragraph: "The Superintendent takes pleasure in noting the recent movements of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of Deseret in relation to the adoption of the reform in orthography known by many as the Phonetic system, and the adoption of those printed characters used by Phonetic publishers. This is certainly a step in the right direction, and one which the age of progress in which we live demands we should immediately take. This system has stood the test of years, and where it has been investigated by Legislative Committees, by eminent friends of education has been pronounced superior in every respect to the Romanic system."

Campbell's report of Feb. 19, 1868, vigorously champions the reform movement. "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, and who discard error in whatever form it is presented." A century after the invention of printing

the Tyndale translation of the New Testament spelled the pronoun *it* in eight different ways, while orthography was so unsettled in Shakespeare's time that his name was written in thirty variations.

Dr. Webster and Professor Hadley are quoted as deploring the want of simplicity and uniformity in the language. "Learned men for centuries have endeavored to introduce a uniformity in English orthography." Educated bigots had thwarted them. Yet herculean as the effort at revision must prove, the reform was "so in keeping with the progress of the age, in which we are privileged to live, and which portends so much advantage and blessing to our children, that we should be recreant to ourselves and to the cause of truth did we not unitedly take hold of the subject."

A beginner's reader in the much-vaunted Deseret Alphabet came from the press in 1868. This thirty-six page text contained easy graded sentences, and was illuminated, like present-day compilations, with pictures. Subsequently a volume appeared for maturer students.

The misguided infatuation of Mormondom's leaders for the freakish scheme led them into deeper error. The school system of the Territory was to be perverted from service to the commonality of its citizenry to the furtherance of the sectarian ambitions of a denominational group. President Brigham Young outlined the plan in a letter to Albert Carrington, England, dated Dec. 9, 1868: "The school trustees throughout the Territory manifest considerable interest in introducing the books printed in the Deseret Alphabet. Elder Orson Pratt is at present engaged in getting out the Book of Mormon in that alphabet; it will be divided into three parts, to take the place of the readers generally used in our schools. I expect that Elder Pratt will go east next season, to superintend the printing and publishing of this work." Yet Young did not favor the complete abrogation of the old system, judging by his address to the Relief Society of the 15th Ward, Feb. 4, 1869, wherein he advised this organization to look after the education of their children, "and I recommend the introduction into their schools of the Deseret Alphabet; not that the old method may be thrown away or discarded, but as a means of facilitating the progress of the children in their studies."

The new alphabet was also to be introduced into the Mormon Sabbath Schools and this, mark, at the expense of the Territory.



This is made clear in the letter of George Goddard to Franklin D. Richards, England, Feb. 12, 1868, an excerpt of which follows:

"President Young strongly advocated the general introduction of the Deseret Alphabet, and that the same be taught throughout the Territory in all our Sabbath schools; said the Regency would be instructed to send for new type of the same, and have thousands and tens of thousands of small interesting books published, to be disseminated through our Sunday schools, which, by-the-by, are established in nearly every settlement throughout the Territory; and all who were willing to aid him in this important undertaking, were asked to uplift their right hand, when every Bishop, Councillor, Teacher, and Elder present raised their hands: he then said, 'God bless you brethren.'"

In his report of Feb. 16, 1869, Superintendent Campbell describes the advantages of the new alphabet. "The design of the Deseret system is to teach the spelling and reading of the English language in an easy manner. The principle feature is to reduce to simplicity English orthography, and to denude the words used of every superfluous character. In this system the child is taught the thirty-eight letters which represent the number of sounds heard in speaking the English language. Each letter of the alphabet represents a definite sound, as fixed as any one of the digits which invariably represent the same power. The acquirement of reading, therefore, is divested of the uncertainty, contradiction, and difficulty which attend the acquisition of the present system."

However much the English language may have needed reform, brief experience in the school-room demonstrated the folly of the Deseret Alphabet, and quickly thereafter it was relegated to a place among the "lost causes." The misdirected effort to upset the existing system had, moreover, entailed heavy expense and otherwise retarded the evolution of the educational system. The financial wastage requires elaboration.

An excerpt from the sermon of George A. Smith, April 8, 1869, printed in the *Star* of May 29, 1869, says: "The manuscript of the *Book of Mormon* is in the Deseret Alphabet, and is now ready for publication. It is designed to publish an edition of ten thousand copies, suitable for the use of the schools. Its publication will involve considerable expense."

