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A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE NAUVOO, ILLINOIS,
PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1841-1845

A Field Study
Presented to the
Graduate Department of Education

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Education

by
Paul Thomas Smith

August 1969

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Nauvoo, Illinois, an obscure village of less than 1,100 persons, has been classified by the National Park Service ". . . as a strategically important base from which to interpret most effectively one of the great migrations of American history."¹

Located in the southwestern corner of the state of Illinois, the village played a prominent role in the early history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (also known as the "Mormon" Church). Nauvoo was the point from which the Mormons began their westward movement. The Mormon trek was the only large migration of an entire community on the basis of religious motivation. All documents and materials pertaining to the city government, institutions of learning, culture, and religion were transported westward along with most of the city's population.²

¹Editorial, Deseret News, May 24, 1969, p. 12A, col. 1.

²Statement by T. Edgar Lyon in an address ("The Migration of a Community") at a Brigham Young University "Know Your Religion" lecture, Salt Lake City, Utah, January 18, 1969.

Early educational efforts in Utah had their origins in the Nauvoo public school system. The University of Deseret, forerunner of the present-day University of Utah, was patterned after the University of the City of Nauvoo.³ Grammar schools were established and governed after the manner of common schools in Nauvoo.⁴

The public school system in Nauvoo was unique in many ways. Education was provided from grammar schools through college. The university's regents supervised the entire educational program of the city. The University of the City of Nauvoo was one of the first municipal institutions established with completely centralized educational control.⁵ The regents had total authority in all matters pertaining to education in Nauvoo. They were entirely independent of state, county and city supervision.⁶

Studies dealing with the University of the City of Nauvoo have been inadequate, considering the influence its school system has had

³Milton Lynn Bennion, Mormonism and Education (Salt Lake City, Utah: Department of Education of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1939), p. 33.

⁴Statement by Rowena J. Miller, executive secretary for Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated, personal interview, June 30, 1969.

⁵James LeRoy Kimball, Jr. "A Study of the Nauvoo Charter 1840-1845" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Iowa, 1966), p. 40.

⁶Times and Seasons (Nauvoo, Illinois), February 3, 1841, Vol. 2, p. 317.

on education in Utah. The need for further investigation into the problem warranted this project.

THE PROBLEM

This study describes the historical development of the Nauvoo, Illinois, public school system, 1841-1845.

Many church, civic, and social organizations offered a wide variety of learning experiences to the citizens of Nauvoo. A set of questions was devised for this study to distinguish and to describe the Nauvoo school system from the multiplicity of educational offerings.

Questions

1. By what method was the Nauvoo school system developed?
2. What type of administrative organization was employed by the school system?
3. What association, if any, existed between the school system and other educational and political organizations in the state of Illinois?
4. How were the schools financed?
5. What physical facilities, if any, were created for the schools?
6. What were the requirements for teacher certification?
7. What academic qualifications were possessed by those who taught?

8. What curriculum was offered in the schools?

Delimitations

This study will report only those personnel and programs which were under the supervision of the University of the City of Nauvoo during the years 1841 through 1845.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Almost all educational and ecclesiastical terms found within this study are in common usage today. Those terms which may be unfamiliar are underlined and defined here for purposes of clarification.

A person who wished to be certified to teach in the Nauvoo school system appeared before two examiners or two inspectors of common schools. If they agreed that the person was qualified, a certificate of competency was issued which indicated that the bearer was competent to teach the subjects indicated.

Three wardens or trustees were appointed to supervise the teacher and his common, or grammar school. At the close of the school term, the teacher submitted a schedule, or attendance roll to the trustees. The schedule listed the total number of days attended by all pupils, and the amount of wages due the teacher for services rendered.

Common school trustees were supervised by a director, an administrator who oversaw all trustees within a given municipal ward.

The director's superiors were members of the university's board of regents. The chancellor was the administrative leader of the regents.

In this study, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is referred to by its more familiar name, the Mormon Church, or simply by the "Church". The ecclesiastical leader of the Mormon Church in Nauvoo was Joseph Smith, Jr., sometimes referred to as the Prophet. Members of the Mormon Church are called Mormons or Saints.

PROCEDURE

Preliminary research into this study indicated that relatively little information has been printed on education in Nauvoo. Work was undertaken with the knowledge that many sources would have to be consulted in order to gather enough information to formulate any worthwhile conclusions. It was decided that with the restriction of time, best results would be obtained by consulting libraries containing large collections of Mormon-related materials.

Four libraries met the specifications of accessibility and pertinent resource materials: the Mormon Church Historian's Office and the Genealogical Library, both of Salt Lake City; the J. Reuben Clark, Jr. Library at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; and the Lovejoy Library, Edwardsville Campus, Southern Illinois University.

Evaluation of Resource Centers

The Nauvoo School Records filed at the Church Historian's Office contain attendance schedules, certificates of qualification, and other related materials pertaining to thirty Nauvoo common-school teachers. The file covers the years 1842 through 1845. The Historian's Office also has an excellent collection of diaries, journals, histories, theses and dissertations, many of which contain brief but valuable references to education and educators in Nauvoo.

Additional biographies, autobiographies and histories were obtained at the Genealogical Society.

Many theses and dissertations related to the Nauvoo period of Church history were located at the J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Library, as well as newspapers, periodicals and family histories.

One school schedule, a valuable diary, and numerous theses and dissertations not available in Utah were found in the Lovejoy Library. The Mormon collection there is composed of 103 rolls of microfilm which deal almost exclusively with Mormons in Illinois from 1839 to 1848.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Hundreds of sources were examined for information, but aside from some educational studies, and documents from the Nauvoo era, few yielded enough knowledge to be reviewed. The Bibliography contains a list of those works which contributed in some way to this study.

Information which was too incomplete for this project but judged valuable for future historical reference has been included in Appendix D under the title, Nauvoo School Personnel.

The Times and Seasons, a Church periodical of the Nauvoo era, published stories and advertisements from time to time which provided valuable information about the University of the City of Nauvoo and specific educators.

Joseph Smith, Jr., maintained a detailed history of the Church from its founding in 1830 until his death in 1844. Several entries made reference to the Nauvoo school program. The entire history has been published as the History of the Church.⁷

The first dissertation on Mormon Church education was written by Milton Lynn Bennion in 1935. It was later published under the title, Mormonism and Education. Bennion presents the historical development of the Church's educational programs from 1831 to 1935. Seventeen pages are devoted to the University of the City of Nauvoo.⁸

James C. Bilderback wrote a thesis in 1957 entitled "Masonry and Mormonism, Nauvoo, Illinois, 1841 to 1847." It is a historical

⁷Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1960).

⁸Bennion, op. cit.

study of the effect that Masonry had on the "educational, social, moral, and cultural life of the Mormons in Nauvoo."⁹

Harry Pollei Bluhm wrote a thesis in 1964 entitled "Educational and Occupational Aspirations and the Mormon Ethic." Bluhm noted that Utah ranks first among the states in percentage of college-age youth attending institutions of higher learning, while thirty-seventh in the amount spent per child enrolled in the public schools. Tracing the history and doctrines of the Mormon Church, Bluhm concluded that a Mormon education ethic exists which provides incentive for Utah's youth to acquire schooling far beyond the state's financial support of education. An excellent study.¹⁰

D. Garron Brian wrote on the topic "Adult Education in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" for his dissertation. He traced adult education programs of the Church from 1830 to the 1950's. Brian determined that the Church employed no fewer than seventeen different educational organizations, institutions, and methods in the 1830 to 1845 period of Church history.¹¹

⁹James C. Bilderback, "Masonry and Mormonism, Nauvoo, Illinois, 1841 to 1847" (unpublished Master's thesis, State University of Iowa, 1937).

¹⁰Harry Pollei Bluhm, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations and the Mormon Education Ethic" (unpublished Doctor's thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1964).

¹¹D. Garron Brian, "Adult Education in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Chicago, 1956).

In 1951, Dorothy June Cox completed a thesis, "Mormonism in Illinois," which described the settlement and growth of Nauvoo, its cultural activities, conflicts, and the expulsion of its citizens.¹²

In 1965, the University of Illinois Press published Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi, by Robert Bruce Flanders. Well documented, the book provides an interesting perspective of Nauvoo as it struggled with serious internal and external problems. The book is based on Flanders' doctoral dissertation for the University of Wisconsin.¹³

Reta Latimer Halford described the social, economic, artistic, and political life of the Saints in Nauvoo in her thesis entitled "Nauvoo--the City Beautiful." Her chapter on education included some information not readily available elsewhere.¹⁴

Leon Roundy Hartshorn prepared a dissertation entitled "Mormon Education in the Bold Years." Hartshorn studied the week-day education program of the Church from 1951 to 1964. He also reviewed in some detail the early educational institutions of the Church prior to the Utah period.¹⁵

¹²Dorothy June Cox, "Mormonism in Illinois" (unpublished Master's thesis, Southern Illinois University, 1951).

¹³Robert Bruce Flanders, Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1965).

¹⁴Reta Latimer Halford, "Nauvoo--the City Beautiful" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1945).

¹⁵Leon Roundy Hartshorn, "Mormon Education in the Bold Years" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Stanford University, 1965).

Christian Joseph Jensen wrote a thesis entitled "A Study of How the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Attempted to Meet the Educational Needs of the Members For the Period of Time A.D. 1830 to 1900." Jensen must have written one of the first theses on this subject. He did not go far beyond well-known secondary sources.¹⁶

In 1966, James L. Kimball, Jr., wrote "A Study of the Nauvoo Charter, 1840 to 1845" for his thesis. Kimball's study provides important information regarding the creation of the University of the City of Nauvoo.¹⁷

Don Wallace McBride wrote a doctor's thesis entitled "The Development of Higher Education in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." This thesis is somewhat similar to Brian's study, but more philosophically oriented.¹⁸

Shirley Neal McKean completed a master's thesis entitled "Nauvoo of the Mormon Era," an undertaking similar to that of Reta Halford's study, but not as extensive. It was written in 1933.¹⁹

¹⁶Christian Joseph Jensen, "A Study of How the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Attempted to Meet the Educational Needs of the Members For the Period of Time A.D. 1830-1900" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1931).

¹⁷James LeRoy Kimball, Jr., "A Study of the Nauvoo Charter, 1840-45" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Iowa, 1966).

¹⁸Don Wallace McBride, "The Development of Higher Education in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (unpublished Doctor's thesis, Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, 1952).

¹⁹Shirley Neal McKean, "Nauvoo of the Mormon Era" (unpublished Master's thesis, State University of Iowa, 1933).

An interesting and well-written study on Mormons in Nauvoo is David E. Miller's Abstract and Critique on Westward Migration of the Mormons with Special Emphasis on the History of Nauvoo. Mr. Miller was invited by the officers of Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated, to participate in historical research for the restoration project of that city. This report is the result of that study. The National Park Service made it a part of the Mission 66 program.²⁰

Virgil B. Smith wrote "Mormon Education in Theory and Practice, 1830 to 1844." A historical-philosophical work, it has sound conclusions regarding the purpose and progress of education in the early period of the Mormon Church.²¹

ORGANIZATION OF THE HISTORICAL REPORT

Chapter 1, just concluded, contains the introduction to the study, the problem, questions, delimitations, definition of terms, procedure, and review of literature. Chapter 2 explains the educational philosophy of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Chapter 3 reports the findings related to the public school system in Nauvoo; Chapter 4 provides a summary of the findings. The Bibliography contains a complete list of all sources from which information was gleaned for the findings. The Appendix has valuable information which is too incomplete to be used in the study. It comes from sources too numerous to be footnoted.

²⁰David E. Miller, Abstract and Critique on Westward Migration of the Mormons with Special Emphasis on the History of Nauvoo, (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah, 1963).

²¹Virgil B. Smith, "Mormon Education in Theory and Practice, 1830-1844" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1954).

Chapter 2

THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE MORMON CHURCH

One cannot fully appreciate the educational programs of Nauvoo without an understanding of Joseph Smith--the man who so firmly established education as an eternal principle of progress for members of the Mormon Church.

Joseph Smith, Jr., founder of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, was born in Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, on December 23, 1805, the fifth child of a poor but hard-working farmer.

Forced to move several times because of financial reverses, the Smith family finally settled on a farm near Palmyra, New York.

It is known that Joseph attended common schools in Vermont and New York, where he learned to read, write, and cipher. Three textbooks exist from his early schooling. He also belonged to a debating club.¹ These brief experiences with schools provided Smith's only formal training until years later when the Church, under his direction, organized schools for adult education in Kirtland, Ohio.

¹John Henry Evans, Joseph Smith An American Prophet (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1946), pp. 35-36.

