

Mormons Study "Abroad": Brigham Young's Romance with American Higher Education, 1867–1877¹

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Because Mormons could never fully realize their separatist dreams of a visible Zion in North America, the history of Mormonism has involved highly complex contacts and negotiations with non-Mormons.² In their attempts to convert, resist, or appease outsiders, Mormons have engaged in a distinctive dialectic of secrecy and self-disclosure, of esoteric rites and public relations. The result has been an extended process of controlled modernization.³

Narratives of this process have focused on the 1890 "Manifesto" of LDS President and Prophet Wilford Woodruff, the momentous dec-

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2. Throughout this article, for the sake of simplicity and brevity, I refer to members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as "Mormons," "Latter-day Saints," or "Saints," employing the corresponding adjectives "Mormon" and "LDS." Church members themselves customarily used these designations in their published and unpublished writings during the period I have studied.
3. Some notable scholarship on the historical evolution of Mormonism includes: Klaus J. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Jan Shippo, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985); Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986); and Ethan R. Yorgason, *Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003). The late Leonard J. Arrington characterized this process of evolution perhaps too charitably, playing down strong elements of social control, when he described the church as handling its historical moments of crisis with "minimal adjustment and pragmatic compromise": Arrington, "Crisis in Identity: Mormon Responses in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in Marvin S. Hill and James B. Allen, eds., *Mormonism and American Culture* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 169.

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laration that Latter-day Saints must cease to contract plural marriages. The Manifesto put an end to the intense federal persecution of the 1880s, when government agents imprisoned or exiled husbands of plural wives, confiscated Mormon assets, abolished Utah women's right to vote, and secularized Mormon schools. President Woodruff's truce with the federal government brought Mormons a relative peace and an important sign of acceptance: the granting of statehood to Utah in 1896.

Tremendous, lasting changes in Mormonism accompanied the Manifesto and statehood. New patterns and structures in the family, education, politics, business, and religion emerged.⁴ Describing the broad sweep of these changes, some scholars have argued that twentieth-century, or "modern," Mormonism shows little continuity with the Mormonism of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young.⁵ All the scholarly attention to the 1890s, however, has obscured the subtler ways that nineteenth-century Mormons sought purity and progress.

Examining the beginnings of Mormon academic migration reveals that the Mormon path to modernization was neither narrow nor fixed. Mormons saw higher education as a tool in their separatist nation-building project, but it was also a proving ground in Mormon relations with outsiders ("Gentiles," when things were heated). By the end of the 1860s, Mormons wanted to cultivate a cadre of the creden-

4. For a recent history of Mormon polygamy, see Kathryn M. Daines, *More Wives than One: the Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840–1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001). Edward Leo Lyman's *Political Deliverance* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986) provides the best account of how post-Manifesto political realignment (from mainly Mormon and anti-Mormon parties to Democratic and Republican ones) strengthened the case for statehood. On the economic history of the Mormons, see Leonard Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958). For the major changes in Mormon religious practice, see Shippis, *Mormonism*, chapter 7.

5. Mark Leone and others have described the development as a transition from a closed, communitarian, theocratic society to an open, individualistic, and republican one. The former was confrontational in its posture toward the Gentile world; the latter more accommodating: Mark Leone, *The Roots of Modern Mormonism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979). Following Leone's lead, R. Laurence Moore has asserted that accommodating Mormons "forgot their history" as a persecuted community of American "outsiders": R. Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 42. Jan Shippis gives the changes a less negative cast but sees them as no less dramatic. Charting new religious practices among Mormons in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, she notes that "the behavioral boundary that had once separated Mormons from the outside world was being seriously eroded." To preserve a sense of sainthood, Mormons cultivated practices that softened their earlier separatism. They began to pay increasing attention to regulations concerning diet and appearance. Devotion to genealogy and temple work on behalf of the dead also intensified. No longer distinguished by their communitarianism or theocracy, Mormons found in these new gestures, interests, and callings a way to feel faithful to their principles and their past: Shippis, *Mormonism*, 139.

tialed, not only to help build the intellectual and material infrastructures of the kingdom, but also to demonstrate the power of the Mormon mind. Emerging from the shadow of persecution and deprivation, Mormons condemned “the world” and yet craved its praise.

That tension led nineteenth-century Mormons to see much of the wider society as alluring and seductive. In Brigham Young’s formative discourse about education “abroad”—by which he suggested the foreign physical and spiritual terrain of the United States—he articulated an intense ambivalence that shadows Mormon intellectual life to the present day. By urging Mormons to study abroad, he initiated the long Mormon romance with American higher education. Like much good romance, it simmers with selfless devotion, abiding passion, and corrosive arrogance and insecurity.

I. BRIGHAM YOUNG’S RATIONALE FOR EDUCATION ABROAD

Despite his ambivalence, Young began to promote education abroad in the 1860s, and American Mormons began knocking at the doors of American universities. In the earliest cases, Brigham Young and other high-ranking church leaders sent the students as special missionaries, but not to proselytize. Rather, they designated these women and men for specialized training in law, medicine, and engineering. The goal was to gather the world’s knowledge to Zion, to help build the perfect society in the “latter days” before God’s millennial reign.⁶

Religious and secular motives drove the students’ migration. Mormons had long believed that education hastened their spiritual progression toward godhood. Before his murder in 1844, Joseph Smith had taught that “the glory of God is intelligence” and instructed believers to “study and learn, and become acquainted with all good books, and with languages, tongues, and people.”⁷ The impulse to learn intensified, however, in 1869, when the completion of the transcontinental railroad forced Utah Mormons to adopt new strategies for maintaining their cultural and economic independence. Higher education was no longer just a means of spiritual progress; it was a way to survive. In the mind of Brigham Young, sending women and men abroad to receive advanced degrees would reduce dependence on

6. By 1900, long after Young’s death, hundreds of Mormons had left Utah and Idaho to enroll in many of the most elite American universities: the University of Michigan, Columbia, Harvard, Cornell, the University of Chicago, Stanford, and Berkeley. Returning graduates would exercise a disproportionate influence in the development of scientific and professionalized medical, legal, agricultural, and educational practice in Utah.

7. *Doctrine and Covenants* 93:36, 90:15 (hereafter D&C).

outside doctors, lawyers, and teachers, preserving Mormon dignity and strength.