The Territorial Appropriation bill as approved Feb. 21, 1868,

contained this item: "To the University of the State of Deseret, to be drawn by the Chancellor and expended under the direction and control of the Chancellor and Board of Regents in procuring books for the Common Schools in the Territory, ten thousand dollars."

The Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, 1870, embody the report of Chancellor Daniel H. Wells of the University of Deseret, dated Feb. 17, 1870. An excerpt reads: "The appropriation of \$10,000 made by your honorable body at the last session has been expended in procuring works printed in the Deseret characters, including 20,000 copies of the first and second school books designed for introduction in common schools as readers; 8,000 copies of the first part of the *Book of Mormon*, and 500 of the book complete, and the stereotype plates of all have been secured. There are yet some balances due for services rendered in prosecuting these labors, which will be liquidated as soon as possible out of the sales of the above books, and it is designed, as means accumulate from those sales, to use them again in procuring further works of the kind."

Signal failure of the enterprise precluded sales receipts, and as the services of Orson Pratt remained unpaid in the sum of \$6,537.87, he petitioned the legislature of 1872 to settle the bill. As finally reported out of the Committee of Education, the sum allowed was \$6,038.05. The total outlay for this freakish enterprise approximated \$20,000, an educational fortune in that day.

#### THE MISSION SCHOOL

Christian denominations, other than the Latter-day Saints, possessed no foothold in the Territory prior to this decade, except in the capacity of army chaplains. How to break the grip of the Mormon Church on its fold was therefore of moment to those who believed that the Territory should be religiously regenerated. Missionary endeavor was enlisted to this end. However, the solidarity of the Mormons was such that proselyting missionaries made little progress. Resort was then had to subtler methods.

Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle of the Episcopal church in his *Reminiscences* quotes approvingly a statement attributed to William H. Seward, then secretary of state, that "the church and schools undertaken by the Episcopal Church in Salt Lake City would

do more to solve the Mormon problem than the army and Congress of the United States combined." Tuttle himself says: "In Utah, especially, schools were the backbone of our missionary system." Rev. Haskins, a subordinate, wrote: "Perhaps even more potent than the church services was the educational work inaugurated by St. Mark's schools. The Episcopal Church considers education as the chief handmaid of religion. In this work she was single-handed and alone for two years in Salt Lake City."

An Episcopal school was opened July 1, 1867, with sixteen pupils, which number increased to thirty-five by the 10th. Bishop Tuttle summarizes the school history as follows: "For the first year we were in the old bowling alley which was situated where the Walker House now stands. For the second year we occupied Independence Hall. Now, for this coming year, we rented Groesbeck's old store on Main Street, for \$40 a month. Here, overflowing into two other old stores contiguous, St. Mark's school was housed, until we built the new school house, opposite the City Hall, in 1872." Tuttle relates events of his first year in Salt Lake City, 1869-1870: "I entered St. Mark's school as head master and business manager. I opened it every morning, and taught from 9 a. m. to twelve, every day. Mr. Haskins taught for two hours in the afternoon."

"The Grammar School of St. Mark's Associate Mission, the first Gentile School in Utah, was opened in July, 1867, by Rev. Thomas W. Haskins and Miss Foote, sister of the minister, with sixteen scholars." The attraction of free tuition had raised the attendance to one hundred and forty by 1870. "A fixed rate of tuition is charged, but all unable to pay are received as free pupils, of whom there are sixty in the school. This is the nearest approach to a free school at present in Utah."

#### THE UNIVERSITY OF DESERET

The University of Deseret was incorporated by law, February 28, 1850. All authority in respect "to property, government, and administration was vested in a Chancellor and Board of Regents,"

The first Board of Regents under Chancellor Orson Spencer were: W. W. Phelps, Albert Carrington, Elias Smith, Daniel H. Wells, Hosea Stout, John M. Bernhisel, Orson Pratt, Daniel Spencer, William I. Appleby, Zerubabel Snow, Samuel W. Richards and Robert L. Campbell. David Fullmer was appointed Treasurer. (Editor's note.)

ected annually by the Legislature." The Legislature of the State of Deseret set aside an initial appropriation of \$5,000, the stipulation of the law being that this amount should be appropriated thereafter annually for a period of twenty years. The University was to be an institution of "higher learning" whose purpose was twofold: (1) to provide a place "where members of the rising generation might be schooled in good citizenship"; and (2) "where district and ward teachers might prepare themselves to head grammar schools." The only aid tendered by Congress was an appropriation of \$5,000 for a library.

