

Preparing Kingdom-Bearers: Educating the Children of Nauvoo

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Even the casual student will note that the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is marked with noted zealotry for education and learning of all kinds. The holistic world view of the early Mormons drove them to raise schoolhouses next to their churches (if the buildings were separate at all) and to strive in both structures to learn the truth of all things in the light of faith. This is certainly true of their educational endeavors in Illinois where the Mormons established a university system that would blanket saints of all ages—a system to educate both the mind and the soul. Of particular concern to them was the education of their children who, unlike the children of their gentile neighbors, would grow up to inherit and perpetuate the kingdom of God. In Nauvoo educating the young, though not always easy, was an eschatological endeavor that bred in the near eighty schoolteachers a healthy anxiety for providing both secular and spiritual knowledge for the future kingdom-bearers.

Education's Sacred Nature

To the Saints, education in general was a spiritual affair. Long before their settlement in Nauvoo their leaders had affirmed the importance of education and learning. In Kirtland on 27 December 1832, the Prophet Joseph Smith received a revelation instructing the Saints to seek “out of the best books words of wisdom; [to] seek learning, even by study and also by faith” (D&C 88:118). This charge, as understood by the Saints, did not mean

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merely reading scriptures for gospel knowledge; it also included obtaining “a knowledge of history, and of countries, and of kingdoms, of laws of God and man,” of “all good books, and with languages, tongues, and people,” and of “things both in heaven and in the earth, and under the earth . . . the wars and perplexities of the nations, and the judgments which are on the land; and a knowledge also of countries and of kingdoms” (D&C 93:53; 90:15; 88:79). Their corpus of works to study, then, extended far beyond their sacred writings and included anything written to educate and inform the human race. For the early Latter-day Saints, education was a preliminary to the celestial kingdom where “it is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance” (D&C 131:6).

In each settlement, from Kirtland to Missouri, and then to Nauvoo in 1839, the Saints raised schoolhouses where their children could be steeped in secular as well as spiritual knowledge. “Thousands can testify,” said Helen Mar Whitney, “that wherever our lot has been cast, almost the first building put up has been the schoolhouse.”¹ This is certainly true of the Mormon experience in Jackson County, their Zion, where the first building dedicated had been a schoolhouse. But parents were instructed not to wait until schools were built before educating their children, as William W. Phelps, official printer of the church, instructed in June 1832, “The disciples should loose [sic] no time in preparing schools for their children, that they may be taught as is pleasing unto the Lord, and brought up in the way of holiness. Those appointed to select and prepare books for the use of schools, will attend to that subject, as soon as more weighty matters are finished. But the parents and guardians, in the Church of Christ need not wait—it is all important that children, to become good should be taught so.² In order to be “brought up in the way of holiness,” children required instruction in mathematics, reading, geography, and science. Significantly, there is evidence that the Nauvoo Saints believed this kind of learning should be done *before* serious gospel study. On 15 January 1842 the editors of the periodical *Times and Seasons* explained that in order to teach children the plan of salvation, “it is necessary that children should be taught in the rudiments of common learning out of the best books; and then, as they grow up they can be qualified to search the scriptures, and acquire the knowledge of the Lord, become heirs of the kingdom, and, guided by the Holy Spirit, which is a never failing promise to the saints, they will walk in all the commandments of the Lord blameless, in thanksgiving forever.³ As education was a prerequisite of heaven, “common learning” was a prerequisite to serious study of the gospel.

Kingdom-Bearers, Not Nation-Builders

In addition to showing the Saints’ desire for secular knowledge to illu-

minate and supplement spiritual knowledge, the following quote from *Times and Seasons* also reveals a theme that is important if we are to understand fully the educational superstructure of Nauvoo. In Latter-day Saint doctrine, children were sacred. Not only did they represent all that was good in the world, but they also embodied the invested capital of the Kingdom of God—a great body of human resource that would mature in the gospel, come of age, and “take the kingdom, under the whole heavens, and possess it forever and ever.”⁴ As the Saints prepared to educate their children in the City Beautiful, their primary and overarching principle in organizing common schools—or, in the words one Mormon historian, the “ultimate goal of Mormon child nurture”⁵—was to incubate kingdom-bearers.