Beginning in 1820, Joseph Smith, Jr. claimed to have experienced several visitations from heavenly beings who eventually directed him to found a church. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organized by Smith and several others on April 6, 1830, in Fayette, New York.²

Matthew S. Davis, a non-Mormon, heard the Prophet preach in Washington, D. C., in 1840. He wrote of his impressions in a letter to his sister:

He is not an educated man; but he is a plain, sensible, strong minded man. Everything he says, is said in a manner to leave the impression that he is sincere. There is no levity, no fanaticism, no want of dignity in his deportment . . . He is by profession a farmer, but is evidently well read.³

Smith realized the limitations of his formal education when he said:

I am a rough stone. The sound of the hammer and chisel were never heard on me until the Lord took me in hand. I desire the learning and wisdom of heaven alone.⁴

The Prophet often spoke and wrote on the importance of continuous learning throughout one's lifetime. He prepared manuscripts which were published as three volumes of modern-day scripture. Within these

²Joseph Smith, Jr., Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1943), Section 20:30-35.

³Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1960), Vol. 4, p. 78.

⁴George Q. Cannon, Life of Joseph Smith (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News, 1888), p. 532.

books, the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price, are found 112 verses which are concerned with such subjects as education, learning, knowledge, truth, wisdom, schools, and intelligence.⁵

Smith felt very strongly that the best source of knowledge was the Lord, and that men ought to turn to Him first.

REFERENCES TO KNOWLEDGE IN MORMON SCRIPTURE

In his Doctrine and Covenants, the Prophet quotes the Lord as saying:

If thou shalt ask, thou shalt receive revelation upon revelation, knowledge upon knowledge, that thou mayest know the mysteries and peaceable things--that which bringeth joy, that which bringeth life eternal.⁶

Seek not for riches but for wisdom, and behold, the mysteries of God shall be unfolded unto you, and then shall you be made rich. Behold, he that hath eternal life is rich.⁷

According to Smith, it is essential for men to receive the knowledge of God, for "It is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance."⁸

⁵Reuben D. Law, The Utah School System: Its Organization and Administration (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1952), p. 41, cited in Leon Roundy Hartshorn, "Mormon Education in the Bold Years" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1965), p. 1.

⁶Doctrine and Covenants, op. cit., Section 46:61.

⁷*Ibid.*, Section 6:7 ⁸*Ibid.*, Section 131:6

Although learning through God's Spirit is stressed, more conventional methods of education are not overlooked:

And as all have not faith, seek ye diligently and teach one another words of wisdom; yea, seek ye out of the best books words of wisdom; seek learning, even by study, and also by faith.⁹

. . . study and learn, and become acquainted with all good books, and with languages, tongues, and people.¹⁰

Of things both in heaven and in the earth, and under the earth; things which have been, things which are, things which must shortly come to pass; things which are at home, things which are abroad; the wars and perplexities of the nations, and the judgments which are in the land; and a knowledge also of countries and of kingdoms--

That ye may be prepared in all things when I shall send you again to magnify the calling whereunto I have called you, and the mission with which I have commissioned you.¹¹

Thus, secular and sacred knowledge are inseparable in Mormon doctrine, as both are needed to accomplish God's purposes for His children. There is a time, however, when the secular learning of men incurs the Lord's wrath. A prophet is quoted from the Book of Mormon on the subject:

O that cunning plan of the evil one! O the vainness, and the frailties, and the foolishness of men! When they are learned they think they are wise, and they hearken not unto the council of God, for they set it aside, supposing they know of themselves, wherefore, their wisdom is foolishness and it profiteth them not. And they shall perish.¹²

⁹Ibid., Sec. 88:118 ¹⁰Ibid., Sec. 90:15 ¹¹Ibid. Sec. 88:77-80

¹²Joseph Smith, Jr., Book of Mormon (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1957), 2 Nephi 9:28.

If a man uses his knowledge wisely, the benefits and blessings of that wisdom achieved in this life do not end with death:

Whatever principal of intelligence we attain unto in this life, it will rise with us in the resurrection.

And if a person gains more knowledge and intelligence in this life through his diligence and obedience than another, he will have so much the advantage in the world to come.¹³

. . . These two facts do exist, that there are two spirits, one being more intelligent than the other; there shall be another more intelligent than they all.¹⁴

In the eternal plan of God, man's ability to comprehend truth is expanded as he seeks truth:

For intelligence cleaveth unto intelligence; wisdom receiveth wisdom; truth embraceth truth; virtue loveth virtue, light cleaveth unto light . . .¹⁵

Scholars View Mormon Education

McBride compared the Church's philosophy of eternal growth through education with the philosophy of experimentalism and found they have much in common:

1. Both believe in the dignity and worth of the individual.

¹³Doctrine and Covenants, op. cit., Sec. 130:18-19.

¹⁴Joseph Smith, Jr., The Pearl of Great Price (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1956), Abraham 3:19.

¹⁵Doctrine and Covenants, op. cit., Sec. 88:40.

2. Both believe people can govern themselves through enlightened and critical judgment, basic elements in a democratic educational program.

3. Both accept experience and the scientific method as means of arriving at truth and goodness.

4. Both set up as goals the process of growth and creativity.

"The principal difference," according to McBride, "is that the Mormon viewpoint considers God to be essential in man's search for the truth, while experimentalists hold that there lies within the realm of human experience alone the necessary means for arriving at these truths."¹⁶

Bluhm feels that educated men eternally progress because:

1. The resulting growth and development leads toward greater maturity.

2. Salvation may be obtained through the attainment of knowledge.

3. Knowledge is essential for man to master and subdue the elements and lifts man to deification.¹⁷

¹⁶Don Wallace McBride, "The Development of Higher Education in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (unpublished Doctor's thesis, Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, 1952), p. 2.

¹⁷Harry Pollei Bluhm, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations and The Mormon Education Ethic" (unpublished Doctor's thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1964), p. 125.

Bennion summarized the viewpoint of the Church toward education when he said:

To the Mormons, all education is religious and essential to progress. Economics, mathematics, physics, knowledge of the body, and so forth, all contribute to man's eternal goal, and are, therefore, objects of man's pursuit. It is the application of knowledge for the spiritual welfare of man that constitutes the Mormon ideal of education.¹⁸

THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION IN PRACTICAL APPLICATION

Wherever the Saints organized communities, common schools were established for the children, theological schools for training missionaries, and classes for adult education. Brian reports that adults studied such subjects as ". . . singing, theology, reading, writing, spelling, grammar, geography, chemistry, philosophy, and astronomy."¹⁹

Under Joseph Smith's direction, the Church introduced over seventeen educational institutions and programs in the 1830-1846 period of Church history. Many of these programs are in use today. The list includes, in alphabetical order, evening classes, Female Relief Society, Hebrew Grammar School, Kirtland High School, lay leadership, lectures,

¹⁸Milton Lynn Bennion, Mormonism and Education (Salt Lake City, Utah: Department of Education of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1939), p. 125.

¹⁹D. Garron Brian, "Adult Education in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Chicago, 1956).

libraries, lyceums, meetings and conferences, missionary work, music, priesthood quorums, printed matter, private schools, School of the Prophets, Sunday Schools, and the University of the City of Nauvoo.²⁰

SUMMARY

Although limited in formal education, Joseph Smith, Jr., founder of the Mormon Church, claimed to have received wisdom and knowledge from the Lord. He frequently spoke and wrote about education, stressing that it was essential for man's eternal progression.

The development of education under Joseph Smith, Jr., is notable. He lifted learning to eternal heights. He insisted on the foremost necessity of schools; he pointed out the value of home training, combined with school training; he set up education for adults at a time when only young people were thought able to learn; he entered the field of higher education and declared that higher education was so necessary that it should be supported by taxation; he unified all educational activities in a district under one head.²¹

²⁰Ibid., pp. 41-69.

²¹John A. Widtsoe, Joseph Smith, Seeker After Truth, Prophet of God (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1951), p. 225, cited in McBride, op. cit., p. 20.

Chapter 3

THE GROWTH OF EDUCATION IN NAUVOO

The story of how the Mormons came to settle in Illinois is one of the triumphs of the human will against overwhelming odds--hatred and bigotry, misunderstanding and jealousy. Mormons were not always guiltless, of course, but, in the main, the troubles heaped upon them were not entirely of their making.

This chapter first presents a brief sketch of the history of the Church from its beginnings in 1830 to the Nauvoo period to provide a setting for the study. The findings are then reported and interpreted.

HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF THE CHURCH

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was founded by Joseph Smith, Jr., on April 6, 1830, in Fayette, New York. Soon thereafter members of the new faith settled in or near Kirtland, Ohio, and Independence, Missouri.

Apostasy, persecution, and economic failures motivated many Ohio Saints to join with their brethren in Missouri, where they found conditions little better.

Driven from Independence in November of 1833, they relocated in Clay County, Missouri. Forced out of Clay County in 1836, the Saints gathered in the sparsely inhabited northern portion of Ray County. There the "Mormon County" of Caldwell was created, and Church headquarters was established in the town of Far West.

A large influx of Ohio Saints in 1838 created serious political and religious problems for the non-Mormon inhabitants in the area. The Missourians retaliated with mobbing, looting, raping and murder. Church leaders were imprisoned many times on various charges. State officials not only refused to provide protection, but actually supported mob violence. Governor Boggs issued an order on October 27, 1838, that demanded the expulsion or extermination of the Saints.

During the winter of 1838-1839, thousands of Saints sought refuge in Illinois and Iowa Territory.¹ The Church faced an uncertain future with its members scattered and destitute.

THE FOUNDING OF NAUVOO

Fleeing from persecution in Missouri, Israel Barlow stopped in the small Mississippi river town of Commerce, Illinois. There he found

¹Stanley B. Kimball, Sources of Mormon History in Illinois, 1839-48, Annotated Catalog of the Microfilm Collection (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University, 2nd edition, revised and enlarged, 1966), pp. xi-xii.

several persons sympathetic to the plight of the Saints. Dr. Isaac Galland, a resident of the area, suggested that the Church consider Commerce as a likely spot to locate. Although much of the area was undeveloped marshland, easy terms were made available.

Impressed with the opportunity, Barlow traveled to Quincy, Illinois, where he met with several Church officials and outlined the offer. A committee investigated and reported favorably on the matter to the Prophet Joseph Smith. Although in a Liberty, Missouri, jail at the time, Smith approved the transaction. The first purchase of land was made on May 1, 1839.

Nine days after the first purchase, the Prophet and several others arrived and began preparing the unhealthy swamplands for the thousands of others who were to follow.²

The First Teacher in Nauvoo

Wherever Mormon communities were organized, schools were soon opened. Nauvoo was no exception. Wandle Mace, an early settler in Nauvoo, recorded in his journal the story of the first school and schoolteacher in Nauvoo.

Notwithstanding the difficulties the Saints had been called to pass through, being driven from place to place, the education

⁽²⁾Robert Bruce Flanders, Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1965), pp. 30-38.

of their children, although interrupted, was not forgotten. As soon as possible a room was prepared for that purpose, and by request of President Sidney Rigdon, I went to Lima and brought to Nauvoo, Miss Eliza R. Snow, to teach school. In spite of the unhealthy location of Nauvoo and the poverty of many of the people after their expulsion from Missouri, in the short space of one year the city contained two hundred and fifty houses and industry and thrift were seen on every hand.³

The first schoolhouse prepared for the public was held in a stone structure known as the Arsenal.⁴ Alpheus Cutler and Jabez Durphey served as the architects and the building committee. The building was completed and occupied in October. Samuel Dent, Davison Hibbard, and Davis Dort were appointed trustees for the new school by Church officials.⁵

Not many months passed by before other common schools were opened in the infant city. Truman Barlow, for example, was teaching school in May of 1840 near the home of Heber C. Kimball.⁶ Luman Andros Shurtliff opened a school in October of that year.⁷

³Journal of Wandle Mace, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, p. 12.

⁴Statement by Rowena J. Miller, executive Secretary for Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated, personal interview, June 30, 1969.

⁵Reta Latimer Halford, "Nauvoo--the City Beautiful" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1945).

⁶Helen Mar Whitney, "Scenes and Incidents in Nauvoo," Woman's Exponent, February 15, 1882, p. 138.

⁷Journal of Luman Andros Shurtliff, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, p. 32.

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE CITY OF NAUVOO

In October of 1840, Joseph Smith wrote a letter to members of the Council of the Twelve, many of whom were serving on missions in widely-scattered places. Among other items of importance he wrote:

We have a bill before the legislature for the incorporation of the city of Nauvoo, and for the establishment of a seminary of learning, and other purposes--which I expect will pass in a short time.⁸

The Role of John Cook Bennett in Establishing the University

Spearheading passage of the bill was John Cook Bennett, a physician who had taken up residence in Nauvoo in September of 1840. Baptized by the Prophet, Bennett soon became active in civic affairs. He was selected with Joseph Smith and others to draft the petition and bill for the city charter.⁹

Section 24 of the bill granted the city council the right to establish a municipal university. Bouquet gives Bennett and Isaac Galland credit for the idea.¹⁰ Whether Bouquet's conclusion is correct

⁸James R. Clark, Messages of the First Presidency (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, Inc., 1965), Vol. 1, p. 122.

⁹Dr. James J. Tyler, "John Cook Bennett, Colorful Freemason of The Early Nineteenth Century," Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Ohio, n.n., n.p., 1947, p. 7.