The first Mormons to venture east for training in the professions had the explicit sanction of Young, the church's president and prophet. Earlier in his administration he had made important practical and theological arguments in support of education, because he thought that education would pay dividends in this life and the next. In 1859 he urged the Saints to go forth and gather the best of the world's knowledge in order to build the perfect society. He affirmed that "it is the business of the Elders of this Church . . . to gather up all the truths in the world pertaining to life and salvation, to the Gospel we preach, to mechanism of every kind, to the sciences, and to philosophy, wherever it may be found in every nation, kindred, tongue, and people and bring it to Zion."⁸ Later, in 1860, Brigham proclaimed that "intelligent beings are organized to become Gods, even the Sons of God, to dwell in the presence of the Gods, and become associated with the highest intelligencies [*sic*] that dwell in eternity. We are now in the school, and must practice upon what we receive."⁹ The rewards of education were great, here and in the hereafter.

Young was not especially inclined, however, to promote a large-scale academic migration. In 1866 he told a Mormon correspondent that "going abroad to obtain schooling will be labor spent in vain."¹⁰ Such study would be costly and unnecessary, Young argued, since Utah boasted well-trained teachers in virtually all branches of learning. At best the claim was debatable; opportunities for higher education in Utah virtually did not exist.¹¹ The distortion revealed Young's

8. Brigham Young, "Intelligence, Etc.," remarks given in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, 9 October 1859, in *Discourses of Brigham Young, Second President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. John A. Widtsoe (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1925), 7:283–284.
9. Brigham Young, "Diversity among Men as to their Capacity for Receiving Truth, &c.," remarks given in the Bowery, Salt Lake City, 2 September 1860, in *Discourses*, 8:160.
10. Brigham Young to Theodore W. Curtis, 24 July 1866, in Brigham Young Letter Books, Leonard J. Arrington Papers, series 9, box 6, folder 3, at the Leonard J. Arrington Historical Archives, Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.
11. In 1850 the general assembly of the provisional state of Deseret had provided for a "University of Deseret" in Salt Lake City, but financial troubles dogged that institution until its revival and reorganization in 1869. Deseret—the "t" is pronounced—is a word that comes from the Book of Mormon (Ether 2:3). It denotes "a honey bee," and it symbolized Mormons' industrious, close-knit society. (Before Utah became a territory in 1850 Mormons had proposed a massive state of Deseret that would have extended from western Colorado to the southern California coast. It would have included all of modern-day Utah, most of what is now Nevada and Arizona, and sections of what became New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, Oregon, and California. The Utah

reluctance to endorse education abroad unless it met the urgent needs of the Mormon kingdom.

Pressing concerns about the welfare of the Saints finally prompted Young to approve a limited student migration in 1867. He knew that his developing territory desperately needed trained surgeons, especially in the fledgling settlements north of Salt Lake City. Yet Young hoped that after just one or two students received their eastern degrees, they could train others back home and eliminate the need for additional outside training. Mormon independence was paramount.¹²

Young also had reservations because he was suspicious of the medical profession. Mormon scripture authorized that skepticism, with its abundant testimony to the healing power of faith. Teachings revealed in the *Doctrine and Covenants*, the collection of revelations given mainly to Joseph Smith, convinced Mormons that their elders could heal the sick through the laying on of hands. In cases where the patient could not muster the requisite faith, Smith forbade medical care at “the hand of an enemy,” prescribing only “herbs and mild food” as treatment.¹³ These attitudes toward healing and the medical profession led Brigham Young to allow Mormons to study surgery, but not medicine. He articulated the distinction this way:

Surgery will be much more useful in our Territory than the practice of medicine, simple remedies such as herbs and mild drinks are in operation in our faith, and it is my opinion that too many of our people run to the doctor if they experience the slightest indisposition, which is decidedly opposed to the revelation which governs us as a people.¹⁴

territory, organized in 1850, covered a significantly smaller area, but it still included most of what became Nevada, as well as portions of modern-day Colorado and Wyoming. Utah assumed its current borders in 1868. For a map of the proposed territory of Deseret and the territory of Utah, see Edwin S. Gaustad and Philip L. Barlow, *New Historical Atlas of Religion in America* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2001], 300.)

12. Brigham Young to Thomas L. Kane, 9 November 1867, in Brigham Young Letter Books, box 6, folder 5.
13. D&C 66:9, 42:43. Spurning professional medicine, Mormons joined other Americans in embracing the teachings of Samuel Thomson, an untrained but popular nineteenth-century promoter of “botanic” natural remedies: Robert T. Divett, “Medicine and the Mormons,” *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association* 51 (January 1963): 2–3. As Nathan Hatch has explained, Thomson struck a chord with Mormons and other “democratizing” Christian movements in post-revolutionary America by calling on them to “throw off the oppressive yoke of clergymen, lawyers, and physicians”: Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), 29.
14. Brigham Young to Heber John Richards, undated letter written between 25 and 30 December 1867, in Brigham Young Letter Books, box 6, folder 6.

Young tried to ensure that when he endorsed academic training "abroad," he would not lead the faithful to question the sufficiency of revelation or faith. He was walking a tightrope.

II. BEGINNINGS OF THE MIGRATION

With Young's blessing, the first Mormon to train in surgery was Heber John Richards, a twenty-seven-year-old elder living in Salt Lake City.¹⁵ In 1867 Young arranged for him to study under Dr. Lewis A. Sayre at the Bellevue Hospital Medical College in New York City. Young had met Sayre the previous year in Salt Lake City, and the Mormon leader recognized in him a wealth of knowledge that "could not perhaps be excelled on this continent."¹⁶ When Sayre offered to train one or two Latter-day Saint students in surgery at Bellevue, Young encouraged Richards to go.¹⁷ In November 1867 Richards left for New York.