The phrase “common schools” used here is a bit misleading. Though in Nauvoo the Saints might have used that term, they certainly did not use it in the same way as other educators in 19th century America. As educational historian Gerald Gutek explains, the rest of the nation understood common schools to be places to prepare students to “carry out the duties and privileges of life in a republic” and to “weld a democracy” out of the disparate human stuff of the frontier. Idealist educators developed the common school “for both cultural unification and transmission of the society.”⁶ Their main concerns were political; believing universal education would enlighten children politically, and not necessarily spiritually. Educational reformer and philosopher Horace Mann, a Massachusetts legislator and proponent of the socio-political theory of common school education, supported a “state-supported, publicly controlled” system that would be a “unifying force, assimilating immigrants, foreign language groups, and other diverse elements in American society into one nation.”⁷ Unlike the Saints, Mann and others were more concerned with making young American children into nation-builders, not kingdom-bearers. Common schools, then, became *centrifugal* forces, projecting tutored youth out of communities and into American society, rather than *centripetal*, as the Saints would have them, drawing children more and more into the fold.

At first glance, Mann’s philosophy for educating children does not seem so different from the Mormon understanding. He also believed and taught the spiritual end-goal of education, whereby a child develops into a “spiritual similitude to its Author.”⁸ But in his final thesis Mann, whose tenure as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education brought pseudo-religious zeal to the common school movement, had goals far different from the Latter-day Saints. He believed that exclusive sectarian education crippled the power of the Union, along with all other “potential threats to social unity” like the “widening gap between rich and poor, the schismatic tendencies in religion, the growing heterogeneity of the population, and political and sectional divisiveness.”⁹ The common school, universal and all-

inclusive in nature, had the potential to be the great melting pot, creating a unified though pluralistic pool of republican human capital.

Controlling the Education Environment

Though the rest of the country's schools might have been experimenting with Mann's homogenizing education, the schools of Nauvoo were not. Since the Illinois State Legislature would not appropriate funds for public schools until 1855, rather sluggish when compared to other more progressive states, the schools of Nauvoo were all private ventures sponsored by the Church and its people. (Horace Mann speculated that private schools, "undertaken on speculation, and by any person, however unsuitable or irresponsible" were responsible in part for the fall of Rome).¹⁰ Though one of the first buildings raised by the Saints in that hectic first year in 1839 was a stone schoolhouse,¹¹ most of the teaching in Nauvoo went on in private buildings or homes, where parents could supervise the teaching of their children. For example, educator and Mormon luminary Eliza Roxcy Snow records that when she taught the Prophet Joseph Smith's four children in the second story of the Red Brick Store, she was "entirely governed by the wishes of Prest. and Mrs. Smith."¹²

The majority of kingdom-bearers were taught under the controlling environment of intimate schoolrooms. In May 1839, Sidney Rigdon called on Eliza R. Snow, then boarding with a Revolutionary veteran in Quincy, to teach his "family school" in what was then Commerce.¹³ For a time, Joseph and Adelia Cole held school in the second story of Joseph Smith's Brick Store. However, the noise of the playful children impeded the progress of the Prophet's clerks who were then drafting of church history, and the school was moved to the Seventies Hall. Howard Coray used the Prophet's office for a classroom, and later taught with his wife Martha in a room he rented from Robert B. Thompson. Abigail Abbott, George Fowler, Louisa Pratt and others taught in their own homes. The sophisticated James M. Monroe, a convert from Utica, New York, taught the children of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and John Taylor—in private daily