¹⁰Francis Lester Bouquet, "A Compilation of the Original Documents Concerning the Nauvoo, Illinois Mormon Settlement, With Pertinent Observations" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Temple University, 1938), p. 7.

or not, Bennett surely had had considerable experience in attempting to found universities. He tried to found Methodist University in 1829 and Christian University in 1830--both in Ohio. Both failed.¹¹

Bennett was a leader in securing a charter from the Indiana legislature for Wheeling University in 1831. He was promptly appointed professor and dean for its proposed medical department. Later, in 1833, he and nine others obtained a charter to found the Christian College. They soon dropped that name in favor of Indiana University (no connection with the present institution). Dr. Bennett was appointed chancellor. The school never opened its doors, but several honorary degrees were awarded. It is also reported that Bennett traveled throughout New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, in 1833-34, selling diplomas for the Doctor of Medicine degree for ten dollars each--the first illicit diploma offer in American history.¹²

In 1838 Bennett moved to Fairfield, Wayne County, Illinois, where he practiced medicine and assisted in creating the Fairfield Institute.¹³ The Fairfield charter provided broad powers to the trustees to legislate for the "welfare and prosperity" of their organization. However, no laws could be enacted contrary to the constitution of the United States or to the constitution and state laws of Illinois. Provisions in

¹¹Tyler, op. cit., p. 4.

¹²Ibid., pp. 4-5.

¹³Ibid., p. 7.

the forthcoming Nauvoo Charter strongly resembled the broad legislative powers of the Fairfield charter. Thus, there is reason to suspect that Bennett may have been responsible for the inclusion of those provisions in Nauvoo's charter.¹⁴

Passage of the Nauvoo Charter

Bennett presented the proposed Nauvoo Charter before the Illinois legislature at Springfield, and won bi-partisan support in the charter's passage on December 16, 1840.¹⁵ It was the "sixth city charter to be enacted into law by the General Assembly of Illinois."¹⁶ His victory was probably secured because the Whigs and the Democrats were anxious to win the Saints' votes.¹⁷ However, not to be overlooked was the personal influence of John C. Bennett himself. He had been appointed Brigadier General of the Second Division of Illinois Militia by Governor Carlin in 1839, and seventeen months later had become the Quarter-master General of Illinois by Carlin's appointment.¹⁸ In 1841, the

¹⁴Kimball, op. cit., p. 41.

¹⁵Times and Seasons (Nauvoo, Illinois), January 15, 1841, Vol. 2, pp. 281-285.

¹⁶Kimball, op. cit., p. 32.

¹⁷"The Mormons in Nauvoo," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXI, no. 4 (January, 1929), 509.

¹⁸Tyler, op. cit., p. 7.

Chicago Democrat, upon learning of his appointment as Mayor of Nauvoo, referred to Bennett as ". . . a very popular and deserving man."¹⁹

Unusual Aspects of the Nauvoo Charter

Passage of the charter gave the city of Nauvoo the right to incorporate, organize a militia, and found a university--actually three charters in one:

The three charters were all contained in one act of the legislature and embraced among other provisions a city council, a board of trustees, and a court martial. Each of these branches, supreme in their way, was invested with legislative, judicial and executive powers. The rights were to enact, establish, ordain any and enact all laws and ordinances not in conflict with the constitution of the United States or of the State of Illinois. There were no provisions, however, in the act guarding against infringement of or ignoring of any or all the laws either of the State of Illinois or of the United States.²⁰

Regarding those extraordinary powers, Kimball points out that

. . . [while the] General Assembly chose the boards of trustees for other colleges and universities, the Nauvoo City Council had the authority of initial and perpetual appointment . . . moreover, to give the city council responsibility for the institution's activities was foreign to all Illinois practice and severely curtailed state control of the educational system while enlarging the educational authority of the city fathers.²¹

¹⁹Times and Seasons, op. cit., March 15, 1841, Vol. 2, p. 351.

²⁰"The Mormons in Nauvoo," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, loc. cit.

²¹Kimball, op. cit., p. 41.

Paul Belting made a study of the development of schools in Illinois. He found that between 1818 and 1848, 125 charters were granted to educational corporations by special legislation, rather than by general law.²² Kimball, however, found that ". . . the state instead of authorizing (Nauvoo's) university by a separate act of the legislature saw fit to incorporate the university within the framework of a city charter."²³

Goals of the University

On January 15, 1841, the First Presidency of the Church mailed a letter to all branches of the Church. It explained benefits the citizens would receive from the Nauvoo charter, and detailed the value of the educational program then contemplated:

The University of the City of Nauvoo will enable us to teach our own children wisdom, to instruct them in all the knowledge and learning, in the arts, sciences, and learned professions. We hope to make this institution one of the great lights of the world, and by and through it to diffuse that kind of knowledge which will be of practicable utility, and for the public good, and also for private and individual happiness. The Regents of the University will take the general supervision of all matters appertaining to education, from common schools up to the highest branches of a most liberal collegiate course. They will establish a regular system of education, and hand over the pupil from teacher to professor, until the regular graduation is consummated and the education finished.

²²Paul E. Belting, "Development of the Free Public High School in Illinois to 1860," Journal of Illinois State Historical Society, XI, no. 4, (October, 1918), 290.

²³Kimball, op. cit., pp. iv, 40.

This corporation contains all the powers and prerogatives of any other college or university in this state. The charter for the University and the Legion are addenda to the city charter, making the whole perfect and complete.²⁴

As this study has noted, the University of the City of Nauvoo thus provided for the "first completely centralized educational control [in America]." ²⁵

Administrative Organization of the University

John C. Bennett was chosen as Nauvoo's first mayor,²⁶ and the University's first chancellor. William Law served as registrar, and twenty-three men made up the board of regents.²⁷ Interestingly, the entire fourteen-member city council, plus the mayor, was included within the twenty-five man administration.²⁸

Richard L. Canuteson examined the university administration and concluded that a board of regents was chosen ". . . because of the fact that most of the school leaders came from the state of New York, where the board of regents control was in effect."²⁹

²⁴"A Proclamation of The First Presidency of the Church to the Saints Scattered Abroad," quoted in History of the Church, Vol. 4, pp. 269-270.

²⁵Kimball, loc. cit.

²⁶Times and Seasons, op. cit., February 15, 1841, Vol. 2, p. 316.

²⁷John C. Bennett, History of the Saints (Boston: Leland and Whiting, 1842), p. 210

²⁸Kimball, op. cit., p. 64.

²⁹Richard L. Canuteson, "An Historical Study of Some Effects of Dual Control in the New York State Educational System" (unpublished Doctor's thesis, Michigan State College, 1950), p. 6, cited in McBride, p. 112.

Transfer of Authority. In a significant move, the Nauvoo city council passed an ordinance on February 22, 1841, divesting itself of all powers pertaining to educational matters. All authority was transferred to the chancellor and regents of the University.³⁰ The regents were thus enabled to plan and enact the city's total school system without the need for approval from the city council.³¹

The Faculty

At least six men constituted the faculty of the University of the City of Nauvoo. James Kelly served as president. Orson Pratt was Professor of Mathematics and English Literature. Orson Spencer served as Professor of Languages, and later replaced John C. Bennett as chancellor. Sidney Rigdon was Professor of Church History.³² Gustavus Hills presided as Professor of the Musical Department.³³ Lyon adds John Pack to the faculty, a man about whom this study found nothing.³⁴

³⁰Times and Seasons, op. cit., March 1, 1841, Vol. 2, p. 336.

³¹Leon Roundy Hartshorn, "Mormon Education in the Bold Years" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Stanford University, 1965).

³²Bennett, loc. cit.

³³Times and Seasons, op. cit., January 1, 1842, Vol. 3, p. 653.

³⁴Statement by T. Edgar Lyon in an address ("The Migration of a Community") at a Brigham Young University "Know Your Religion" lecture, Salt Lake City, Utah, January 18, 1969.

Scholastic Rating

The scholastic rating of university instruction is not known. Lyon stated that Orson Spencer's classes were probably on the secondary level.³⁵ Bennion feels that the courses offered were probably superior to typical secondary work of the time.³⁶

Physical Facilities

Plans were laid for a university campus. Vinson Knight, Charles C. Rich, and Daniel H. Wells were appointed to solicit funds for building construction.³⁷ Wandle Mace wrote that he moved his family to Nauvoo in November of 1831 because, "all outlying stakes were to come to Nauvoo in order to speed the building of the Temple, the University and other needed edifices [underscore mine]."³⁸ However, no university buildings were constructed in Nauvoo because all efforts were directed toward completing the Temple and other buildings.³⁹

University classes were held ". . . in the basement of the Masonic Hall, private homes, and advanced classes on the upper floor

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Milton Lynn Bennion, Mormonism and Education (Salt Lake City, Utah: Department of Education of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1939), p. 25.

³⁷Reta Latimer Halford, "Nauvoo--the City Beautiful" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1945), p. 170.

³⁸Mace, op. cit., p. 15.

³⁹David E. Miller, Abstract and Critique on Westward Migration of the Mormons with Special Emphasis on the History of Nauvoo, (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah, 1963), p. 112.

of the Temple."⁴⁰ Interestingly, even religious services were held wherever facilities were available. Other than the Temple, no chapel was constructed for purposes of worship while the Mormon people were in Nauvoo.⁴¹

Curriculum

Many courses were offered, but whether they were all actually taught was not determined by this study. The offerings included arithmetic, algebra, plane and analytical geometry, conic sections; plane, spherical and analytical trigonometry, mensuration, surveying, navigation, differential and integral calculus, astronomy, chemistry, mental philosophy, geology, literature, history, music, and the German, French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages.⁴²

Evening Classes

James M. Monroe and others offered evening classes for adults who wished to broaden their education.⁴³ Singing, theology, reading, writing, spelling, grammar, geography, chemistry, philosophy and astronomy were studied.⁴⁴

⁴⁰James C. Bilderback, "Masonry and Mormonism, Nauvoo, Illinois, 1841 to 1847" (unpublished Master's thesis, State University of Iowa, 1937), p. 72.

⁴¹J. H. Heslop, "Nauvoo Looks Forward," Church News, Deseret News, week ending May 31, 1969, p. 10.

⁴²Miller, op. cit., p. 112, et. al. ⁴³Halford, op. cit., p. 123.

⁴⁴D. Garron Brian, "Adult Education in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Chicago, 1956), p. 55.

Private lyceums not connected with the University met predominately during the winter months. Adults and children gathered in private homes in the evening and enjoyed lectures, concerts and various entertainments.⁴⁵

Degrees

Several honorary degrees were awarded. The Master of Arts degree was honorarily conferred on Orson Pratt. James Arlington Bennett of the New York Herald, and John Wentworth of the Chicago Democrat were honored with L.L.D. degrees for writing editorials favorable to the Mormon people.⁴⁶

A search was made for University diplomas, but none were found. Dean C. Jessee, a staff member of the Church Historian's Office, reported seeing a diploma issued by the University in the Archives, but has been unable to locate the item.

COMMON SCHOOLS

On February 22, 1841 the city councilmen transferred full power to deal with educational matters, including the common schools, to the University's board of regents.⁴⁷ The city was divided into four

⁴⁵Brian, op. cit., p. 69.

⁴⁶Halford, op. cit., p. 171

⁴⁷Times and Seasons, op. cit., March 1, 1841, Vol. 2, p. 336.

municipal wards on March 1st. Each ward was represented by one alderman and two councillors.⁴⁸ The chancellor and university regents selected wardens (trustees) for the common schools located within each ward.⁴⁹ In three cases, these wardens had also been called as aldermen or councillors that same day. However, they were not matched in each case with the ward they represented politically.⁵⁰

Teacher Certification

An act of the university regents, published December 15, 1841, required each teacher in the city to possess a certificate of competency. A teacher became certified by undergoing an examination administered by the two-man inspectors of common schools or two examiners. The teachers were scrutinized as to their knowledge of the subjects they desired to teach. If approved, a certificate of competency was issued.⁵¹

There were apparently no definite scholastic training requirements for potential teachers. Many who taught in Nauvoo were largely self-taught, having completed no more than a common-school education. Few were fortunate enough to have had training in an academy or college. Further, teaching was undertaken by the majority as a temporary position. Typical of this situation is the story of Abigail Smith Abbott.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 337. ⁴⁹Ibid., p. 335. ⁵⁰Ibid., p. 337.

⁵¹Times and Seasons, op. cit., September 2, 1844, Vol. 5, p. 632. See Appendix A for an example of a Certificate of Competency.

Abigail's husband Stephen was called to serve on a Church mission to Wisconsin in 1843. While he was gone, the family was to subsist on food he had stored in a nearby mill. When the family went to get their supplies, they were gone. A distant relative had taken the food under false pretenses.

Learning of the loss of food, Stephen Abbott and a cousin, E. Thompson, cut and shipped cord wood down the Mississippi River to raise money for the family. Exposed to inclement weather, Abbott fell ill on the 16th of October, and died three days later at 38 years of age. He left a wife, six girls and two boys, the oldest 16 years old. "His wife was stunned, heartbroken, and almost overwhelmed by the terrible unexpected blow. Winter was almost upon them. . ." Provisions were hard to obtain, as nearly all of Nauvoo's people were poor.