Much enthusiasm was demonstrated in behalf of the new project. Chancellor Orson Spencer, April 17, 1850, published a prospectus which emphasized in extravagant language the ambitious hopes of this first institution of higher learning west of the Mississippi River.

Selected excerpts follow:

"Patrons of Learning,—The citizens of the State of Deseret, having established a University at Great Salt Lake City, the Chancellor and Board of Regents appointed to superintend the same, do hereby issue the following circular to you. Hear us and then judge. We do not ask your aid, unless we can give you good reasons why you should patronize our object.

"We should despair of any assistance whatever, if we were not assured that our young institution has greater claims than any other. We know that you are constantly assailed with the pretended claims of new things appealing to your sympathies, your prejudices, your hopes, and your fears. It is only wise men that can discriminate the true from the false. To them we appeal whether they are few or many. Here is an institution, which is like the foundling babe of the Hebrews. It is the child of providence, and destined to live and flourish. However obscure its parentage in the valley of the wild and lofty mountains; however many the perils it has to encounter, it will live and shine in nature's simplest and brightest livery, and teach all nations all useful arts and sciences. This institution is needed to meet the wants of thousands that annually emigrate to this Great Basin. Multitudes of all ages come from under the heavy hand of oppression, and desire instruction in order to be free, useful, and happy. This boon must be given them, without respect to age or means. The

emigrants and outcasts of all nations will here find an asylum of safety, and a nursery of arts and sciences available upon the cheapest terms. Here, instruction by means of lectures or otherwise, will be brought to the level of the laboring classes of every grade—of every religious faith—of every political or social creed, and of every living language. It is neither arrogant or extravagant to say that this institution is forthwith prepared to teach more living languages practically, than any other University on the face of the earth; and as to the matter of dead languages, we leave them mostly to the dead.

“Board can soon be furnished in private families speaking the mother tongue of more than twenty living languages of Europe, India, and the Islands of the Pacific, and Western America. Facilities for acquiring accurate intelligence from every portion of the globe will be more perfectly secured to this institution than to any other of our acquaintance. Correspondence will be kept up with persons in the service of the University living at London, Edinburgh, Paris, Rome, Copenhagen, and Calcutta.

“Whatever is valuable in the laws and usages of nations or in their antiquities, whatever in the structure of diversified languages, or in practical mechanism, whatever in the fabric of governments, or in domestic sociality, or in morals, or in Pagan or Christian ethics, or whatever in physical laws, or in laws regulating the communication of spirits, through cunning arts, of angels good or bad, can be gleaned, that is valuable we venture to say, unhesitatingly, will be copiously poured into the lap of the institution.”

Fervent, indeed, was Chancellor Spencer's appeal for support.

“Let Christians, Scepters, Pagans, Jews, Mohamedans, remember this institution with favor, for some of their brethren will be beneficiaries among us. A little surplus invested here will bring you an hundred-fold and show favor to the Lord. Giving sometimes enriches the giver. Kings, Princes, and Potentates, look at this circular; at this institution; and this healthy hiding place; and then look at the little cloud that is gathering over your thrones and consider. Even you may want a safe home, and a hiding place from the storm of anarchy. Your sons and daughters may here want culture, freedom and retirement. Like Solomon, you may yet want the opportunity which this locality furnishes, to trace the path of nature up to nature's God. The salubrity and retirement

of this locality, the expansive generosity and unity of this people, which is a portion of your former loyal subjects, all invite you most assuredly to send your names before your approaching flight, accompanied with gifts, incense, and precious treasures, to this new born infant of the mountains.

“Ye rich men of every nation, and chieftains of untutored tribes, send this institution a portion of your treasures, before revolutionary whirlwinds shall sweep it from you, and the poor will pay you four-fold in the resurrection of the just; rich bachelors and maidens adopt it as your offspring, and the gratitude of thousands now grovelling in ignorance, will be a sweet and everlasting memorial of your honored and blessed deed.