Given the financial support and the blessing of the church, Richards understood his academic errand as a mission.¹⁸ Although the prophet did not expect Richards to devote much time to securing converts, he wanted Richards to think of his studies as a sacred calling. Young instructed him to pursue his course of study diligently, ever mindful that "you hold the priesthood." To help reinforce Richards's religious commitments, the prophet prescribed meeting regularly with other Saints in New York; preaching to the inhabitants of the city whenever possible; and, when among non-Mormons at school, associating only with "those of steady and virtuous habits." Young offered his admonitions to fortify Richards for his time in "the world."¹⁹

A more formal, ritualized blessing accompanied the prophet's personal advice. In keeping with Mormon rites established to consecrate a missionary for labors in the world, Elder John Taylor "sealed" a blessing upon Richards's head:

15. A Mormon male earns the status of elder after entering the church's lay priesthood at age twelve, then ascending through the ranks of deacon, teacher, and priest. The title is reserved for missionaries and high-ranking ("general") authorities.
16. Brigham Young to Heber John Richards, between 25 and 30 December, 1867, in Brigham Young Letter Books, box 6, folder 6.
17. Brigham Young to Heber John Richards, 10 November 1867, in Brigham Young Letter Books, box 6, folder 5. Young also allowed for Heber's brother Joseph Richards to study at Bellevue at the same time, but Joseph would not study at Bellevue until 1873. He graduated in 1875.
18. Brigham Young's letters do not provide evidence that Richards had the church's financial support, but Claire Noall's history of Mormons and medicine claims that Richards went to Bellevue "at Church expense": Noall, *Guardians of the Hearth: Utah's Pioneer Midwives and Women Doctors* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon, 1974), 97.
19. Young to Richards, 10 November 1867, in Brigham Young Letter Books, box 6, folder 5.

We pray God the Eternal Father to cause His holy spirit to rest down upon you that your mind may be expanded that you may be able to understand correct principles, that the blessings of the Most High God may be with you, that the spirit of inspiration may rest upon you while you are studying those principles to which you have been appointed.²⁰

Richards left Salt Lake City armed with the blessings of God, God's prophet, and God's holy priesthood. He planned to return with uncorrupted faith and acquired expertise.

Richards's academic and spiritual success mattered to the Saints at home. In their eyes New York was a dark, lost city of "Babylon," a place of spiritual darkness and omnipresent vice, a proving ground for the righteous. At the same time, paradoxically, many admired New York as a center of culture and refinement. They eagerly awaited news of his exploits. Reports occasionally came in from David M. Stewart, a Mormon in the missionary field. In 1868, Stewart gave the following news: "Br. Heber John Richards writes me . . . occasionally. He says he is . . . preaching the gospel every opportunity that offers. He is hale in body, cheerful in spirit, but says in conclusion, 'there is no place like home.'"²¹ In early 1869 Stewart visited Richards and filed this report: "We spent a very interesting day with Bro. Heber John Richards in New York, and we saw sights never to be forgotten in the 'Bellvue [sic] Medical College,' and other places of interest. He is rapidly improving in the study of anatomy, and treasuring up classic lore, which if properly applied will be of great benefit to its possessor."²² Such accounts reassured and flattered the faithful at home. Richards eventually returned to Salt Lake City with his degree from Bellevue. He had a successful practice in Salt Lake until 1892, when he moved south to Provo and practiced there until his retirement.²³

III. THE PROPHET'S SON AT WEST POINT

By 1869 the importance of sending Mormon students "abroad" became all the more clear in an increasingly diverse, increasingly modern Utah territory. The transcontinental railroad, which Young

20. Elder John Taylor, Blessing upon Heber John Richards, 10 November 1867, in Heber John Richards Papers, Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

21. David M. Stewart, Letter to the Editor of *The Deseret News*, 8 May 1868. Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the church's massive, official compilation of documents relating to the history of the church, housed in the church archives, with microfilm copies elsewhere; hereafter referred to as J.H.), 8 May 1868.

22. David M. Stewart, Letter to the Editor of *The Deseret News*, 25 January 1869, J.H.

23. "Dr. Heber John Richards Dies at Provo," *The Deseret Evening News*, 12 May 1919, J.H.

famously welcomed because it would hasten the gathering of Mormon converts to Zion,²⁴ nevertheless introduced unwelcome competition in the realms of business, law, politics, religion, and education. To ensure that he had lawyers to ward off Gentile attacks on his financial holdings, doctors to administer healing to the suffering, and engineers to build the infrastructures of Zion, Young began to consider sending some of his own children east on educational missions. As most contemporary Americans knew, he had dozens of children from which to choose.²⁵

The first to go east in the 1870s was Willard Young, born in 1852, Brigham's third child by Clarissa Ross Young. Brigham thought his bright, strong son was well-suited for an educational mission to a fortress of American patriotism and strength: West Point. (As governor of the Utah territory, it was Brigham's prerogative to choose a representative from the territory to attend the New York military academy.) Brigham knew that Willard would not only receive a first-rate, "practical" education there, but Willard would also enjoy a rare opportunity to demonstrate that Mormons were as rational, loyal, and civilized as other Americans.

To help strengthen Willard for his time in "Babylon," Brigham had him, like Heber John Richards, blessed and "set apart" as a missionary by members of the church's First Presidency (consisting of the prophet and his two counselors). The church's highest-ranking authorities prayed over Willard that he might "go and fulfill this high and holy calling and gain this useful knowledge, and through the light of truth, make it subservient for the building up of the Kingdom of God."²⁶ Just after Willard arrived in New York, the prophet wrote with additional assurances ("our prayers are constantly exercised in your behalf") and warnings ("the eyes of many are upon you").²⁷

By December of his first academic year (1871–1872), Willard had good news to report. He felt that the blessings the brethren placed upon him were coming to fulfillment. "I am succeeding quite well in my studies, and I never enjoyed more the spirit of our religion," he avowed. He marveled at the effect he seemed to be having on other

24. Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 342.

25. Brigham Young had 25 wives during his life (two additional wives died in the winter of 1845–46 shortly after being "sealed" to Brigham) and sired 57 children. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses*, 420–421.

26. Blessing cited in Brigham Young, *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons*, ed. Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book in Collaboration with the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1974), 163.