*Abigail Smith Abbott.
Courtesy of Maurine Carr Ward.*

sessions in the Mormon leaders' homes.¹⁴ Such "subscription" schooling, where teachers either moved from house to house and boarded with the family of the pupils or solicited school services in their own homes, was popular in frontier Illinois.¹⁵

I suggest that the Saints used this system not merely because it was popular or because they lacked the cooperative resources to build common schoolhouses, but mainly to control what their children were taught. As M. Guy Bishop has explained, the leadership of the Nauvoo period sought greater control over the childrearing practices of the Saints than they had in earlier settlements.¹⁶ The impetus of this desire for control sprang from Joseph Smith's efforts to consolidate the Kingdom of God in Nauvoo and create an exclusive, self-contained society.¹⁷ The centripetal force of education in the kingdom began with the passage of the Nauvoo Charter on 16 December 1840, which provided in its tenets the establishment of the University of Nauvoo. The university would regulate all educational practices in Nauvoo "from common schools up to the highest branches of a full collegiate course."¹⁸ The sovereign body of the university was made up of a chancellor and a group of regents, comprised of city councilmen and church leaders. Thus this administrative body, made up entirely of Mormon men (Daniel H. Wells, a regent, being the only exception), could tightly control educational practices in Nauvoo.¹⁹ Any prospective teacher, regardless of training or earlier certification, had to obtain a certificate of competency from the regents.²⁰ Milton Bennion has explained that in establishing this system of tight, centralized control, the Nauvoo Saints diverged from earlier practices when the Mormons had followed "New England traditions."²¹

We must concede, though, that the city council's penchant for tight control of education for Nauvoo children was perhaps no different than any other homogeneous community in 19th century America. However, as we have already discussed, the Mormons diverged from the ideals of the rest of the nation as to the *purpose* of such control. To reiterate, "Whereas the majority of mid-nineteenth century American childrearing advocates were immediately concerned with raising good citizens to perpetuate the republic, Mormons consistently sought to prepare righteous Saints to build up the kingdom of God."²² Since their revelations were quite clear about the destiny of children, the Nauvoo Saints felt a righteous anxiety about the education of their future leaders. The power of the school administration is evidence of their need to control that sacred trust.

Not According to the Gentile Order

This anxiety also played out in their opinions of *who* should teach the

future kingdom-bearers. Obviously, the people most fitted to educating the children of the Saints were Saints themselves. Not just anybody could be trusted with such an important task. Though near the end of the Mormon Nauvoo period there were nearly two to three thousand “gentiles” in the city. Apparently, however, these neighbors of the Saints were not invited to teach Mormon children. Joseph Smith had said that “the pagans, Roman Catholics, Methodists, and Baptists shall have place in Nauvoo—only they must be ground in Joe Smith’s mill.”²³ Here the Prophet’s tone, though tongue in cheek, carries a sober, implied message: In Nauvoo, the Mormons are in charge, and therefore the curriculum of the schools would be Mormon curriculum. Heber C. Kimball of the Quorum of the Twelve declared that they would print school books “for the education of our children, *which will not be according to the gentile order.*”²⁴ Later, when the church was established in the Great Basin, Elder John Taylor explained the strict criteria for teachers of Mormon children, “We want to study also the principles of education, and to get the very best teachers we can to teach our children; see that they are men and women who fear God and keep his commandments. We do not want men or women to teach the children of the Latter-day Saints who are not Latter-day Saints themselves. Hear it, you Elders of Israel and you school-trustees!”²⁵ The Saints of Nauvoo would trade goods with the gentiles, collaborate with them in politics (if the wind was right), even enjoy social activities like dances with them; but, said Taylor, “shall we allow our children to be taught by them? No, never by them, for they know not the way of life, and are enemies to God and his laws.”²⁶ Since the Saints wanted to preserve their own distinct way of life, Nauvoo’s common schools were taught by baptized Mormons. This fact, coupled with Taylor’s comments against gentile teachers, may not be shocking in itself, but it illustrates the degree of intensity with which the Saints wished to control their children’s learning environment. Again, they were not preparing nation-builders, but kingdom-bearers. Little “scholars” opened and closed daily school sessions with hymns and prayers and read the Book of Mormon alongside Ray’s *Little Arithmetic*, and Mormon teachers directed their study.²⁷