I had no means to erect a monument, or even a slab to mark my beloved one's grave, but I planted some morning glories on the grave and left him there to sleep and rest.

An independent person, Abigail rejected the idea of seeking charity. Instead, she taught a school in her home and obtained both food and clothing.

I trusted in God and improved every opportunity to help myself, the necessity of becoming servants to our fellow men was almost more than I could bear.

In the spring of 1844, she fenced a small tract of land near the Mississippi River.

. . . as she was teaching school much of the work was done of evenings in the moonlight, she planted one and one-half

acres to garden truck and cultivated it, [and] as the ground was low and swampy, she and the children were stricken with fever and ague.

She was finally compelled to ask for charity after her family had done all they could to help themselves. ". . . never before had she needed to ask for anything she couldn't pay for."⁵²

Abigail was one of thirty-eight women who were identified as schoolteachers in Nauvoo. Surprisingly, the number of men and women in the teaching profession in Nauvoo made a fairly even match. Of the eighty teachers identified, forty-two were men.⁵³

Trustee Supervision

Each teacher was supervised by a team of three trustees. These men were responsible for the accuracy of the schedules of pupil attendance, as the cumulative attendance figure was used in computing the salary received by the teacher.⁵⁴

FINANCES

The one area of educational activity in Nauvoo about which little is known is that of financial support for schools. This section presents

⁵²"Abigail Smith Abbott," unpublished Utah Pioneer Biographies (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah Historical Society, 1946), Vol. 3, "A", pp. 5-9.

⁵³See Appendix D, Nauvoo School Personnel.

⁵⁴Nauvoo School Records file, Church Historian's Office. See Appendix B for an example of schedule certification.

a brief review of federal provisions for funding public schools in the Northwest Territory; of the Illinois School laws; and evidences of financial aid to Nauvoo's common schools.

Federal Land Ordinances

The federal Ordinance of 1785 provided for rectangular surveys of the Northwest Territory, of which Illinois was a part. The sixteenth section of every township was reserved to be sold for the financial support of public schools. A township was a six-mile square area, and consisted of thirty-six sections, each one mile square.⁵⁵

The Illinois Enabling Act

The State of Illinois was created after Nathaniel Pope's enabling act was passed in Congress on April 18, 1818.⁵⁶ Among other provisions, the act set aside one township for the use of an institution of learning, along with three per cent of the net proceeds of public lands sold within Illinois. These proceeds were to be used by the legislature "for the encouragement of learning, of which one-sixth part shall be exclusively bestowed on a college or university."⁵⁷ Interestingly,

⁵⁵John T. Walquist, An Introduction to American Education (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1947), p. 171.

⁵⁶Robert Gehlmann Bone, "Education in Illinois Before 1857," Journal of The Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. L. No. 2, (Summer, 1957), p. 124.

⁵⁷"Education," Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois (Chicago: Munsell Publishing Company, 1921), pp. 147-148.

the Constitution of the State of Illinois, written following Pope's enabling act, made no provision for education.⁵⁸

First Free School Law

In Illinois, Joseph Duncan introduced "An Act Providing for the Establishment of Free Schools" in the Illinois General Assembly of 1824-1825. Under provisions of the Act, a township with a population of fifteen families or more was required to financially support a free school for a minimum of three months of the year. All white citizens between the ages of five and twenty-one were to be admitted free. Such schools were to be supported by taxation.⁵⁹

Although Duncan's act was approved on January 15, 1825, the sixth General Assembly of 1828-1829 repealed sections which had enabled districts to tax for school purposes:

There was still strong feeling that no one should have to pay taxes for the education of the children of other men. Furthermore, there were still many pioneers who were from the southeast and who felt that subscription schools were better.⁶⁰

Sales of School Lands

Although the sixth General Assembly had negated almost all hope for the sale of public lands for education, the first such sale was made

⁵⁸Bone, loc. cit. ⁵⁹Bone, op. cit., pp. 124-125.

⁶⁰Bone, op. cit., p. 128.

in Greene County in 1831. In 1833, most of Chicago's school section was sold for about \$39,000. Most sales realized about \$3.78 per acre, but some lands were sold for as low as 70 cents per acre.⁶¹

Free School Law of 1855

A free school law was passed by the Illinois legislature in 1855 which required state taxation for financial support. Seven schools were estimated to be public institutions.⁶² The remaining 4,208 schools were private, parochial, and subscription, all requiring tuition. Free public schools were rare in the state of Illinois during the period of time that the Saints made their home in Nauvoo.

Nauvoo Tax Laws

Although no state law provided for funding of public schools prior to 1855, Section 13 of Nauvoo's city charter enabled the city council to tax the citizenry for educational purposes:

Sec. 3. To establish, support, and regulate common schools, to borrow money on the credit of the city: provided, that no sum or sums of money shall be borrowed at a greater interest than six per cent per annum, nor shall the interest on the aggregate of all sums borrowed and outstanding ever exceed one half of the city revenue, arising for taxes assessed on real property within the corporation.⁶³

⁶¹Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois, loc. cit.

⁶²Bone, op. cit., p. 120.

⁶³Times and Seasons, op. cit., January 15, 1841, Vol. 2, p. 285.

There is no record, however, that any land section of Nauvoo was ever set aside for education, nor were any tax monies allotted or paid from the city treasury for purposes of education.⁶⁴

Funds for Education

It is known that students of common schools and university classes were required to pay tuition. The Millennial Star, a British publication of the Mormon Church, indicated the tuition requirement in a story which announced the creation of the municipal university:

The city charter includes a literary institution, called the Nauvoo University, which is already in successful operation, and where all branches of learning will be taught. The benefits of this institution are accessible to all the citizens on equal and reasonable terms [underscore mine].⁶⁵

Orson Pratt charged \$5.00 a quarter for his university classes.⁶⁶ Common schools charged an average of one dollar a month. Often teachers would accept payment in "kind." Teacher Jesse Haven advertised that: "All kinds of produce, store goods, and even money (bogus excepted) will be taken in pay."⁶⁷

⁶⁴Interview with Rowena J. Miller, loc. cit.

⁶⁵Latter-day Saints Millennial Star (Liverpool, England), August, 1842, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 67.

⁶⁶Times and Seasons (op. cit.), August 16, 1841, Vol. 2, p. 517.

⁶⁷Nauvoo Neighbor (Nauvoo, Illinois), November 27, 1844, Vol. 2, No. 30, p. 3.

Although tuition was charged for attendance at school, it was often difficult to collect. Nauvoo's citizens were poor for the most part, and had little cash or commodities they could spare.

Luman Andros Shurtliff, a teacher, relates his family's woes in trying to collect tuition. Following a school term, he was called to serve a Church mission on September 19, 1842. He writes:

I had something due me from the Temple office and some for putting up the brick house and some small debts for school teaching. Out of these small debts my family was to live until my return. To collect this would keep one of my children or my wife constantly on the street, as they could collect little at a time.

While on his mission, Shurtliff received this letter from his wife, dated December 24, 1842:

I take this opportunity to inform you of our health which is as good as we could reasonable [sic] expect and have been ever since you left.

I have not got the letter you wrote while in Kirkland [sic]. I thought it strange that you did not write sooner and almost thought you had forgotten us and me in my trouble. I cannot tell you all now. I had all our potatoes to dig and bury (thirty bushels) and debts to collect which keeps me on the run most of my time. I have worn out one pair of shoes. Sometimes I got something or a promise of it and would wait a week or two and go again and again. Brother William paid me 87 cents. He promised me flour about a month ago in a few days and I have not got it yet. Brother Winn paid all but a dollar. Butler paid his school bill. Brother Smith paid all but a peck of meal. I went enough to pay for it. The Temple committee owe \$6.25. I shall get half a hog from them if they will let me have it. I killed my hog eight weeks ago. He weighed 200 pounds. Brother Empey has paid for the cow. Brother Roberts has paid \$1.41, he paid Elcemina's and Mary's school bill. Lewis went two weeks. He reads at home. I cannot spare him to go to school as I have to travel so much to get my debts and dare not leave the two youngest alone. I have to keep Lewis home to stay there with them when I am away.

Elcemina siphers [sic] and writes. Mary writes. I shall send them a quarter and more if I can pay . . .⁶⁸

School schedules

All public school teachers in Nauvoo were required to keep an accurate attendance roll which contained the following information:

1. The teacher's name
2. Township and Range of the school's location
3. Names of the pupils attending the school
4. Daily attendance of each pupil
5. A cumulative total of the days pupils attended
6. The salary due the teacher for services rendered
7. A statement by the teacher that the schedule was correct
8. Written verification by the school's trustees of the schedule's accuracy.

When a school term was completed, the teachers submitted their attendance schedules to a clerk. He filed the schedules and prepared an annual report, or abstract.

Abstract of Schedules

The only known abstract in existence is in the Nauvoo School Records file in the Church Historian's Office. It lists the names of

⁶⁸Journal of Luman Andros Shurtliff, Church Historian's Office, pp. 37-41.

thirty teachers and the two municipal wards in which they taught. The wards are indicated not by number, but by the township-range survey system: T6NR9W, and T7NR9W.⁶⁹ By each teacher's name was the cumulative number of days their students attended school, and opposite that figure was the apportionment of money paid the teacher for their attendance at the ratio of 4086/100 mills for T6NR9W, and 6929/100 mills for T7NR9W.⁷⁰

Accumulated evidence seems to indicate that all public school teachers charged tuition for their services. These fees may have been turned over to the school trustees. At the conclusion of the term, the teacher computed his salary from the actual number of days that pupils were in attendance. After verifying the figure, the trustees may have paid the amount owed the teacher. Remaining funds may have been apportioned among the teachers at the conclusion of the calendar year.

Facilities

Common-school classes were held wherever a teacher could find a room to rent. Occasionally a property owner would construct a building with a room especially prepared for a school. Joseph Lee Robinson built his home with provisions for education:

⁶⁹See "Federal Land Ordinances," page 37 of this Chapter, for an explanation of the township-range survey system.

⁷⁰This abstract is reproduced in Appendix C.

Through the blessings of God and with my little means and hard labor and management I soon built a good brick house with one large room above with a good fireplace in each room. One was a celler kitchen, with three windows, a good fireplace and a brick oven. The upper room was the size of the whole house, 18 x 24 with a good fireplace and windows suitable for a school room. I fitted it up for a school, put in benches and writing tables and water bucket and broom and got it all in readiness with mine own hands and means and I hired a girl female teacher, [Nancy Goldsmith] a sister in the Church. I agreed to pay her. Then I informed my neighbors that a school would start at my house on Monday morning next. I wanted them to send all their children to the teacher while them that were not able to pay I wanted them to feel just as free as the school was to be free to their children, every one of them. Monday morning came and the children also. They filled the room, all that the teacher could do justice by at all. We had a good school and the next year I hired a good man teacher on the same principle and we had the house full again to overflowing, and we continued our school until the burning took place in Lima, a town about thirty miles distant⁷¹

Several teachers made use of the upper room of Joseph Smith's brick store. While the arrangements were generally quite satisfactory, the students often raised havoc and the resulting disturbance was more than Smith's clerks could bear. For example, the Nauvoo Seminary, under the direction of Joseph W. Cole and his sister Adelia, had to vacate the premises because of the noise. Joseph Smith recorded these comments in his journal:

Mr. Cole moved the tables back into the hall, when Richards and Phelps called to report that the noise in the school disturbed them in the progress of writing the History. I gave orders that Cole must look out for another place, as the History must continue, and not be disturbed. . . .⁷²

⁷¹Journal of Joseph Lee Robinson, Church Historian's Office, p. 16.

⁷²Journal History, unpublished, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah, November 7, 1843 entry.

Joseph Smith's son, Joseph Smith III, was a student in his father's store. He recalls the noise:

As schoolboys we had good reason to remember Doctor Willard Richards, for often in going down the stairway from the school room we were noisy, which seemed to annoy him considerably. Upon one or two occasions he met us at the foot of the stairs and refused to let us pass, the while he cautioned us to be more quiet. Doubtless we were annoying as we trampled and jostled, crowding the steps and surging through the door. He especially scolded the larger children. We learned it was better to go quietly than to cause real distress.⁷³

Another pupil, Adaline Knight, also had good reason to remember her school experience in the brick store:

How well she remembers one day before her father [Vinson Knight] died, of a little excitement in school. The children were busy when the school room door was carefully opened and two gentlemen entered, carrying the limp form of Joseph Smith. The children all sprang to their feet, for Brother Joseph lay helpless in their arms, his head resting on his brother's shoulder, his face pale as death, but his eyes were open, though he seemed not to see things earthly. The teacher quieted them by telling them that Brother Joseph was in a revelation, and they were carrying him to his office above the school room. That same revelation is recorded in Sec. 124 of the Doctrine and Covenants and was a comfort to Adaline all during her after life, as it speaks of her father and his family; tells his family to rejoice for their father's sins are forgiven; he is chosen and anointed and shall be honored in the midst of his house.⁷⁴

⁷³Mary Audentia Smith and Bertha Audentia Anderson Hulmes (eds.), Joseph Smith III and the Restoration (Independence, Missouri: Herald House, 1952), p. 28.