“Graduates of colleges, and students of law, medicine, and theology, may here receive weekly lectures, gratis. No persons will be denied the benefits of the University for want of pecuniary means. Donations may be paid over to Orson Pratt, Liverpool, England; to John Taylor, Paris, France; to Lorenzo Snow, Rome, Italy; to Erastus Snow, Copenhagen, Denmark; and to Orson Hyde, United States.

“Done by order, and in behalf of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of Deseret.”

The University, or “Parent School,” as it was more commonly called, opened its first term at the home of John Pack in the Seventeenth Ward. Dr. Cyrus Collins, A. M., enroute to California and the gold fields, taught the first organized class, some forty men, and lectured on history, literature and philosophy. After a short time, Collins was superseded by Chancellor Orson Spencer and the brilliant W. W. Phelps.

Yet despite such an auspicious beginning, the initial tenure of the University was destined to be short lived. Its obstacles and handicaps were insurmountable. The problems of food, shelter and defense were more pressing to the colonists than that of education. Furthermore, there was greater need for elementary schools. Finally, the University soon found itself in sore financial straits; Congress consistently refused to extend any aid, private donations were small, and the legislative appropriations were entirely inadequate. Thus handicapped, the University of Deseret regretfully closed its doors in 1852, and subsequently for fifteen years, the institution “had but a nominal existence.”

In the fall of 1867, D. O. Calder reopened the University as a Commercial College. In March, 1869, Calder resigned and Dr. John R. Park<sup>2</sup> was elected president. Under the genius and inspirational guidance of this remarkable man, the University was at once launched upon its subsequent dignified and high standard professional career. The curriculum was completely revised. Five courses were announced in the first published catalogue, that of 1869-1870: namely, Commercial, Normal, Preparatory, Scientific, and Classical.<sup>3</sup> One hundred ninety students were enrolled during this first year of Dr. Park's administration.

The Territorial Appropriation bill, approved Feb. 18, 1870, contained this item: "To be expended for the Deseret University . . . \$2500.00." This maintenance charge in the budget indicated a willingness to finance the recently re-opened institution. An excerpt from Supt. Campbell's report of Jan. 19, 1870, reads: "The Superintendent congratulates the Assembly upon the success attendant upon the establishment of the University. To the normal department of this institution does the Territory look with anxious solicitude for a supply of school teachers—the great desiderata of our educational interests."

The *Deseret News* of May 3, 1870, expresses the general feeling of satisfaction evidenced toward the new University.

"The winter term of the University of Deseret closed April 6th. The examinations were highly satisfactory. The University, though it has been in active existence on its present basis but one year, is rapidly advancing toward the curriculum of study and order found in higher Eastern colleges. It is quite ample in its provisions for the educational wants of the people, offering four courses of

<sup>2</sup>Dr. Park was a physician, native of Ohio. He came to Utah in 1861 and for five years, 1864-1869, was in charge of the public school at Draper. Due to failing health, he retired as President of the University of Deseret in 1892. Subsequently, from 1895 to 1900, he served Utah as its first State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The historian Whitney pays President Park this glowing tribute: "During the twenty-three years of his connection with the University, he has become so identified with it and it with him, that to the old pupils the union seems well nigh indissoluble. Never was institution served more faithfully, and never did instructor enjoy to a greater degree the love and esteem of his pupils than Dr. John R. Park." (Editor's note.)

<sup>3</sup>The Commercial and Normal courses were dropped temporarily in 1875. (Editor's note.)

instruction, a classical, a scientific, a normal, and a preparatory, and is well supplied with competent Professors.' The Spring term was to open April 18."

The *Millennial Star* evaluates the University of Deseret in these terms:

"The academic term of this institution for 1871-72, will open on Monday, August 28th. Utah has no cause to be ashamed, but every reason to be proud of her present educational facilities. Considering the youth of the Territory and the peculiar obstacles and disadvantages under which she has labored in the past, her position in point of the means of educating the young is highly creditable. The Faculty and Board of Instruction of the University of Deseret combine an amount and variety of talent and ability that would do honor to much older institutions of the kind. The President, Dr. Park, is well qualified to fill with ability the position he occupies, his ideas with regard to a proper system of education being exceedingly clear and practicable. He is a believer in the common sense method of suiting the educational course to the mental organization of the pupil, instead of attempting to change the mentality of the pupil and make it conform to the course."