27. Brigham Young to Willard Young, 17 June 1871, in Young, *Letters*, 166–168.

cadets, whose anti-Mormon sentiment had waned. Some even went so far as to say that aggressive anti-polygamists were “entirely wrong.”²⁸

Again, the Saints at home took special notice of how their representative fared in the eyes of the world. When Willard was interviewed by a curious New York reporter, Salt Lake City’s pro-Mormon newspaper, *The Deseret News*, reprinted the exchange in full. With equal insecurity and pride, the Salt Lake editors noted that the interviewer “evidently found the young gentleman, though a resident of these mountains from birth until now, well prepared to answer his questions.”²⁹ Home pride swelled again when Cadet Young graduated in 1875, fourth in his class of forty-three, and was promoted to the Corps of Engineers. *The Deseret Evening News* opined that Willard had vindicated Mormonism and polygamy:

The success of Utah’s first West Point cadet further confirms the erroneousness of the idea that the minds of polygamous children are inferior to those of monogamic parentage. The *Chicago Times* of June 28th says—

“A son of Brigham Young has graduated from the military academy at West Point, standing third in his class. It has been said that polygamy results in the impairment of the mental faculties of the offspring, but this does not seem to prove the theory.”³⁰

Willard’s success in acquiring “practical” knowledge as an engineer, maintaining his religious commitments, and diminishing anti-Mormon prejudice bolstered Brigham’s confidence to send more Saints on academic missions abroad.³¹

IV. MORMON ACADEMIC MISSIONS EXPAND

At the church’s semi-annual general conference in 1873, Brigham lent a new level of support to academic missions. There he encour-

28. Willard Young to Brigham Young, 19 June 1871, cited in Young, *Letters*, 169; Brigham Young to Willard Young, 25 July 1871, in Young, *Letters*, 171; Willard Young to Brigham Young, 9 December 1871, in Young, *Letters*, 172.

29. Editorial, with text of interview included, *The Deseret News*, 8 June 1871, J.H.

30. “Return of Utah’s West Point Cadet,” *The Deseret Evening News*, 2 July 1875, J.H.

31. Yet after sending Willard to West Point in 1871, Brigham continued to support educational missions only in cases that promised immediate, practical benefit for the Mormon kingdom. In 1872 Brigham sent just one student east to study: his thirty-five-year-old nephew, Seymour Young. Seymour studied at the medical college of New York University during the winters of 1872–1873 and 1873–1874. After earning his M.D. in February of 1874, Seymour felt that he had “succeeded in my studies beyond my most sanguine expectations.” He returned to Salt Lake City, where he opened his own practice and attended personally to the ailing Brigham Young. Seymour B. Young Journal, entry dated 30 October 1872 (but written February 1874 or later), Seymour B. Young Papers, Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

aged Mormon men to study law, and he called on both men and women to study medicine.³² That year he also privately urged six of his sons to go east to study law or engineering. Three Mormons answered the call in 1873, and others soon followed. Joseph Richards (Heber John's brother) went to the Bellevue Hospital Medical College; LeGrand Young (Brigham's nephew) went to the University of Michigan to study law; and Romania Pratt, the first Mormon woman to accept Brigham's call for more female doctors, left to enroll in the Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia.

Again, however, Young's embrace of higher education was not unrestrained. None of Brigham's sons actually left for an eastern school in 1873 because George A. Smith, Young's counselor and close friend, expressed strong concerns about sending them to non-Mormon schools. Young took Smith's warnings to heart. He required his sons to take two years of preparatory work at Salt Lake City's University of Deseret, and he insisted that they use their education to build up the kingdom of God.³³ Three of Brigham's sons took him up on the offer. Feramorz ("Fera") would leave for the United States Naval Academy in 1874; in 1875 Alfales began a course in law at the University of Michigan, and Don Carlos enrolled at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in upstate New York to pursue a degree in engineering.³⁴

32. James H. Backman, "Attitudes within the Mormon Church toward the Study of Law, Lawyers, and Litigation—From Brigham Young to the Present," in Backman, *B.Y.U. Education Week Lectures on the History of Mormon Lawyers* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Education Week, 1980), 15; and Claire Noall, *Guardians of the Hearth*, 100.
33. Dean C. Jesse, introduction to 21 October 1875 letter from Brigham Young to Don Carlos Young, in Young, *Letters*, 265. Brigham had supported the revival of the University of Deseret in the late 1860s. His able ally in resurrecting the university was its president, John R. Park, a native of Ohio and a trained doctor who had come to Salt Lake City in 1861. The school was not parochial; the curriculum was broad, and eastern-trained, non-Mormon faculty directly contributed to the university's early success. See Ralph Chamberlin, *The University of Utah: A History of its First Hundred Years, 1850–1950*, ed. Harold W. Bentley (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah, 1960); and Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses*, 353–354.
34. The fears of George A. Smith—that Mormons educated abroad might not benefit but rather corrupt the kingdom of the Saints—received some substantiation in the example of LeGrand Young, Brigham's nephew. From 1873 to 1874, LeGrand worked toward his LL.B. degree at the University of Michigan. As he approached graduation and surveyed his options for employment in Utah, he made a choice that would aggravate the Mormons. He entered the practice of law in Salt Lake City with Parley Williams, a notorious anti-Mormon, and he became temporarily "inactive" (non-practicing) as a Mormon. LeGrand's sparse journal reveals no reason for the unpopular decision. Although he later defended Brigham and the church from non-Mormon legal attacks, and even though he later resumed his activity in the church, Mormons would remember LeGrand as an example of the dangers of studying abroad: Backman, "The Pioneer Lawyer," in Backman, *B.Y.U. Education Week Lectures on the History of Mormon Lawyers*, 28.

There was nothing new in Young's endorsement of the study of medicine and engineering, but giving Mormons his approval to enter the legal profession marked a significant shift. His contempt for lawyers' greed, dishonesty, and corruption was well-known.³⁵ Yet as outside legal pressures on the prophet mounted in the 1870s, the benefits of training Mormon lawyers seemed to outweigh the dangers. In August 1876—the year before Brigham died—he wrote to Alfales in Ann Arbor:

It would be very pleasing to us if at the present time you had finished your course of studies and had been admitted to the bar, for you could materially help me in the numerous vexatious suits that are being brought against me to rob me of my property. The present bench appears to be not only willing but anxious to give my possessions away to anyone who has the effrontery to ask for them.³⁶

Reeling from legal battles, the prophet hoped to see some of the Saints employ eastern training to thwart the designs of trained Gentile lawyers and judges.³⁷

V. MORMON WOMEN IN MEDICINE

As he began to encourage Mormon men to study law, Brigham made another important shift by calling for women to study medicine. Again, both nation-building and public relations were at play. Brigham thought that having trained female doctors in the church would help Mormon women preserve their modesty by eliminating the need for medical treatment from outside male doctors. He also hoped that by encouraging higher education for women, he could weaken outsiders' criticisms of Mormon patriarchy. On both counts he saw limited success.