⁷⁴Lola Belnap Coolbear, "The Life Story of Adaline Knight Belnap," unpublished Utah Pioneer Biographies (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah State Historical Society, 1946), Vol. 4, pp. 150-151.

Text-books

Chancellor Bennett presented a list of books before the board of regents which he felt were suitable for use in the public schools. He received unanimous support for his choices. The list included the following books: Town's Spelling Book, Town's Introduction to Analysis, McVicker's Political Economy for Schools, Help to Young Writers; Girls' Reading Book by Mrs. Segourney, Boys' Reading Book also by Mrs. Segourney; Kirkham's English Grammar, and Olney's Geography.

Other books were made available at the Nauvoo Stationary store, including The Eclectic Primer, Ray's Arithmetic and Little Arithmetic, Mason's Sacred Harp Music Book, and various spelling books and readers.⁷⁵

School books were often hard to come by, and the scriptures were often substituted as readers. Jesse N. Smith reminisced over his Nauvoo school days with this story about a religious text-book:

In 1843, for a short time, I attended school kept by a Miss Mitchell in Hyrum Smith's brick office. Passing the Prophet's house one morning, he called me to him and asked what book I read at my school. I replied, "The Book of Mormon." He seemed pleased, and taking me into the house he gave me a copy of the Book of Mormon to read in at school, a gift greatly prized.⁷⁶

⁷⁵David Miller, op. cit., p. 112.

⁷⁶President Jesse N. Smith of Snowflake, Apache County, Arizona, quoted in "Recollections of the Prophet Joseph Smith," The Juvenile Instructor (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1892), Vol. XXVII, p. 24.

Nauvoo school teachers were predominately members of the Mormon Church. It was inevitable that some Church teachings were discussed as part of the lessons. Charlotte Haven, a non-Mormon visitor to the city, wrote to her mother of a schoolhouse in her neighborhood crowded with Mormon children--"not too neat and clean." She voluntarily taught seven-year-old Ellen and five-year-old Sarah Goodivin, the daughters of a friend--because of the fear of Mormon "indoctrination."⁷⁷

School Attendance

Children were not compelled by law to attend school. Attendance was dictated by the parent's ability to pay the tuition.⁷⁸ Seasonal work also made inroads into the number who attended.

Some teachers held classes for six hours a day,⁷⁹ and pupils were as apt to become restless and mischievous as they are today. The Prophet's son, Joseph Smith III, did his share to upset his class. While visiting in Utah in 1885 he ran across a former Nauvoo school teacher by the name of Howard Coray. Smith reminded Coray of the following incident:

⁷⁷Halford, op. cit., p. 169.

⁷⁸Some teachers allowed the poor to attend free. L. A. Shurtliff did so, and Joseph L. Robinson's school was open to all poor children who could attend. See page 44 of this Chapter.

⁷⁹Shurtliff, op. cit., p. 46.

In our opening conversation I had mentioned the name of Jack Allred and asked if he remembered him and the time when he, as Teacher Coray, had whipped Jack with a sturdy switch I had cut and whipped me with the slender one Jack had procured. At first he looked a little mystified, but laughed with me as I related the incidents. I told him I had always been curious to know why he punished us that way.

"Well," he answered, "I felt that a boy who when sent out to get a switch to be punished was honest enough to cut one of a proper size, was not at heart a bad boy, that his misdemeanor was doubtless due to a bad influence, and that his companion needed the heavier thrashing."

I told him I had to give Jack a pretty wide berth for some days after the occurrence, until his wrath cooled down. . . .⁸⁰

Not all troubles connected with schooling were the result of misbehavior. The rain falls frequently in Illinois. Nauvoo's streets were unpaved, and the moisture played havoc with little travelers such as Margarette and Wallace McIntire:

Another time my older brother and I were going to school, near to the building which was known as Joseph's brick store. It had been raining the previous day, causing the ground to be very muddy, especially along that street. My brother Wallace and I both got fast in the mud, and could not get out, and of course, child-like, we began to cry, for we thought we would have to stay there. But looking up, I beheld the loving friend of children, the Prophet Joseph, coming to us. He soon had us on higher and drier ground. Then he stooped down and cleaned the mud from our little, heavy-laden shoes, took his handkerchief from his pocket and wiped our tear-stained faces. He spoke kind and cheering words to us, and sent us on our way to school rejoicing. Was it any wonder that I loved that great, good and noble man of God?⁸¹

⁸⁰Smith and Hulmes, op. cit., p. 349.

⁸¹Margarette McIntire Burgess, quoted in "Recollections of the Prophet Joseph Smith," The Juvenile Instructor (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1892), Vol. XXVII, p. 66.

A Teacher Speaks

James M. Monroe taught common schools in Nauvoo and also served as a private tutor to the children of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and John Taylor. He kept a daily journal in April and May of 1845 in which he voiced his feelings regarding the teaching profession. Monroe was employed as a tutor just ten months after the assassination of Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum Smith. These excerpts reflect his concern for teaching the children of Church authorities:

April 22, 1845. I arose this morning before the sun and went up to the steamboat landing to send a letter to one of my friends in St. Louis. After breakfast I proceeded to fulfill my engagement at Sister Emma's: viz. to teach her children, and endeavor to educate them in the most extended sense of the word. I also had Mr. Taylor's children for my scholars.

This being the first day everything, of course, was to be arranged as far as commencement. I think, however, I was enabled to give them some instruction. But I think I never felt my inability and incapacity of instructing children as they should be instructed so much as I did today. Perhaps the reason was, partly, because I took more than ordinary interest in their advancement and also that I was reading a work for the benefit of teachers and saw so many requisites to constitute a good teacher that I almost despaired of ever being able to come up to the standard, but with the blessings of God I am determined to do the best I can. And I earnestly pray that he will enable me to do justice to the children of our lamented prophet and also to the others intrusted to my care. I am almost at a loss what to do! I see that I must pursue some means to interest their minds and fix their attentions. This seems to be the most important requisite at present. I think I must fix upon a plan each morning to be acted upon through the day and then act up to it.

To day Frederick was unable to comprehend the philosophy of carrying for every ten in multiplication. I have promised to explain it to him in the morning. I think I shall accomplish two ends by the operation: first, I shall teach the principle and thus

render his future work more easy and delightful; and secondly, I shall, I think, gain his affections and impress upon his mind the fact that I am his friend and desire his improvement

I have, today, been reading a very interesting work called the "School Teacher's Manual" by Y. H. Gallandet, and I approve of the sentiments generally very much; but he seems to be in favor of the Monitorial System, which I cannot approve of. Some of the prominent evils of this system are, in my estimation--too large schools--a great spirit of rivalry--bad effects arising from the employment of those too near the age of the scholars in teaching--and a spirit of talebearing and backbiting among the monitors by carrying tales to the Master.

April 23d 1845. . . . I am exceedingly happy . . . to be able to say that I have not spent this day in vain, having excited some degree of interest in most of my scholars, in the pursuit of two stories, one on "the consequences of idleness" the other on "the advantages of industry" and explaining it to them and endeavored to make them realize the importance of punctuality, but am afraid that I succeeded but partially. I am rather of opinion that if they are punctual, I must owe it to their fear or rather love for me, as I think I have succeeded in acquiring such a high tone of morality among my students as I wish; and I am but too sure that the fault is in myself. However, I am determined to use every means in my power, and try every way to accomplish this object, and I would sincerely implore the blessings of Heaven upon my undertaking and the assistance of the Spirit of Truth in accomplishing it. I made a 'frame today' for the purpose of teaching my small scholars how to add, subtract etc. which, I think will answer a very good purpose. I presume I have not yet succeeded in making my school room a place of happy resort, sufficiently to induce my scholars to deny themselves much in order to be present early.⁸²

⁸²Diary of James J. Monroe, 1841-1845, MFR 21, Lovejoy Library, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, Illinois, pp. 101-103.

NAUVOO'S CHARTER IS REPEALED

James J. Monroe taught school in the closing months of Nauvoo's history as a Mormon community. As his diary mentioned, Joseph Smith, Jr., and his brother, Hyrum, were assassinated by a mob in the Carthage, Illinois Jail on June 27, 1844.

The extraordinary growth and economic prosperity of Nauvoo from a wasteland to Illinois' largest city undoubtedly excited the admiration and jealousy of Hancock County's citizens and politicians. The revealed doctrine of plural marriage outraged the feelings of many people. Certainly apostates did their share to bring out the mobbers and murderers against the Saints.

Smith's death, however, brought about a year of relative peace. The summer of 1844 to the summer of 1845 was quite calm for Nauvoo. Schools, businesses, social and religious groups continued without difficulty.

Troubles began in December of 1844 when Nauvoo's charter was repealed by the Illinois legislature. All attempts to prevent repeal were rejected. With no government, the city functioned with a volunteer town council and police force.

Heavy involvement in county politics by some Saints brought the city once more under attack by its enemies. Stephen A. Douglas and others, representing Governor Ford, visited Nauvoo on September 30,

1845. An ultimatum was issued--they must leave or fight. The Saints agreed to leave.⁸³

Preparations to Move West

A Church conference was held in October, and plans were laid for the trek west. Even with the concern felt by the Saints for their journey, education was not forgotten. On October 8, 1845, a Church conference was held in The Nauvoo Temple, and Elder Heber C. Kimball voiced his feelings on the matter:

There is another piece of business of great importance to all who have families; that is, to have some school books printed for the education of our children, which will not be according to the Gentile order.

Elder W. W. Phelps then arose and expressed this sentiment:

We are preparing to go out from among the people, where we can serve God in righteousness; and the first thing is, to teach our children; for they are as Israel of old. It is our children who will take the kingdom and bear it off to all the world We will instruct our children in paths of righteousness; and we want that instruction compiled in a book.

The conference moved that Elder W. W. Phelps prepare some school books for the use of children. He was not able to fulfill that assignment because of the press of duties connected with the move westward.⁸⁴

⁸³Lyon, loc. cit.

⁸⁴✓ Smith, History of The Church, Vol. 2, pp. 538-541.

The first crossings of the Saints across the Mississippi River took place on February 4, 1846. From then until September, a steady flow of Saints left their beloved city.

Many schools functioned during 1845, but official records for the city's school system ended in the winter of that year.⁸⁵ Schools were established on the plains in the fall of 1846 by orders of Brigham Young.⁸⁶

Plans for Education in the West

After traveling to Utah with the first company of pioneers, Brigham Young returned to Council Bluffs, Iowa. There he wrote a letter to the members of the Council of the Twelve on the subject of education.

It is very desirable that all the Saints should improve every opportunity of securing at least a copy of every valuable treatise on education--every book, map, chart, or diagram that may contain interesting, useful and attractive matter, to gain the attention of children, and cause them to love to learn to read; and also every historical, mathematical, philosophical, geographical, geological, astronomical, scientific, practical, and all other variety of useful and interesting writings, maps, etc., to present to the General Church Recorder when they shall arrive at their destination, from which important and interesting matter may be gleaned to compile the most valuable works on every science and subject, for the benefit of the rising generation.⁸⁷

⁸⁵Nauvoo School Records file, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁸⁶Journal History, unpublished, entry for December 31, 1846.

⁸⁷The Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, Vol. 10 (Liverpool, England: Published through the British Mission headquarters), p. 85. Cited in Hartshorn, p. 26.

Summary

Less than one year after the Mormons began settling in Illinois, they had founded a city on swamplands which, by 1844, was the largest in Illinois.

A liberal city charter permitted the establishment of a municipal university, the University of the City of Nauvoo. Its board of regents maintained complete control over a program that provided education from common schools to college--one of the first institutions in America to do so.

No university buildings were constructed in Nauvoo. Classes were held in private homes, public buildings and rented rooms.

The school system's curriculum offered a wide variety of courses in the arts, sciences and languages, presented by certified teachers.

There were apparently no free public schools, but many teachers allowed the poor to attend without payment.

Prior to leaving the city, the Mormons made plans to continue the process of education while crossing the plains.

Chapter 4

CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

Utah's early education institutions--the University of Deseret and the state's first grammar schools--are indebted to the public school system of the University of the City of Nauvoo. Several of those men and women who founded Utah's schools had served as teachers and administrators for the Nauvoo school system, and applied their knowledge and experience in the creation of educational programs in Utah.

Investigation was undertaken to reconstruct the story of the Nauvoo school system, as it has made a significant contribution to the heritage of the State of Utah.

THE PROBLEM

This study describes the historical development of the Nauvoo, Illinois, public school system during its existence from 1841 through 1845.

Research Methodology

A basic outline of Nauvoo's educational programs and personnel was formed by consulting Joseph Smith, Jr.'s History of the Church, David E. Miller's Abstract and Critique on Westward Migration with Special Emphasis on the History of Nauvoo, Robert Bruce Flanders' Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi, and Reta Latimer Halford's unpublished thesis, "Nauvoo, the City Beautiful."

Comparatively little new information was readily available on the problem, so an extensive program of historical research was undertaken. Several collections of Mormon-related books and documents are located in libraries throughout the United States. Four of these collections were chosen for research because of their accessibility and the amount of material they had which related to the Nauvoo period of Mormon Church history.