Bits of vivid information concerning the University during this formative period are revealed in the fascinating journal of Dr. John R. Park. Following are a few entries for the year 1869: "June 4, 1869, first term closed. There were 190 students enrolled during the term. June 7, the second term commenced with 114 students. Joseph L. Rawlins was employed with additional services given him at \$30 per month. June 28 the school dismissed till July 7, to prepare for the Fourth of July."

Under Dr. John R. Park's able direction, the University grew rapidly. In 1871, 580 students enrolled. Particularly noteworthy were the men and women included in the faculty of the Seventies. These included such recognized scholars as Orson Pratt, George Careless, F. D. Benedict, Karl Maeser, Joseph L. Rawlins, and the Misses Mary E. and Ida L. Cook. Dr. Park officiated as President for twenty-three years. Because of failing health, he resigned in 1892. In that same year the territorial legislature granted a new charter and thenceforth the University of Deseret became officially known as the University of Utah.

## CENSUS FINDINGS IN 1870

The Commissioner of Education, John Eaton, began his report on the Territories for 1870 as follows: "Over the vast territorial domain of 1,619,353 square miles, already supposed to be occupied by a population of 495,310 whites and 318,042 Indians, the National Government has, in education as in other matters, exclusive responsibility." Public attention seldom focused on the Territories, he observed, except in the event of Indian massacre, the discovery of a mine, or the building of a railroad, but only those conversant with these advancing settlements "can form a correct idea of the struggles which occur between the different elements of civilization as to which shall prevail, whether that which looks backward or that which looks forward." He concluded: "The necessities of the older portions of the country, as well as the interests of the Territories, require the most prudent and thorough work in the management of territorial education."

Further reading of the volume discloses that the defects of irregular attendance, absenteeism, want of uniformity, and lack of supervision were common characteristics in American education. Perusal of reports from Colorado reveal little statistical data, and in New Mexico there was no general school law. Dakota had just enacted one for common schools, while in the State of Kansas the 500,000 acre federal land grant to education had in 1866 been diverted to the use of four railroads. Washington Territory possessed no central head of the school system, while in the State of Wisconsin fifty thousand youths were "growing up in ignorance." In more than two thousand districts of Ohio the teachers still "boarded round." Mismanagement had depleted much of the township school fund in Missouri. Pennsylvania lacked a school fund, and the state legislature contributed less than a dollar per pupil, the balance of \$6 being raised by the local units. Only five per cent of the schools of Illinois were graded in 1867 and six per cent in 1868. In Chicago the old practice of learning letters first and then words was being superseded by modern methods. Diversity of religious viewpoints in this cosmopolitan center had given rise to consideration of the advisability of forbidding the reading of the Bible in public schools. The Illinois State Normal University was established in 1857. The University of California

came into existence in 1868, eighteen years subsequent to the birth of the University of Deseret.

The highest per capita expenditure was nineteen dollars in Nevada and sixteen in Massachusetts, and these, with five others, were the only states of the Union to exceed seven dollars in outlay per child. Connecticut's free school law, passed in 1868, had brought six thousand additional children into the schoolroom. The percent of adult illiterates in Utah was lower in 1860 than that of any other state or territory of the Union.

The Utah statistical report to the Commissioner for 1869 portrays the educational status of the Territory at the close of its second decade of striving:

Number of school districts .....	189
Total number of children between four and sixteen .....	24,138
Average daily attendance .....	10,618
Percentage of population attending school .....	44
Number of months school has been taught during year.....	7½
Number of male teachers .....	173
Number of female teachers .....	169
Amount paid to male teachers .....	\$54,559.37
Amount paid to female teachers .....	25,120.25
Total paid to teachers .....	79,679.62
Amount of taxes appropriated to use of schools.....	7,011.33
Amount of building funds raised .....	35,142.70

Commenting on the unfortunate school land situation, Supt. Campbell says:

"It is said that the Territories sustain the relationship of wards to the General Government. What would be thought of a guardian, in whose possession there were munificent legacies specially designed for educational purposes, who would turn round and say to his ward, 'True, there are liberal provisions made for your education, but these grants are not usually given to wards until the become of age.' Would not the ward have just cause of complaint? That in the greatest time of need, the most seasonable period of life, educational facilities should be withheld—that the most liberal and free government on earth should thus act toward its wards, is indeed astonishing."