35. Backman, "Attitudes within the Mormon Church toward the Study of Law, Lawyers, and Litigation—From Brigham Young to the Present," 15.

36. Brigham Young to Alfales Young, 17 August 1876, in Young, *Letters*, 232.

37. Backman has noted that "up until the 1870's the Mormon lawyers with very few exceptions had become involved in the legal profession through their own reading or they had been thrust into a quasi-legal position as probate judges because they were leading authorities and citizens in the community. By the mid 1870's a number of gentile lawyers had come into the city, some of them had been trained at law schools in the east and some had prior experience in other communities. In general there were two types of attorneys coming from the outside to practice law in Utah. First were the federally appointed officials in the territory who continued to live in Utah and to conduct a private practice of law. These included Judge Robert N. Baskin, Judge Orlando Powers, and Judge Charles Zane. The other development that brought many gentile lawyers to Utah was the completion of the railroad and the increasing importance of the mining industries in Utah. Many ambitious young lawyers followed businesses into the territory hoping to become successful": Backman, "The Pioneer Lawyer," 17.

In 1873 Brigham declared that "the time has come for women to come forth as doctors in these valleys of the mountains."³⁸ Although his doubts about professional medicine lingered, Brigham recognized Mormon settlers' growing needs for medical care. Mormon women, who had seen too many mothers and their children die during childbirth, had pressed the prophet to act. Brigham enlisted the help of LDS women's organizations—the Relief Society and the Young Ladies' Retrenchment Society—to organize classes in medicine, especially nursing and obstetrics.³⁹ He also encouraged women like Romania Pratt to pursue a medical degree in the East. According to Relief Society President Eliza R. Snow, the prophet's design was to "do away with the necessity of employing male doctors or women [who are] not of our people."⁴⁰ The plan was consistent with Mormon women's broader commitment to female modesty and "retrenchment," or reducing dependence on outsiders' goods and services.

To achieve their desired independence in medical care, a small dose of outside training—something like a vaccine—was necessary. So in December of 1873 Romania Pratt, blessed by Brigham Young, left Utah to obtain a medical degree. Early in 1874 she enrolled in the Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia.⁴¹

The approval that Mormon female physicians received from the highest church officials (all male), the Relief Society, and the Mormon press reflected the church's distinctive and controversial attitudes toward women. Church doctrine excluded women from the Mormon lay priesthood, investing its male elders with spiritual authority over families, congregations, and, for the highest-ranking authorities, the entire church. Politically, however, Utah women enjoyed unusual power in the 1870s. Fifty years before the ratification of the 19th

38. Brigham Young, October 1873 General Conference address, cited in Noall, *Guardians of the Hearth*, 105.

39. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses*, 367. The Relief Society, the LDS women's humanitarian organization with origins in Nauvoo, Illinois, in the 1840s, was revived in the late 1860s as part of Brigham Young's drive to protect the Mormon kingdom. According to Arrington, "Their objectives were to prevent or diminish female extravagance; inform themselves on political matters so they could lobby effectively against anti-Mormon legislation; establish a woman's commission store as an outlet for their handicraft and home manufacturing; and direct the education of their daughters." The Young Ladies' Retrenchment Society, organized by Brigham in the late 1860s, encouraged young women to cultivate simplicity and independence from the outside world in their manner of living. In 1878 the group changed its name to the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association (later the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association), marking a shift in purpose toward self-improvement. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses*, 351–353.

40. Report on young ladies' meeting in Ogden, *The Ogden Junction*, 15 August 1873. Article reprinted in *The Deseret News*, 16 August 1873 and typed into J.H. 15 August 1873.

41. Noall, *Guardians of the Hearth*, 105–106.

Amendment, they could vote, thanks to a woman suffrage amendment passed by the territorial legislature and approved by Governor Brigham Young in 1870. In that regard, Utah women were almost unique in the United States and its territories.⁴²

Non-Mormons in the Utah territory and the United States saw Utah's enfranchisement of women as a shameless Mormon attempt to solidify the church's political power, since political parties in Utah were split largely along Mormon and non-Mormon lines.⁴³ Young's pragmatism and self-interest naturally played a role. For Young, giving women the right to vote was part of a calculated, even desperate public relations campaign to curb anti-Mormon sentiment in Washington, D.C. Young thought that if he could alter the broad perception that Mormon women were powerless dupes, he could avert a harsh federal crackdown on the Saints.⁴⁴

The strategy helped temporarily stave off federal aggression. Mormon women, for their part, embraced their political power with impassioned idealism. *The Woman's Exponent* began circulating in 1872, touting itself as an organ dedicated to the rights of women not just in Zion, but in all nations.⁴⁵ The semi-monthly magazine highlighted Mormon and non-Mormon women's progress in education, politics, medicine, law, and social reform. It supported national and international movements for women's rights, and it asserted "the right of a woman to earn her living in any honorable career for which she has capacity."⁴⁶ Even more emphatically, it proclaimed that "woman was designed to be something more than a domestic drudge; and it is not right for her to confine herself exclusively to that monot-

42. T. A. Larson notes that "in the [U.S.] territories . . . woman suffrage could be adopted without a popular vote, and, indeed, woman suffrage bills came close to being passed by the legislatures of Washington and Nebraska territories in 1854 and 1856, respectively. A simple majority, either in Congress or in a territorial legislature, with the approval of the executive in each case, was all that was necessary." Wyoming's legislature approved woman suffrage in 1869, and Utah followed in 1870. Under the terms of Utah's amendment, however, women could not hold office. Larson, "Woman Suffrage in Western America," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38:1 (Winter 1970): 9, 10.

43. The political divisions remained intact until the 1890s, when realignment into democratic and republican parties served as a preface to Utah's admission into the union. See Lyman, *Political Deliverance*.

44. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses*, 363, 365.

45. Louisa Lula Greene, a grandniece of Brigham Young, started the magazine, which, according to Leonard Arrington, was just the second magazine "by and for women west of the Mississippi." The official motto of the magazine was "The Rights of the Women of Zion, and the Rights of Women of all Nations." The magazine ran under its original name until 1914, when the name was changed to the *Relief Society Magazine*. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses*, 366.