Further evidence of Mormon indoctrination in the common schools comes from Charlotte Haven, perhaps the most famous and outspoken non-Latter-day Saint in Nauvoo. A native of New Hampshire, Charlotte came to Nauvoo in December 1842 to live with her brother for a year. Though taken in by the lively society of the Saints, she showed no interest in their teachings and quickly joined the gentile minority—a group she called “our little society.”²⁸ After noticing that the neighborhood schoolhouse teemed exclusively with Mormon children and teachers, she volunteered to teach a neighborhood school, where gentile pupils would be safe from “Mormon

indoctrination.” There is historical evidence of others doing the same.²⁹

The Anxiety of Educating Kingdom-Bearers

Considering the centripetal and eschatological educational drive of the Saints, it is not surprising that once they had organized themselves enough to leave Quincy and occupy Commerce, establishing learning centers for their children—the heirs of the Kingdom—was just as important as building shelters, storehouses, or even temples. Sidney Rigdon’s haste in calling for Eliza R. Snow to teach his children in May of 1839, when Nauvoo was not much more than a miasmatic swamp, attests to that anxiety the Saints felt in educating their children properly. Compounding this anxiety, the indigent nature of the early Nauvoo Saints made it difficult for many of them to pay for the private education system in practice there. The average tuition of for young pupil, one dollar per week, was no doubt a great burden on many Mormon families, who struggled to even get food on the table. This troubled the leadership, who encouraged schooling as a necessity, yet still felt “a great anxiety on the subject, seeing that many children among the disciples, are deprived of, or do not enjoy the blessings of a school.”³⁰

Since many of the husbands and fathers served missions, the burden of sending the children to school—and finding the means to pay for it—fell upon the women. Some taught school briefly themselves for extra money for the family, though one can hardly imagine how these women found time to take up an occupation outside the home. Apart from attempting to educate their children, Nauvoo mothers made clothes, soap, and candles; spun thread and quilted blankets and other linens; fetched firewood and stoked stoves; cared for the gardens, crops, even the livestock; bore, raised, and nursed children (they were pregnant thirty percent of their lives);³¹ provided crude first aid and doctoring for their children and neighbors; attended meetings and gatherings of the Relief Society. Given these burdens, it took a special woman to teach school on top of all this.

Under the pressure of the charge to teach the kingdom-bearers, it was hard enough for most women to see that their own children were taught. Vilate Kimball, wife of apostle Heber C. Kimball, with marked pathos attests to this fact in a touching letter to her husband, then on a mission in England in Spring 1840:

The brethren have fenced and ploughed my land and William has planted it. He has been to school some, and I intend he shall go more. Truman Barlow keeps school in this neighborhood; Helen goes when I can spare her. I teach Heber at home, for I know of no way that I can pay their schooling. It is very annoying to my feelings to be dependent on the church when the Saints are so poor.³²

What is impressive is Vilate's gritty determination to have her schoolchildren taught at any cost—even if it meant grudgingly accepting assistance from others. Though difficult financially, Vilate seems to have understood the eschatological importance of educating her children.