The Nauvoo School Records file of the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City provided the only original documents used in this study. The file contains common school attendance schedules, certificates of competency, and other related items.

Autobiographies, biographies, diaries, dissertations, histories, journals and theses were found in all four collections, located at the Church Historian's Office, and the Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City; the J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Library at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; and the Lovejoy Library, Edwardsville Campus, Southern Illinois University.

Much of the information gathered was too incomplete to be used as a formal part of the study, but was adjudged too valuable to be discarded. The appendix contains many of these findings in Part D, Nauvoo School Personnel.

FINDINGS

One of the basic tenets of Mormon doctrine is the belief that the soul of man is eternal. Man may, after death, continue to progress in wisdom, knowledge, and in the ability to functionally apply that which he has learned.

Life on earth is a preparation for the eternities. He who takes advantage of the opportunity to broaden his intellect on earth is further ahead in the eternities than his brother who may have not done so.

Formal education coupled with religious training produces men and women who are able to apply their knowledge in the building up of the Kingdom of God on earth--and consequently help their fellow men in the process. This is the Mormon ideal of education.

Although relatively unschooled, Joseph Smith, Jr., founder of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, spoke and wrote often on the subject of education. Wherever the Saints settled, schools were opened under his direction. America's first adult education program was initiated by Smith in Kirtland, Ohio. Many women attended school with their husbands. The Church did not suffer from lack of

school teachers; consequently, many excellent common schools were established in Mormon communities throughout Ohio and Missouri.

Many non-Mormons viewed the Saints' activities and accomplishments with envy, jealousy, and even fear. Wherever they went, the Mormons tended to dominate those around them. The Saints were too well organized, too ambitious, and possessed a heavenly mystique about them that hinted of plans and programs perhaps larger than life. They overshadowed others more content to enjoy life with less motivation. Thus it was that the non-Mormons retaliated, beating, burning, pillaging and taking life. Driven from Ohio and Missouri, the Saints looked toward Illinois for relief.

THE FOUNDING OF NAUVOO

Fleeing persecution for their religious beliefs, the Mormons purchased property on the eastern bank of the Mississippi river, and founded the city of Nauvoo.

The City Charter

The Mormons submitted a proposed city charter to the Illinois legislature, and won approval in December of 1840. One of the most liberal charters ever granted a city in the United States, it provided for the establishment of the city, a militia, and a municipal university.

Two factors entered into the granting of the charter. First, its bill was presented to the legislature by John Cook Bennett, an influential and popular man in Illinois politics. Second, the Whigs and the Democrats were anxious to win the votes of the Mormons--a very large group of people. By 1844 their numbers swelled to 11,000 in Nauvoo, and some three thousand others lived in outlying areas.

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE CITY OF NAUVOO

The municipal university was founded on February 3, 1841. Governed by a chancellor and a twenty-three man board of regents, the institution soon gained complete control over all educational institutions in the city. The city council relinquished control over the schools on February 22. It was merely a formality, however, as the mayor was also the university's chancellor, and the city councilmen served as members of the board of regents.

The Faculty

The university faculty was composed of six men. Three of them held degrees, and the others had excellent reputations for their academic prowess.

Facilities

Plans were laid for a university campus, but other structures took precedence in construction. Classes met in the Masonic Hall, the Temple, private homes and public buildings.

Curriculum

Students were offered a wide variety of courses, including the sciences, music, history, languages, and English grammar and composition.

Degrees

Three honorary degrees were awarded to friends of the Church. There is some evidence that diplomas were awarded to graduates, but this awaits positive confirmation.

COMMON SCHOOLS

The University had complete control over the activities and programs of the city's common schools. This section presents a summary of the actions of the board of regents in regard to these schools.

Teacher Certification

All common school teachers were required to obtain a certificate of competency in order to teach in the city. They were interviewed by a two-man team of examiners who determined their preparation to teach.

Trustee Supervision

Three wardens or trustees were appointed to each common school. These men periodically visited classes and determined the accuracy of the attendance schedules.

Finances

Section 13 of Nauvoo's city charter enabled the city to tax the citizenry for educational purposes. There is no record, however, that any tax monies were allotted for that reason.

University and common school teachers charged tuition. College courses were generally \$5.00 a quarter, and common schools averaged one dollar a month. Food, clothes and other usable items were often substituted in lieu of money. Some teacher allowed disadvantaged children to attend without charge.

School schedules. All public school teachers in Nauvoo were required to keep accurate attendance records of their pupils. The trustees checked them for correctness. Approval of the schedule meant that the teacher was authorized to receive payment in proportion to the total number of days students were actually in attendance. Funds for this purpose may have come from the tuition submitted by the students. Any surplus money may have been used for other educational purposes.

Facilities

No buildings were ever constructed exclusively for the use of common schools, but several rooms were prepared for that purpose in private homes, public buildings, and occasionally in businesses.

Textbooks

The board of regents published a list of approved books which the common school teachers were expected to use in their classes.

THE REPEAL OF NAUVOO'S CHARTER

The phenomenal growth of Nauvoo into Illinois' largest city excited the admiration and envy of many people. Certain Church doctrines offended the citizens of Hancock County. Apostates encouraged these feelings.

On June 27, 1844, Joseph Smith, Jr., and his brother, Hyrum, were assassinated by an armed mob. The Smiths' deaths relieved the pressure for a time, but political problems aggravated feelings, and as a result, Nauvoo's charter was revoked in December of 1845. An ultimatum was issued for the Saints to leave or fight. They agreed to leave.

Preparations to Move West

As the Saints prepared to leave the city, education was not forgotten. Many schools functioned throughout 1845, but official school records appear to have ended in the winter of that year.

Plans were made by Church officials to prepare textbooks for use on the trek West, but the pressure of other matters prevented the realization of this plan.

Once on the plains, Brigham Young insisted that schools be organized. His directive was obeyed, and many fine, though primitive, schools gave instruction to the Saints' children as they made their way toward the Great Salt Lake Valley.

SUMMARY

One of the principle teachings of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the eternal progress of man through secular and sacred education.

Seventeen different institutions and programs of learning, including the first adult education course in America, were established from 1831 through 1846 in order to promote education to every age and class of people in the Church.

The University of the City of Nauvoo provided secular education from grammar school through college. Its administrators exercised full control over every aspect of the public school system--without reporting to higher authority elsewhere.

Faculty members and teachers were, as a rule, well prepared to teach, and offered a curriculum unequaled by other institutions of learning on the edge of the frontier. At least eighty teachers have been accounted for in the five years that education functioned under university direction.

Had the Saints been allowed to remain in Nauvoo, a campus would have been prepared to house an institution that planned to lead the world in scholarship.

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APPENDICES

APPENDICES A & B

APPENDIX A

AN EXAMPLE OF A CERTIFICATE OF COMPETENCY

This certifies that E. B. Kelsey is well qualified to teach a school in the city of Nauvoo in the county of Hancock, Illinois, in the several branches of Reading writing [sic] Arithmetic, Geography, Grammar and philosophy [sic].

Given under our hands this 27th day of August 1844

Sidney Rigdon) Inspectors of
Joseph M. Cole) Common Schools

APPENDIX B

AN EXAMPLE OF SCHEDULE CERTIFICATION
BY SCHOOL TRUSTEES

State of Illinois

County of Hancock

We certify that at a meeting of the employees of Jesse Haven the above named teacher held at the Schoolroom of the above said Jesse Haven pursuant to notice on the 4th day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand and eight hundred and forty four-were duly appointed Trustees of said school That that [sic] we have performed the duties of said Trustees by visiting said School, and superintending the same that we have examined the foregoing schedule, and find the same to be correct that the Scholars named therein were at the dates of their attendance residents of Township six north range nine west of the fourth principal meridian and there is due to said teacher for instructing Scholars named in said schedule at the times therein mentioned the Sum of forty one dollars and twenty cents (\$41.21)

Witness our hands
and seal this 25th
day of December 1844

Trustees of
Said School

John Haven	seal
Isaac Beebe	seal
Phinehas Richards	seal

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

Abstract of Schedules for 6N 9W for the Year A.D. 1844 Ratio $\frac{4086}{100}$ mills

Teachers Names	No of Days	Apportionment		
		\$	Cts	
Hannah Holbrook	7352	30	04	Paid
E Grant	1074	4	38 3/4	Paid not certified
M M Patterson	3467	14	16 1/2	Paid
Jesse W. Fox	851	3	47 3/4	Paid not certified
Louisa Pratt	1652	6	75	Paid
Huldah Barnes	1566	6	40	Paid
Sarah Phelps	1495	6	10 3/4	Paid
Eli B. Kelsey	9176	37	49 1/4	5.50 Paid Paid in full
W S Hathaway	3016	12	32 1/4	Paid
Charles H. Bassett	559	2	28 1/2	Paid
Mary Pierce	2599	10	62	Paid
Jesse Haven (2.)	4255	17	38 1/2	Paid
Maria L. Brown	1746	7	13 1/2	Paid
David M. Hard	567	2	31 1/2	Paid not certified
Maria Kempton	898	3	67	Paid not certified 367
David Candland	1832	7	48 1/2	Paid
D. G. Luce	1051	4	29 1/2	Paid
Hannah Tupper	1254	5	14 1/2	Assigned to J. Holbrook
Mary Wilsey	1417	5	79	Assigned to J. Holbrook
Randolph Alexander	154		63	
James M. Monroe	916	3	74 1/4	Paid
Nancy Goldsmith	1045	4	27	Paid J. L. Robinson
Caroline Bullard	3514	14	35 3/4	Paid
Howard Corey	1399	5	71 1/2	Paid
D. G. Luce	1886	7	70 1/2	Paid
E Grant	1154	4	71 1/2	
J M Cole & A B Coles	5822	23	78 3/4	Paid
C. W. Wandall	1904	7	78	Paid
	63,621	259	97	
Commission		5	31	
		265	28	C. Robisen SC.

REVERSE OF THE DOCUMENT

Abstract of Schedules of 7N 9W
for the Year 1844

Teachers names	No of Days	Apportionment		Ratio 6929 mills
		\$	Cts	
Howard Corey	942	6	52 3/4	652 3/4 Paid
R Alexander	328	2	27 1/4	
Jesse Havens	279	1	99 1/2	Paid (7.8)
L A Shurtliff	3526	24	43	Paid
Lucy Groves	9643	66	81 3	Paid in full
Wm S Hathaway	3081	21	34 3/4	\$17 Paid in full
	17,799	123	33	
		2	52	
		125	85	C. Robisen SC.

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX D

NAUVOO SCHOOL PERSONNEL

Many names, dates, and valuable bits of information were discovered which cast additional light on Nauvoo's school personnel and programs. Unfortunately, most of it could not be included in the findings of this study, as the information was incomplete, and the task of footnoting the dozens of sources from which it came would be formidable indeed. However, the bibliography lists some books from which the information was gleaned, and this part of the Appendix reproduces those items which might serve as reference points from which future researchers might work to make the story of Nauvoo's schools even more complete.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE CITY OF NAUVOO

Chancellor: John Cook Bennett, M.D.,
later Orson Spencer, A.M., D.D.

Registrar: William Law

Regents:

James Adams	Lenos M. Knight	Ebenezer Robinson
John T. Barnett	Vinson Knight	Hyrum Smith
Samuel Bennett, M.D.	Wilson Law	Joseph Smith
Robert D. Foster	Amasa Lyman	Samuel H. Smith
Isaac Galland	William Marks	John Snider
John P. Greene	George Miller	John Taylor
Elias Higbee	Charles C. Rich	Daniel H. Wells
Heber C. Kimball	Sidney Rigdon	Newell K. Whitney

Faculty:

President: James Kelly, A. M.