46. "Lady Lawyers," *The Woman's Exponent* 1:9 (October 1, 1872): 68.

onous calling, having no thoughts, no interests, hopes or prospects above and beyond so humble a sphere."⁴⁷

The magazine was careful, however, to temper bold ambition with reverence for Brigham Young, the church, and polygamy. "A Mormon Woman's View of Marriage," published in the fall of 1877, was typical:

It is known to the world far and wide that the Latter-day Saints believe in direct revelation. Through this channel (revelation) they obtained the knowledge of the principles of plural marriage and in no other way would pure and devotional women, who had been educated and traditionated in the ideas of the present age accept it. It is truly the sacred phase of polygamy which gives it prestige. . . . It is grossly absurd to say plural marriage is a sin in the sight of heaven when we have abundant testimony before us, that God has blessed this people in a most wonderful manner ever since its practice. More than this, physicians, men of science, and phrenologists have all failed to discover in the children born in plural marriage any inequalities, or lack of brain, or muscle and fibre that would characterize children born of suitable parentage.⁴⁸

The Woman's Exponent promoted a consciousness among Mormon women as those "who are to build up Zion and redeem the nation" with religious purity and idealism.⁴⁹ It allowed Mormon women to make arguments, based on revelation and reason, for women's rights, higher education, professionalization, social reform, and polygamy. It was unlike any magazine in America.

In this unique climate of aspiration and hierarchy, distinctive obstacles, frustrations, and networks of support shaped the experiences of Mormon women who pursued the M.D. Financial troubles forced Romania Pratt to come back to Salt Lake City early in 1875, before she had earned her degree, but the Relief Society banded together to raise the funds she needed to complete her work.⁵⁰ Romania especially needed the help of her sisters in the faith because her husband, Parley, had exacerbated the family's financial woes by taking another wife.⁵¹

47. "Educate Yourself," *The Woman's Exponent* 1:9 (October 1, 1872): 69.

48. Blanche Beechwood, "A Mormon Woman's Views of Marriage," *The Woman's Exponent* 6:7 (September 1, 1877): 54.

49. "Women in Reform," *The Woman's Exponent* 6:12 (November 15, 1877): 92.

50. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses*, 367; "Home Affairs," *The Woman's Exponent* 3:22 (April 15, 1875): 173. The account in *The Woman's Exponent* states that Pratt had studied at the Free Medical College for Women and the Eye and Ear Infirmary in New York City during her fourteen-month absence. That information does not square with Noall, *Guardians of the Hearth*, but Pratt may have studied at the New York schools while she was with Parley there.

51. Noall, *Guardians of the Hearth*, 107.

In the fall of 1875, Romania returned to the Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia. The financial support, and the high hopes, of her sister Saints accompanied her.⁵²

This time Romania also enjoyed the company of a fellow Mormon, Maggie Curtis Shipp, but Maggie did not last long. After just four weeks at the Woman's Medical College, homesickness overwhelmed her, and by early November she was back in Utah.⁵³ But Maggie had an ambitious "sister-wife," Ellis Reynolds Shipp, who was happy to take her place. Ellis had been hoping for years to pursue a "useful" calling, something more consistent with her Mormon and Victorian ideals of womanhood and motherhood, something beyond the mind-numbing routine of daily chores. As early as 1872 she had recorded her exasperation in her diary:

I know that I am tired of this life of uselessness and unaccomplished desires, only as far as cooking, washing dishes and doing general housework goes. I believe that woman's life should not consist wholly and solely of these routine duties. I think she should have ample time and opportunity to study and improve her mind, to add polish and grace to her manners, to cultivate those finer tastes and refined and delicate feelings that are so beautiful in women and that are so truly requisite in a mother.⁵⁴

Three years later, finally, the opportunity had come for her to study medicine. Ellis marveled, "What a strange fatality!"⁵⁵

Although Brigham Young did not specifically call her to the work, Ellis did seek the prophet's approval, which he granted.⁵⁶ When she arrived in Philadelphia, she found additional comfort in the company of Romania Pratt. Boarding with Sister Pratt, Ellis acclimated quickly. In January 1876, on her twenty-ninth birthday, she wrote, "truly no ideal romance could be fraught with more exciting changes."⁵⁷

Ellis approached her studies with the theological and epistemological conviction that her quest for scientific truth would blend harmoniously with her faith:

52. That fall Eliza R. Snow was planning to ask the Utah legislature for funds for a women's medical college in Utah, and she hoped Pratt's eastern training would qualify her to preside over the school. "R. S. Reports," *The Woman's Exponent* 4:10 (October 15, 1875): 74. The plans for the medical college never materialized, but the Relief Society would succeed in establishing the Deseret Hospital in Salt Lake City in 1882, and Romania Pratt would play a leading role in the operation of the hospital.

53. Ellis Reynolds Shipp, undated 1875 diary entry, in *While Others Slept: Autobiography and Journal of Ellis Reynolds Shipp, M.D.* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1962), 172.

54. Shipp diary, 13 November 1872, in *While Others Slept*, 110.

55. Shipp diary, 10 November 1875, in *While Others Slept*, 172.

56. Noall, *Guardians of the Hearth*, 121.

57. Shipp diary, 20 January 1876, in *While Others Slept*, 184.

All truth, all knowledge is of God—it has its origin in the Heavens. And with a proper degree of humility and reverence for the "Author of every good and perfect gift" there is no danger of becoming too wise. I verily believe that He is pleased with those who seek after knowledge, that it is His desire in so much that it becomes a duty, and indeed a responsible duty, to improve and cultivate the talents He has given us.⁵⁸

Brigham Young shared her confidence. In the decades to come, Mormons would struggle to uphold the kind of optimism that Ellis displayed in asserting that all truth emanated from one divine source, and that in the humble search for truth "there is no danger of becoming too wise."