Joseph Lee Robinson, a charitable property owner, recognized the great need for free schooling for the poor Saints. When he built his brick house he constructed the entire second floor to be a schoolroom and hired a woman named Nancy Goldsmith to teach there. "Then," he writes in his journal, "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."³³ Luman Andros Shurtliff, a scholar and convert from Massachusetts, also taught students who could not pay.³⁴ Some teachers graciously accepted payment in goods.³⁵



*Hannah Flint Holbrook.
Courtesy of Maurine Carr Ward.*

Teachers of Zion's Inheritors

Nauvoo's teachers received little compensation for their work. Though perhaps rewarding personally, teaching on the frontier was not a lucrative practice unless you were a professor at the University of Nauvoo like Orson Pratt, who could charge patrons ten dollars for calculus lessons.³⁶ The task was made easier if the teacher was single with no dependents, was married and team-taught with his or her spouse, as was the case of Howard and Martha Coray, who

taught 150 students in the Music Hall.³⁷ A small few had some prior pedagogical training and could charge more. Falling outside these categories, most teachers in Nauvoo taught to supplement regular earnings. Some women added to their husbands' earnings by teaching, like Hannah Holbrook whose few months teaching in February 1843 "became much assistance" to her husband.³⁸ Out of nearly eighty common school educators in the city, hardly any taught regularly. Some taught for a few months at a time until religious duties or family hardships called them away. Others taught for one month only. Of all the teachers recorded in the Nauvoo School Records,

Emily Coburn Austin taught for the longest single stretch, sixty days.³⁹

This “teach-as-teach-can” system perpetuated the education of Mormon youth, but taxed the mettle of the more impoverished teachers—especially those with dependents. As charitable as he was to accept poor students without tuition, Luman Shurtliff still lamented how difficult it was for him to collect tuition debts. When he was called on a mission in September 1842, the great burden of collecting on those debts fell upon his wife and children. “To collect this would keep one of my children or my wife constantly on the street,” he said, “as they could collect little at a time.”⁴⁰ In his journal he included a letter his wife wrote him while on his mission, illustrating her struggles in collecting his teaching bills from the other Saints:

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. . . . 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.⁴¹

One can readily see the desperation of this woman whose husband taught the poor and the children of widows for free. And even those whom he did not teach for free had difficulty paying. Clearly the education of kingdom-bearers was not without sacrifice.

That they willingly sacrificed their time and financial comfort attests to their understanding and acceptance of the teachings of Joseph Smith on the eschatological importance of education. The Nauvoo teachers felt the anxiety of teaching properly the stock of future church leaders, who would eventually bear the burdens of God’s kingdom on the earth. They took on this role not only seriously, but reverentially. No two teachers underscore this reality more clearly than Eliza Roxcy Snow and James M. Monroe.

Eliza R. Snow heard of the Mormons while in Mantua, Ohio, in the early 1830s, when Joseph Smith visited her father. She had been raised in an educated Baptist home, where Bible study was encouraged. She was baptized on 5 April 1835, and late that night had a vision of a bright candle burning above her feet, which she was meant to understand was “the lamp of intelligence” which would light her path.⁴² She followed the Saints from Kirtland to Missouri, and then to Nauvoo where she taught Sidney Rigdon’s private

home school. She began teaching the children of Joseph and Emma Smith and others in the Red Brick Store on 30 November 1843. Eliza cared deeply about her students and her sacred obligation to teach and train them. When she concluded her school on 17 March 1843, she took the opportunity to address her scholars and bear them her feelings, telling them of the “deep interest [she felt] in [their] present & future welfare.”⁴³ With consummate eloquence, she stressed the importance of education in eschatological terms that surely must have excited the minds of the young students: “You live in a very important age, an age teeming with events,” she remarked, “and if your lives are spared, you will each have a part to act in the grand scenery which precedes and is to prepare the way for the second coming of the Messiah.”⁴⁴ She then instructed them to cultivate the minds, virtues, feelings and affections that make signature Saints. Particularly, she encouraged them to continue in both their secular and spiritual education, for their future personal glory among the called and chosen depended upon it. She then noted:

How awkward you would feel to be introduced into the society of beings filled with intelligence and surrounded with glory, if entirely unprepared for such society? Life itself might seem too short for such a preparation. Then diligently seek wisdom and knowledge. Study attentively the revelations which God has given heretofore, and receive & treasure up whatever shall proceed from his mouth from time to time.⁴⁵

Here again is the teaching that education prepares young souls for the future society of the kingdom of God. This doctrine no doubt illuminated all of Eliza’s teaching efforts in Nauvoo.