Gustavus Hills, Professor of Music

John Pack

Orson Pratt, Professor of Mathematics and English Literature

Sidney Rigdon, D.D., Professor of Church History

Orson Spencer, A. M., Professor of Languages

University Building Committee:

Vinson Knight, Charles C. Rich, Daniel H. Wells

Common SchoolsExaminers for Certificates of Competency:Inspectors of Common Schools:

Gustavus Hills James M. Monroe Joseph M. Cole Sidney Rigdon

School Wardens for Common Schools:

First Ward : John P. Greene, Andrew Morrison, Newell K. Whitney

Second Ward : Elias Higbee, Wilson Law, Charles Coulson Rich

Third Ward : Robert D. Foster, Daniel Hanmer Wells, Stephen Winchester

Fourth Ward : Vinson Knight, William Law, Ebenezer Robinson

Music Wardens for University and Common School Classes:

First Ward : B. S. Wilber

Second Ward : Stephen H. Goddard

Third Ward : Titus Billings

Fourth Ward : John Pack

School Directors:

Jonathan Harriman Hale

Joseph Holbrook

Aaron Johnson

Theodore Turley

Trustees:

James Allred	R. Holister	Phinehas Richards
John Anderson	James Huntsman	Ebenezer Robinson
John L. Balter	Norton Jacob	Joseph Lee Robinson
F. A. Bealby	John Kempton	Samuel Rolfe
Isaac Beebe	William W. Lane	William W. Rust
Lyman A. Brady	William Law	William Sweet
Anson Call	Waldo Littlefield	Isaac Tate
B. Chapman	Levi Loveland	John Taylor
P. Dennison	William P. McIntire	Jonathan Taylor
Horace Evans	Andrew Moore	Joseph Waine
Thomas Grover	G. W. Myres	Joseph Wandell
John Haven	Ezra Oakley	M. Wilber
Elias Higbee	George W. Orman	Lewis Dunbar Wilson
Isaac Higbee	Joseph Parker	Lorenzo Young
Joseph Holbrook	Charles Coulson Rich	

Private and Public Common School Teachers:

Emily M. Coburn Austin	Lorin Farr	Prescendia Lathrop
	George William Fowler	Huntington Buell
J. A. Banister	Jesse Fox	Smith Kimball
Elizabeth Haven Barlow		Lydia Goldthwaite
Truman Barlow	Nancy Goldsmith	Knight
Miss Huldah Barnes	E. Grant	
Charles Henry Bassett	Hannah Tupper Grover	David Lewis
Aaron Blake	Lucy Groves	Daniel B. Luce
Abigail Smith Abbott		Eliza Marie Partridge
Brown	David M. Hard	Smith Lyman
Francis A. Brown	Jeremiah Hatch, Jr.	
	William S. Hathaway	"Malvina"
David Candland	Elizabeth Haven	Mr. Martin
Miss Adelia B. Cole	Jesse Haven	Pamela M. Michael
Joseph M. Cole	Eunice Holbrook	Marilla Miller
Howard Coray	Hannah Flint Holbrook	Miss Mitchell
Martha Jane Knowlton		Eliza Monroe
Coray	Justin Johnson	James M. Monroe
Caroline Crosby		
	William H. Keith	Alexander Neibaur
Henry I. Doremus	Eli B. Kelsey	
A. R. Dunton	Miriam T. Kempton	Mary M. Patterson

Sarah Phelps
 Mary Pierce
 Mary Pitchforth
 Louisa Barnes Pratt

Sarah Hall Scott
 Luman Andros Shurtliff
 Eliza Roxey Snow Smith
 Mary Aikens Smith
 Mary Fielding Smith
 Lorenzo Snow

Mercy Fielding Thompson
 Enoch Bartlett Tripp
 Mrs. Tripp

Charles Wesley Wandell
 M. B. Wandell
 George Wardell
 George Darling Watt
 Emeline B. Woodward
 Whitney Wells
 Lavinia Whipple

Susannah White
 Mary Kelsey Wilsey
 William H. Woodbury
 John Mills Woolley

Henry I. Young
 Zina Diantha
 Huntington Jacobs
 Smith Young

School Clerks:

F. J. Bartlett
 Charles A. Foster

Robert L. Foster
 Ebenezer Robinson

BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF COMMON SCHOOL TEACHERS AND
FACULTY MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE CITY OF NAUVOO

Emily M. Coburn Austin

Mrs. Austin was raised in the Alleghany mountains of Pennsylvania. She received a common school education in her youth. Her sister Sarah married Newell Knight. She taught a common school in her Nauvoo home for sixty days at \$2.00 a scholar, in the spring of 1841. The school closed on the first of April.

J. A. Banister

Mr. Banister taught the Nauvoo Select School at the corner of Broadway and Parley streets. He taught 41 scholars in the house of Alorezon Wells on Wells Street from January 16 to February 23, 1844. His trustees were Isaac Tate, B. Chapman, R. Holister, William Sweet, and P. Dennison. He also taught at the house of Mr. Morcy.

Elizabeth Haven Barlow

Mrs. Barlow was born in Holliston, Middlesex County, Massachusetts on December 28, 1811. She attended Amherst and Bradford colleges, and received a teacher's diploma.

Elizabeth taught school in Far West, Missouri, with her brother Jesse. She also taught a common school in Nauvoo during 1840-41, and 1841-42.

Truman Barlow

He taught a common school near the home of Heber C. Kimball in the spring of 1840.

Miss Huldah Barnes

She taught from November 20 to December 20, 1844, at T6NR9W. 34 scholars attended. She also taught for seven weeks, no dates given. 35 scholars attended at \$2.25 tuition. Her trustees were Lewis Dunbar Wilson, Thomas Grover, and F. A. Bealby.

Charles Henry Bassett

Mr. Bassett was born in Ossian, Alleghany County, New York. No other information was found about this man.

John Cook Bennett

John C. Bennett was born in Fairhaven, Bristol County, Massachusetts, on August 3, 1804. He studied medicine under Dr. Samuel Preston Hildreth of Marietta, Ohio. Bennett practiced medicine in Wheeling, West Virginia; New Albany, Indiana; Circleville, and Barnesville, Ohio. He also attended one session of medical lectures at the medical department of McGill University in 1830-31.

Bennett attempted to found the Methodist University in Ohio in 1829 and the Christian University in Ohio in 1830. Both institutions failed. In 1831 he was a leader in securing a charter for Wheeling University. He was appointed a professor and the dean of its proposed medical department.

In 1833 Bennett and nine associates obtained a charter to found the nonsectarian Christian College at New Albany, Indiana. They changed the name to Indiana University (no connection with the present institution). Honorary degrees were awarded, although no instruction was ever given.

It is reported that Dr. Bennett peddled the Doctor of Medicine degree throughout the middle west as far as New York for \$10.00 a certificate.

In 1834 a university board of trustees appointed Dr. Bennett as an agent to secure funds and organize a medical faculty. He was released for unsatisfactory services after a few months.

Bennett was active in 1840 in founding the Illinois State Medical Society. Prior to this he practiced medicine for two years at Fairfield, Wayne County, Illinois.

Bennett was also engaged in political affairs. On February 20, 1839 he was appointed Brigadier General of the State of Illinois by Governor Thomas Carlin. On July 20, 1840 he was appointed Quartermaster General of the State of Illinois, also by Governor Carlin.

Becoming a resident of Nauvoo, Bennett later successfully petitioned the Illinois legislature for the incorporation of the city of

Nauvoo. On February 1, 1841, he was appointed the mayor of Nauvoo, and also became the chancellor of the University of the City of Nauvoo.

On May 17, 1842, Bennett was excommunicated from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for immoral practices.

Aaron Blake

Mr. Blake taught the Select School in partnership with Jeremiah Hatch, Jr. The schoolroom was located on Parley Street.

Abigail Smith Abbott Brown

Mrs. Brown was born in Williamson, Ontario County, New York, on September 11, 1806. She received a common school education and home training. Prior to her marriage to James Brown, Mrs. Abbott taught a common school in her home from April 19 to July 29, 1842, at \$1.50 a scholar. 46 pupils attended. Her trustees were Elias Higbee and Charles C. Rich. She later taught in the spring of 1844. Her home was located in T7NR9W.

Francis A. Brown

Mr. Brown was born in Milford, Otsego, New York, on November 14, 1822. He taught a common school sometime after October, 1844, in Nauvoo.

Caroline Bullard

No information is available on this woman, except that she taught school in 1844.

David Candland

Mr. Candland was born in Highgate, Middlesex County, England on October 15, 1819. He taught a common school from September of 1844 until April of 1845 in Heber C. Kimball's home.

Joseph M. and Miss Adelia B. Cole

This brother and sister team taught the Nauvoo Seminary in the second story of Joseph Smith's brick store. They later moved classes to Henry W. Miller's house at Sidney and Partridge streets, and also taught a school in the Seventies Hall. Eli B. Kelsey was a partner, and later took over their school.

The Coles taught reading, writing, spelling, English grammar, geography, chemistry, natural philosophy, and astronomy.

Howard Coray and Martha Jane Knowlton Coray

Howard Coray was born in Stevens County, New York, on May 6, 1817. He attended common schools and college. His wife, Martha, was born in Boone County, Kentucky, on June 3, 1822.

Mr. Coray opened a common school in Joseph Smith's brick store in October of 1840. He also taught in a double log-house in the same block as the residences of Hyrum Smith and John Taylor.

In the spring of 1841, Coray rented a schoolroom from Robert B. Thompson, where he taught with his new bride. He also taught during of 1842 and 1843.

Coray taught from August 12 to September, 1844 in a schoolhouse on Durphey Street. Two classes were held; 32 pupils attended in one, and 29 pupils in the other.

In the fall of 1844, Coray rented the Music Hall on Young Street for a class room. He was assisted by his wife and John Mills Woolley. He taught from October 14 to December 20, 1844, with 24 pupils in attendance. His trustees were Isaac Higbee and William W. Rust; directors Theodore Turley and Aaron Johnson. The Corays turned the school over to Woolley when asked by Joseph Smith's mother to assist her in writing the history of her son.

Caroline Crosby

She taught a common school at her residence located in T7NR9W, from November 7 to December 27, 1842. 24 pupils attended. \$1.50 tuition was charged.

Henry I. Doremus

Doremus was born in Bergen County, New Jersey, on June 4, 1801. He attended common schools from the age of five until he was ten years old.

He began teaching school in 1821, and spent most of the rest of his life following this profession. In 1825 he took charge of an academy at Paterson Landing, Passaic, New Jersey. He became a private student of the Reverend H. M. Perrine, of Bloomfield, New Jersey, in 1827. He entered Bloomfield Academy, Essex, New Jersey, in 1828. In October of 1828 he enrolled at Nassau Hall, a New Jersey College. He graduated in 1832.

Doremus taught in Edinton, North Carolina, from 1832 to 1833. He moved to Hackensack, New Jersey, where he taught at the Academy from 1833 to 1835. In 1836 he read with a Dr. Aycrigg. In the winter of 1836-37, he attended medical lectures at Jefferson College, Philadelphia.

Mr. Doremus practiced medicine and taught classes in Nauvoo, but no specific information as to where and when he taught was located.

A. R. Dunton

Penmanship was Mr. Dunton's specialty. He taught this subject at the Masonic Hall.

Lorin Farr

Mr. Farr was born in Waterford, Vermont, on July 27, 1820. He taught common school in Nauvoo in the house of Mr. McIntire on Main Street, from December 12 to December 30, 1842. 27 pupils attended his school. His trustees were William Law and Ebenezer Robinson. It is known that he taught on other occasions, but specific dates were not found.

George William Fowler

He taught at his residence, located on the third block east of the Temple, from December 18, to March 13, 1844.

Jesse W. Fox

Mr. Fox taught school during 1844.

Nancy Goldsmith

She taught a common school in a room owned by Joseph Lee Robinson on Warsaw Street from December 11, to December 29, 1843. 38 pupils attended. Her trustees were Joseph Lee Robinson and Levi Loveland. Mr. Robinson paid Miss Goldsmith for her services. No tuition was charged, for those unable to pay.

E. Grant

Mr. Grant taught a common school on Kimball and Main streets, from January 2, to March 29, 1844. His trustees were Lorenzo Dow Young, G. W. Myres, James Allred, Lewis Dunbar Booth, and M. Wilber.

Hannah Tupper Grover

She was born in Parishville, New York, on March 23, 1823. Mrs. Grover taught in 1844.

Lucy Groves

She taught in T6NR9W, "on a back street cornering on Joseph Street," from October 31 to December 22, 1842. 34 pupils attended. Her trustees were Joseph Parker, Waldo Littlefield, Horace Evans, John L. Balter, and James Huntsman.

David M. Hard

Mr. Hard taught in T6NR9W, from December 9 to the 20th, 1844. 78 pupils attended. His trustees were Joseph L. Robinson and Joseph Wandell.

Jeremiah Hatch, Jr.

Hatch taught in partnership with Aaron Blake.

William S. Hathaway

Hathaway taught in a schoolroom on Wells Street, from January 1 until June 5, 1844. 51 pupils attended. His trustees were Isaac Higbee, Samuel Rolfe, and John Anderson.

Eleven students attended Hathaway's school in the Masonic Hall from November 25 until December 27, 1844. Trustees were Aaron Johnson, John Taylor, and Theodore Turley.

The Masonic Hall was rented for a class held from January 2 until March 25, 1845. 32 pupils were registered.

Charlotte Haven

This non-Mormon woman taught the children of friends who did not wish them to attend schools taught by Latter-day Saint teachers.

Jesse Haven and Elizabeth Haven (Barlow)

School was held from January 1 to February 23, 1844, with 42 pupils. The room was located on the corner of Knight and James streets.

A second term began on February 26 and ran until June 21, 1844. 44 pupils enrolled. Trustees were John Haven, Isaac Beebe, and Phinehas Richards.

Fall term began August 5, and ended on October 16, 1844, with 28 pupils.

Winter term was short. It began on December 9 and ended on December 25, 1844. 27 pupils attended. School was held on Christmas Day.

Mrs. Eunice Holbrook

No information was located.

Hannah Flint Holbrook.

Winter term began on January 1 and ended on March 27, 1844. 50 pupils attended. Mrs. Holbrook's schoolroom was located in T6NR9W. Her trustees were Anson Call and Levi Loveland.