Ellis did recognize some of the tensions between her faith and her scientific pursuits, but her awe at the "beautifully and wonderfully made" human body—and a little naiveté—helped her sail toward her medical degree with an untarnished, even deepened, faith. When one of her professors pressed her to account for "the lack of coloring matter upon the soles of the feet and the palm of the hands of the Negro," Ellis declared it to be "a design of the great Creator, which like many of his other works is alike wonderful and incomprehensible." Ellis knew the answer would not satisfy her professor, who was "one of the believers in Huxley and Darwin," but Ellis relished the exchange. It seemed to prove her fidelity to God in the face of encroaching irreligion.⁵⁹

Although deeply committed to Mormonism, Ellis never went out of her way to let people know that she was part of a polygamous household.⁶⁰ She must have known how shocked they would have been, and in many ways she enjoyed her reprieve from the difficulties of life at home. Ellis's married life had never been easy. From 1869 to 1871 she had endured the trials of loneliness while her husband, Milford, went on a mission. She prayed fervently that he would be comforted while he was away. She got her wish and then some. Milford returned with another wife, Elizabeth Hilstead, whom he had married late in 1871. Ellis knew that it would take "all my power to be kind, considerate, and charitable" in response.⁶¹ Yet despite tempest-

58. Shipp diary, 20 January 1874, in *While Others Slept*, 151.

59. Shipp diary, 3 February 1876 and 28 March 1876, in *While Others Slept*, 189, 204, 205.

60. Sanction for plural marriage is found in Section 132 of *D&C*. Joseph Smith and close associates practiced "the principle," but it became more widespread after Brigham Young's public endorsement of it in Utah in 1852. Estimates of how many Mormons actually practiced polygamy range from about 9 percent to 20 percent. More accurate numbers are difficult to produce because of incomplete historical records.

61. Shipp diary, 17 February 1873, in *While Others Slept*, 78.

tuous household affairs, Ellis agreed with Milford that joyous exaltation awaited polygamists in the afterlife. Borne patiently, all her frustration and boredom, all the "trials of polygamy," would translate into glory in the life to come.⁶²

In Philadelphia, Ellis enjoyed some relief from domestic life, and yet she also drew strength from her unusual web of relations back home. In fact, she depended heavily on her sister-wives for financial and emotional support. Ellis felt closest to Maggie (Milford had four wives in all), who had come to Philadelphia as a student briefly in 1875. Acknowledging "an occasional discord" in her dealings with Maggie, Ellis nevertheless found over time that "a sympathy and love" unique to sister-wives suffused their relationship. For instance, when Ellis battled loneliness and homesickness, Maggie persuaded her to stay in Philadelphia. Maggie pleaded, "Recall your feelings when you were here, willing to endure *any thing* [*sic*] for a while to give your boys great advantages. Now you are just in the right place, for not only your boys will receive an everlasting benefit, but you will be every thing woman could desire."⁶³ On at least three occasions, sister-wives Maggie and Elizabeth gave Ellis money that allowed her to continue her studies. On New Year's Day in 1877, Ellis had just one dollar left when money unexpectedly arrived from "Lizzie." When Lizzie came through again in April, Ellis rejoiced:

How pure and heavenly is the relationship of sisters in the holy order of Polygamy. Even the kindred ties of blood could not be more pure and sacred, nor more unselfish and enduring. How beautiful to contemplate the picture of a family where each one works for the interest, advancement and well being of all. *Unity is strength.*⁶⁴

As Ellis saw them, the complicated ties between sister-wives involved spiritual and economic cooperation, whose benefits helped them endure the strains of sharing a husband.

Ellis's second year at the Woman's Medical College was her most difficult financially and physically, but she performed well academically. In March 1877 she earned high marks in anatomy, physiology, and chemistry, her three main branches of study, winning "the esteem of my Professors for my energy and perseverance." A year away from graduation, she began to feel "prepared for a life of usefulness among the Saints of God."⁶⁵ She counted her success as a blessing of God, her

62. Shipp diary, 28 June 1872, in *While Others Slept*, 103.

63. Maggie Curtis Shipp, Letter to Ellis Reynolds Shipp, 2 January 1876, in Ellis Reynolds Shipp Papers, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

64. Shipp diary, 14 April 1877, in *While Others Slept*, 252–253.

65. Shipp diary, 12 March 1877, in *While Others Slept*, 251.

Heavenly Father, without whose assistance she could not have won acclaim in the eyes of the world. Ellis graduated in 1878, and by then Maggie Shipp was on her way to securing an M.D. of her own.⁶⁶

Back in Utah, the Saints applauded Romania Pratt and Ellis Reynolds Shipp, Utah's "woman physicians." In April 1877, *The Woman's Exponent* published a notice of Dr. Pratt's graduation, noting that she was one of just 15 women (and one of only two from the West) to receive the M.D. from the Woman's Medical College.⁶⁷ When Pratt conducted some post-graduate research on the use of healing baths in upstate New York during the summer of 1877, *The Woman's Exponent* devoted nearly a full page to Pratt's correspondence with the magazine's editor. Pratt's account of her life in the East gave the readers at home a sense of her enduring commitment to the Church, her emerging scientific expertise, and her aching desire to return to her "mountain home":

I go home heart hungry and soul starved to feast on the society of my friends. . . . I did not come east to preach the Gospel, but I know I have in many times and in many ways broken down prejudices against my people. It has often been said to me "I am glad I have met you, for I shall always feel differently now towards your people."⁶⁸

Sister Pratt's letter made for good press. *The Woman's Exponent* treated her success as a student and a Saint as exemplary. In academics she could stand shoulder to shoulder with the best students, and in matters of the spirit she never came unmoored. She looked forward to the day when all might "grow eye to eye in faith and scientific knowledge." Moreover, in keeping with the prophet's educational ideals, she understood her intellectual attainments as gifts to be offered to her fellow Saints, a humble "mite" used to build the kingdom of God.⁶⁹

VI. LINGERING CONCERNS

While Mormon women offered each other support and a rationale for higher education, Mormon men who studied abroad in the 1870s

66. In the fall of 1877, Ellis received an unexpected comfort when Maggie arrived. Maggie had been working to save money to come to the Woman's Medical College, but by August she had been ready to give up, thinking that it would be too expensive for the family to have Ellis and Maggie in school at the same time. In late September, Maggie suddenly appeared at the home where Ellis was boarding, and they "sprang into each other's arms while tears of joy fell thick and fast": Shipp diary, 6 August and 25 September 1877, in *While Others Slept*, 264, 275.

67. "Women Physicians," *The Woman's Exponent* 5:22 (April 15, 1877): 171.