Much like Eliza, James M. Monroe had received an advance education before coming to Nauvoo. He had taught high school in Utica, New York, and was versed in such subjects as higher mathematics, chemistry, Greek, Latin, and the romance languages.⁴⁶ Though his diary does not indicate when he joined the Mormon Church, he chronicles his missionary journeys, and sermons and travels from September 1841 to June 1842. He was a gifted preacher and felt confident explicating gospel subjects to an audience. After his return to Nauvoo, he began teaching common school in the fall of 1842. His attendance records indicate that many prominent citizens of the city sent their children to be educated by him. In his first session that fall he lists one hundred percent attendance.⁴⁷

As a teacher of kingdom-bearers, Monroe felt an acute anxiety about his effectiveness as an instructor in Zion. On 22 April 1845, when he commenced teaching the children of John Taylor and the widowed Emma Smith, he noted in his journal a feeling of profound concern for teaching the children of the Prophet. “I took more than ordinary interest in their

advancement,” he wrote, “and also that I was reading a work for the benefit of teachers and saw so many requisits [sic] to constitute a good teacher that I almost despaired of ever being able to come up to the standard.⁴⁸ Subsequent entries reveal a near fixation with self-improvement and care for his students. He awoke at five in the morning each day, studied scientific and educational works at the breakfast table, and exercised the power of his voice by “hallowing and singing” in the woods. In order to improve his teaching, he studied their habits and mannerisms; he even went so far as to do phrenological readings of their heads to determine, he said, “the tastes, feelings, and powers of my little protiges [sic].”⁴⁹ He took a prodigious care for each student personally and wrote letters to them when he noticed slip-page. Joseph Taylor and Frederick Smith both received letters from Monroe, encouraging them to exert themselves in their schoolwork. In an entry dated 25 April 1845 he explained another mode of encouragement: “I had considerably difficulty in persuading Julia and Mary Ann to write a composition, but at last accomplished it by keeping them after school.”⁵⁰ Even future kingdom-bearers needed discipline.

Conclusion

The Nauvoo Saints understood and shouldered the sacred charge of educating their children with zeal. Joseph Smith had laid the theological and eschatological framework for education and had affirmed the God wanted an intelligent people, versed not only in sacred works but also in math, reading, geography, languages and any other secular discipline calculated to enlighten the human race. Unlike their American contemporaries whose educational goals prepared students to be nation-builders—politicians, voters, citizens—and bearers of the republic, the Nauvoo Saints prepared their children to be kingdom-bearers—future stewards of God’s kingdom and his Church. Though plagued by economic duress and inundated with family and church burdens, Nauvoo educators felt a healthy anxiety driving them to instruct Nauvoo’s children in truth and righteousness.

Notes

1. Helen Mar Whitney, *A Woman’s View: Helen Mar Whitney’s Reminiscences of Early Church History*, eds. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Jena Broberg Holzapfel (Provo: BYU Religious Studies, 1997), 177.
2. William W. Phelps, *The Evening and the Morning Star* 1, no. 1 (June 1832): n.p.
3. *Times and Seasons* 3 no. 6 (15 January 1842): 662-63.
4. *Times and Seasons* 6, no. 4 (1 March 1845): 830.
5. M. Guy Bishop, “Preparing to ‘Take the Kingdom’: Childrearing Directives in

Early Mormonism," *Journal of the Early Republic* 9, no. 3 (Fall 1987): 290.

6. Gerald L. Gutek, *An Historical Introduction to American Education* (Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, 1991): 55-56.