Spring term began on April 1 and ended on June 28, 1844.
51 pupils registered.

Summer-Fall term began on July 8 and ended on December 26,
1844. 50 pupils attended.

50 pupils attended a term which extended from July 1 to December 19, 1845. Directors were Jonathan H. Hale and Joseph Holbrook. Trustees were Abraham Hoagland, Anson Call, and John Edgar.

Justin Johnson

Mr. Johnson taught in a schoolroom belonging to Brother Winchester.

William H. Keith

No information was located regarding Mr. Keith's school.

James Kelly

President of the University, Kelly was reputed to have graduated from Trinity College, Dublin. It is said that no records exist of his attendance at that institution.

He is reported to have affiliated himself with the Godbeites, a small apostate sect.

Eli B. Kelsey

An experienced teacher from Madison, Iowa, Kelsey was born on October 27, 1819, place unknown. He taught in several locations, including the corner of Parley and Carlin streets, the Masonic Hall on Main and White Streets, and the Seventies Hall on Parley Street.

Mr. Kelsey was a partner with Joseph M. and Adelia B. Cole in their Nauvoo Seminary. He took over the operation in November of 1844. He had two female assistants working with him at one time.

One schedule credits Kelsey with a school held from May 13 until December 20, 1844. 128 pupils and 92 pupils attended, most likely in several separate classes.

Miriam T. Kempton

Her schoolroom was in her home located in T6NR9W. Her husband was John Kempton. School was held between November 22 and December 29, 1843. 42 pupils were registered. Trustees were Jonathan H. Hale, John Kempton, and Joseph Waine.

Prescendia Lathrop Huntington Buell Smith Kimball

Mrs. Kimball was born in Watertown, Jefferson County, New York, on September 10, 1810. No specific information was located on when she taught in Nauvoo.

Lydia Goldthwaite Knight

No specific information was located on dates of her schools.

David Lewis

Mr. Lewis was born in Simpson County, Kentucky, on April 10, 1814.

Daniel G. Luce

Mr. Luce's schoolroom was located at the corner of Parley and Green streets. He taught a school from January 1 to March 11, 1844, with 44 pupils. Trustees were Andrew Moore, Jonathan Taylor, and Charles Coulson Rich.

Eliza Marie Partridge Smith Lyman

Mrs. Lyman was born in Painesville, Geauga County, Ohio, on April 20, 1820. She received a common school education, and taught for three months in Caldwell County, Missouri, before moving to Nauvoo. Dates of her schools in Nauvoo were not found.

"Malvina"

The surname of this woman could not be found. She taught in 1842.

Mr. Martin

Mr. Martin taught in a schoolroom located in the Butler and Lewis store, on Water and Granger streets.

Pamela M. Michael

It is believed that she taught in the Joseph Smith store. She had a school from January 3 to July 1, 1842, with 94 pupils. Trustees were William Law and Ebenezer Robinson. A summer term was held from July 11 until November 11, 1842. 50 pupils attended.

Miss Mitchell

She taught in Hyrum Smith's office in 1843. This woman may be Pamela Michael.

Marilla Miller

No information was found on this woman.

Mrs. Eliza Monroe

No information was located on Mrs. Monroe.

James M. Monroe

This gentleman was from Utica, New York, where he taught in a high school. He taught common studies, higher mathematics, philosophy, chemistry, Greek, Latin, French, and Spanish.

The dates of his schools are as follows:

August 22 to October 31, 1842, 39 pupils.

October 31 to January 30, 1843, 31 pupils.

November 2 to December 29, 1842, 47 pupils.

November of 1844 he taught a night school in a large room over

Mrs. Kimball's store, three nights a week for ten weeks.

Subjects taught were grammar, writing and composition for \$1.50 per student.

April 22 to May 31, 1845. Monroe tutored the children of John Taylor, Joseph Smith, Jr., and Brigham Young.

Julian Moses

No information was located.

Alexander Neibaur

Mr. Neibaur was born in Ehrenbreitstein, near Hessen-Nassau, Prussia. A dentist, he also taught Hebrew and German in Nauvoo. Joseph Smith was one of Neibaur's pupils. His residence was located on Water Street, near a cooper's shop.

Mary M. Patterson

Mrs. Patterson's school was located in T6NR9W, lot no. 1, block 139, Parley and Main streets. She taught several terms, including:

April 29 to June 29, 1844, 27 scholars.

July 1 to September 31, 1844, 30 scholars.

November 4, 1844 to January 17, 1845, 25 scholars.

Trustees were Ezra Oakley, James Allred, George W. Oman, and William P. McIntire, with Theodore Turley and Aaron Johnson, Directors.

Mary Pierce

This woman is believed to be Eli B. Kelsey's mother. She taught in 1844.

Mrs. Sarah Phelps.

No information was located on this teacher.

Mary Pitchforth

A skilled pianist from London, England, Mrs. Pitchforth taught in Miss Gray's milliner shop, Main Street.

Louisa Barnes Pratt

Mrs. Pratt was born in Norwich, Franklin County, Massachusetts. She attended two district schools before she was eight years of age. She also attended two schools in Lower Canada, and a Government school while living with a relative.

Mrs. Pratt's teaching career began in the summer of 1822 when she taught a common school. She later taught for ten months near Dunham, Lower Canada. Returning to school as a pupil, she enrolled in the Female Academy in the spring of 1827.

She began teaching in her Nauvoo home in the spring of 1844, when her husband, Addison Pratt, was called to serve on a Church mission to the South Sea Islands.

Orson Pratt

Pratt was born in Hartford, Washington County, New York, on September 19, 1811. Largely self-taught, he gained fame as a mathematician, scientist, and author.

Mr. Pratt taught a grammar school in Kirtland, Ohio, during the winter of 1835-36. In 1841 he taught mathematics for the University of the City of Nauvoo.

Miss Mary Reese

No information was located.

Sidney Rigdon, D.D.

A former minister for the Campbellite religion, Rigdon was described by a non-Mormon observer as ". . . the most learned man among the Latter-day Saints He has an intelligent countenance, a courteous manner, and speaks grammatically He is so far above Smith in intellect, education and secretiveness. . . ."

Sarah Hall Scott

From Sutton, Massachusetts, she kept a school during the winter of 1843-44, some two and one-half miles east of the Temple. Her sister, Martha, married Jesse Haven.

Luman Andros Shurtliff

Mr. Shurtliff was born in Montgomery, Hampden, Massachusetts, on March 13, 1807. He attended common schools in Massachusetts and Ohio, between 1819 to 1823, then in November of 1824 taught district school for three months. He returned to school in the summer of 1825. He studied grammar and arithmetic in preparation for his fall term.

Moving to Nauvoo, Shurtliff taught a large school sometime after October 5, 1840. He taught orphans and children of widows free.

Called on a mission, he returned and opened another school sometime after October 20, 1841. He rented a log house where he taught for three months at \$3.00 per pupil. Only two-thirds of his pupils paid.

Called on another mission, Shurtliff returned and opened another school sometime after July 1, 1843. He hired a house for this purpose, and taught through the winter. A large number attended the school, but only about one-half paid the tuition.

In the spring of 1845 he hired a house and taught between 50 and 60 scholars, but over 20 of them did not pay for their schooling. He also held a summer school that year, spending over six hours in the classroom each day.

Eliza Roxey Snow Smith

Mrs. Smith was born in Beckett, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, on January 21, 1804. She received a good common school education, and began teaching in the spring of 1835, when she opened a select school for young ladies in Kirtland, Ohio.

Other teaching experiences took her to Lima and Rock Creek, Illinois. She was called to teach a family school by Sidney Rigdon in Commerce (later, Nauvoo) in July, 1839.

Mrs. Smith opened other schools in Nauvoo, including a school of 65 students, possibly in 1841, and a school held between December 12 to the 30th of 1842. 37 pupils attended. She held a school in the spring of 1843. William Law and Ebenezer Robinson served as her trustees.

Joseph Smith, Jr.

The Prophet was born in Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, on December 27, 1805. Prior to his fourteenth year he briefly attended common schools in Vermont and New York. He did not care to study much as a youth.

Joseph Smith, Jr.'s achievements in the field of education are readily found in many publications, so they shall not be recounted here, except to state that he continually wrote and spoke on the advantages of education; he published many books and periodicals; he began the first adult education class in America; he opened schools for missionaries; he studied German, Greek, and Hebrew; he translated the Book of Mormon and revised the King James Version of the Bible; founded a university, and did many other things to promote the cause of learning.

Mary Fielding Smith

The sister of Mercy Fielding Thompson, Mary taught school in Nauvoo.

Lorenzo Snow

The brother of Eliza Roxey Snow Smith, Lorenzo was born in Mantua, Portage County, Ohio, on April 3, 1814. An excellent student who loved to read, he attended several common schools, a high school, and completed his training at Oberlin College.

Snow taught a district school in Shalersville, Portage County, Ohio, in the winter of 1839-40. He also taught a district school in Lima, Illinois, in the winter of 1840. He later taught school in Nauvoo.

Mary Aikens Smith

No detailed information was located about this teacher.

Orson Spencer

Mr. Spencer was born in West Stockbridge, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, on March 14, 1802. He attended common schools,

and later graduated from Union College, New York with an arts degree, and the Baptist Literary and Theological Seminary, New York, with a divinity degree. Spencer served on the University of the City of Nauvoo board of regents, and replaced John Cook Bennett as chancellor when Bennett was excommunicated from the Mormon Church.

Mercy Fielding Thompson

Mercy taught school in Kirtland and Nauvoo.

Enoch Bartlett Tripp and Mrs. Tripp

Converted to the Mormon Church in 1846, this couple taught school in Nauvoo that year. He tutored the children of the Prophet Joseph Smith.

Charles Wesley and M. B. Wandell

These brothers taught in a schoolhouse on Warsaw street near Parley street. Their trustees were John D. Lee and Tanner C. Green. The brothers' schedules appear to conflict, but they maintained separate classes and did not begin teaching at times on the same dates.

January 8 to 26, 1844, 60 students.

January 8 to April 5, 1844.

February 19 to April 5, 1844.

March 11 to April 5, 1844.

March 18 to 29, 1844.

January 8 to March 8, 1845.

January 29 to March 8, 1845.

George Wardell

A musician who taught on the corner of Hotchkiss and Rich streets.

George Darling Watt

This gentleman taught phonography, a form of shorthand, in the spring of 1845.

Emeline B. Woodward Whitney Wells

Mrs. Wells was born in Petersham, Worchester County, Massachusetts, on February 29, 1828. She was noted for her memory as a child. She began composing fine poetry at the age of eight years. Completing common school about 1843, she taught a country school that same year, near Orange, Massachusetts. Her family moved to Nauvoo in 1844, where she taught school in 1845 for nine shillings per week.

Lavina Whipple

Mrs. Whipple's school was located on the corner of Hibbard and Fullmer streets. She taught from January 1 to March 1, 1844. Her pupils were from several wards; including T6NR9W, 6 pupils; T6NR8W, 3 pupils. Trustees assigned to her school were Norton Jacob and William W. Lane.

Susannah White

Her school was located in T6NR9W. Her first term ran from June 29 to December 2, 1842. 35 pupils attended. The second term ran partially concurrent with the first, beginning October 9 and ending December 30, 1842, 36 pupils. A spring term began on April 10 and closed on July 10, of 1843. 38 pupils registered. Trustees were William Law and Ebenezer Robinson.

Mary Kelsey Wilsey

Mrs. Wilsey's school was located in T6NR9W. Her school term began on April 15, 1844, and ended July 15th of that year. She had 38 pupils. Lewis Dunbar Wilson, Thomas Grover, and Lyman A. Brady served as her trustees.

William H. Woodbury

Mr. Woodbury taught at the house of Samuel Miles on Ripley Street, a few rods south of the Temple. He taught from September 5 to December 30, 1842, two terms, with 53 and 67 pupils.

John Mills Woolley

Mr. Wooley was born in New Lynn, Pennsylvania, on November 20, 1822. He taught in partnership with Mr. and Mrs. Howard Coray at the Music Hall in 1844.

Henry I. Young

Mr. Young's school was held at B. J. Clapp's, T7NR9W. His term began on July 25 and ended on October 28, 1842. He charged \$2.00 per scholar.

Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs Smith Young

She was born on January 31, 1821, Watertown, New York. No detailed information was found on her schools in Nauvoo.

ABSTRACT

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Utah's early grammar schools, and the University of Deseret, were patterned after the Nauvoo, Illinois, public school system.

The objective of this study was to describe the historical development of the Nauvoo, Illinois, public school system from 1841-1845.

Founded in 1841, the University of the City of Nauvoo was America's first municipal university. Its board of regents governed a program of secular education extending from grammar schools to college training. An extraordinary curriculum offered courses in languages, music, history, literature, social science and mathematics.

All common school teachers were required to have a certificate of competency from a board of examiners. Schools were superintended by trustees, who authorized payment of salaries based upon the total number of days the pupils attended school. It is hypothesized that funds came from tuition charged each student.

Although hampered by a lack of physical facilities, the Nauvoo public school system offered one of the finest programs for education on the American frontier.