68. "Correspondence," *The Woman's Exponent* 6:4 (July 15, 1877): 30.

69. *Ibid.*, 30.

often enjoyed the personal attention and advice of Brigham Young. As he had with Willard, Brigham corresponded closely with Fera, Don Carlos, and Alfales. He also made sure that they received *The Deseret News* and other news from Utah so that they would not feel isolated or tempted to forget their mountain home.

Brigham advised his sons that the best way for them to maintain their Mormon identity and diminish anti-Mormon prejudice would be to live honest, upright lives. He told Fera, who was just sixteen when he entered the Naval Academy, that “wisdom dictates a kind, courteous, forbearing and gentlemanly course under all circumstances, and a careful obedience to all the rules of the academy and the requirements of its officers.”⁷⁰ He discouraged them from preaching gratuitously, although they should “never be afraid to acknowledge your faith.”⁷¹ He recommended that they let their lives and conduct speak; he thought Willard’s success at West Point in this regard to be exemplary.⁷²

Brigham felt that his sons’ good character would help them diffuse prejudice and make friends, but he did not want them to blend in too much. Young worried about the temptations his sons would face in schools where students indulged in swearing, smoking, or irreligion. The intellectual environment of the university concerned Brigham as much as the moral. He warned his sons about the corrupting intellectual influences of rationalistic skepticism, scientific naturalism, and poisonous—that is, capitalistic—economic notions. In an 1876 letter Brigham linked these fears:

We have enough and to spare, at present in these mountains, of schools where young infidels are made because the teachers are so tender-footed that they dare not mention the principles of the gospel to their pupils, but have no hesitancy in introducing into the classroom the theories of Huxley, of Darwin, or of Mill and the false political economy which contends against co-operation and the United Order.⁷³

The “United Order” was the Mormons’ radically cooperative economic experiment, which Brigham had implemented in 1874. Although the Saints would abandon the experiment in the 1880s because

70. Brigham Young to Feramorz Young, 15 October 1874, in Young, *Letters*, 298.

71. Brigham Young to Alfales Young, 21 September 1875, in Young, *Letters*, 221. Alfales thought that fellow Mormon law student A. B. Taylor was too prone to provoking arguments with non-Mormons. Taylor, the son of John Taylor (the counselor of Brigham Young who succeeded him as prophet), also studied law at Michigan from 1875–1877, earning the LL.B.

72. Brigham Young to Alfales Young, 6 October 1875, in Young, *Letters*, 223.

73. Brigham Young to Willard Young, 19 October 1876, in Young, *Letters*, 199.

of mounting internal and external opposition, the United Order represented Brigham's hope that Mormon civilization could avoid the kind of selfishness, inequality, and discord that seemed to characterize the largest cities of the United States. After the dissolution of the United Order, Mormons would gradually embrace capitalism, becoming more integrated into national markets and muting their separatism as they mounted campaigns for statehood. Once Mormons became good capitalists, those who worried about the corrupting influences of higher education would proceed with Brigham's old attacks on Huxley and Darwin, but they quietly dropped the critique of Mill.

Brigham never foresaw such accommodations, however, and as he worked to ward off capitalism through the United Order, he also tried to prevent the influx of skepticism by laying the foundations for private, Mormon institutions of higher learning. In 1875, just as he was sending some of his sons east to school, Brigham donated land for a "Brigham Young Academy" in Provo, which later became Brigham Young University. In 1877, a separate and shorter-lived "Brigham Young College" opened in Logan, also on land donated by the Prophet. It would be decades before either school offered college-level work.

VII. CONCLUSION: ENDURING PATTERNS

Until his death in the summer of 1877, Brigham Young vigorously pursued his nation- and empire-building project in the Intermountain West. As he neared his end he saw gloom ahead for the United States, whose class conflict, political corruption, and persecution of Mormons seemed to foreshadow "the breakup of our present form of government" and millennial catastrophe:

The revolution foreshadowed should be averted by all the effort the people could exert against plague or famine, for it means a common ruin for workingman and capitalist, which will be irretrievable if the people permit it. In fact, it means the fall of Babylon, or as much thereof that spreads over this fair land of Joseph. It can only be prevented by a complete change in the hearts and lives of the people and an obedience to the plan of salvation, revealed by God in this generation. But we fear it is too late, the masses have gone too far, the body politic too corrupt, the tree is too rotten, it is fit only for the burning.⁷⁴

74. Brigham Young to Alfaes Young, 23 August 1877, in Young, *Letters*, 315. See also Brigham Young to Alfaes Young, 26 December 1876, in Young, *Letters*, 238.

Despite this pessimism, and even because of it, Mormons continued to build the kingdom of God in their promised land, gathering converts, expanding settlements, experimenting with radically cooperative economics, and working desperately to ward off the seductions and corruptions of the outside world. Under these circumstances, Brigham Young's original sanction for studying abroad still held. The Saints who survived him believed that trained professionals in medicine, engineering, and law would help strengthen and protect their emerging civilization, which they thought would be the envy of the world. Relief Society women continued their study of medicine at the Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia and the University of Michigan; Mormon men gravitated to Ann Arbor and New York City for the study of law or medicine. And although it was still common for Mormon students to seek the blessing of the church for their educational pursuits, it became just as common for students to be spurred by private ambitions for intellectual and professional advancement.

What emerged over time was an often tense relationship between Mormon authority and ambition. After the federal raid on polygamists in the 1880s, the Manifesto of 1890, and statehood in 1896, Mormon educational migration swelled, but it took place in an altered landscape of aspiration and fear. As cultural isolation waned, persecution relaxed, and new freedoms set in, the church could encourage intellectual expansion with renewed vigor, but the intellectual frontiers of Mormonism became harder to patrol. For church leaders, doctrinal clarity and purity assumed greater importance, while for the students studying abroad, the longing for intellectual improvement intensified. Forever gone was the peculiar nineteenth-century mix of utopianism and professionalization, of separatism and integrationism. The intellectual life of twentieth-century Mormonism would become more contentious, with its fierce controversies over evolution, biblical criticism, and feminism. Mormon ambivalence toward scholarship and the intellect has a long history, and it has much to do with Brigham Young's protectionist desire to gather all the world's knowledge to Zion—his blend of intellectual prudishness and promiscuity.