7. Gutek, *An Historical Introduction to American Education*, 66.

8. Horace Mann, "Lectures on Education," in *American Education: Its Men, Ideas and Institutions*, ed. Lawrence A. Cremin (New York: Arno Press and *The New York Times*, 1969): 201.)

9. Frederick M. Binder, *The Age of the Common School, 1830-1865* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974), 47-48.

10. Mann "Lectures on Education," 221.

11. Reta Latimer Halford, "Nauvoo—the City Beautiful" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1945): 121.

12. Eliza R. Snow, *The Personal Writings of Eliza R. Snow*, ed. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2000), 64 (hereafter cited as *Personal Writings*).

13. Snow, *Personal Writings*, 15.

14. See *Nauvoo Neighbor* 12 July 1843, as cited in Halford, "Nauvoo," 122; Howard Coray, Diary, 16-17, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Perry Special Collections); Paul Thomas Smith, "A Historical Study of the Nauvoo, Illinois, Public School System, 1841-1845" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1969), 82-93; James M. Monroe, Diary, 1, Perry Special Collections (hereafter cited "Historical Study").

15. James E. Davis, *Frontier Illinois* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), 172.

16. M. Guy Bishop, "Sex Roles, Marriage, and Childrearing at Mormon Nauvoo," *Western Illinois Regional Studies* 11, no. 2 (Fall 1988): 41.

17. See Richard L. Bushman, "The Historians and Mormon Nauvoo," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1970): 51-61.

18. Joseph Smith, Jr. *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 4:289 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).

19. James L. Kimball, Jr., "The Nauvoo Charter: A Reinterpretation," in *Kingdom on the Mississippi Revisited*, Roger D. Launius and John E. Hallwas, eds. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 43.

20. See *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 6 (15 January 1842): 366.

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

22. Bishop, "Childrearing Directives," 284.

23. *History of the Church*, 5:287.

24. *Times and Seasons* 6, no. 16 (1 November 1845): 1015, italics mine.

25. John Taylor, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols., (Liverpool, F. D. Richards, 1855-1886), 20:179.

26. Taylor, *Journal of Discourses*, 20:134.

27. Halford, "Nauvoo," 125; Smith, "Historical Study," 46.

28. In William Mulder, "Nauvoo Observed," *BYU Studies* 32, nos. 1-2 (Winter and Spring 1991): 105.

29. Halford, "Nauvoo," 125-26.

30. *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 6 (15 January 1842): 662.

31. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Jeni Broberg Holzapfel, *Women of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1992): 36.

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32. In Whitney, *A Women's View*, 172.
 33. In Smith, "Historical Study," 44.
 34. Smith, "Historical Study," 47, fn. 78.
 35. Smith, "Historical Study," 40.
 36. Halford, "Nauvoo," 128.
 37. Howard Coray, *Journal*, typescript, 19, Perry Special Collections.
 38. Joseph Holbrook, in *Women of Nauvoo*, 58.
 39. Smith, "Historical Study," 82.
 40. Smith, "Historical Study," 41.
 41. Smith, "Historical Study," 41.
 42. Snow, *Personal Writings*, 10.
 43. Snow, *Personal Writings*, 67.
 44. Snow, *Personal Writings*, 69.
 45. Snow, *Personal Writings*, 70-71.
 46. Smith, "Historical Study," 91.
 47. See James M. Monroe, *Diary*, photocopy, 1841-1845, Perry Special Collections. Monroe kept an attendance record folded in his diary that listed all his students and the days they attended. Among the list are last names like Smith, Rigdon, Clawson, Marks, Rowndy, Whitney, Phelps, Partridge, Tanner, and Taylor. Monroe's diary was mistakenly labeled as the diary of Howard Egan by a descendant of Egan's.
 48. Monroe, *Diary*, 103. The diary does not contain numbered pages, but were counted by the writer.
 49. Monroe, *Diary*, 109.
 50. Monroe, *Diary*, 110.