"A Servant of Servants...Cursed as Pertaining to the Priesthood": Mormon Attitudes toward Slavery and the Black Men 1830–1880

By

NEWELL GEORGE BRINGHURST
B.S. (University of Utah) 1965

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

History

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DAVIS

Approved:

[Signatures]

Committee in Charge

Deposited in the University Library

Date

Librarian
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</th>
<th>iv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. MORMON ORIGINS AND INITIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RACE AND SLAVERY, 1805-30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. ANTI-ABOLITIONISM DURING THE MORMON SOJOURN</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN MISSOURI AND OHIO 1830-39;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE BLACK MAN WITHIN MORMONISM AND BLACK</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLICAL COUNTERFIGURES 1830-39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY BY THE ILLINOIS-BASED SAINTS</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839-46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. THE DIVIDED MORMON MIND—AMBIVALENCE TOWARD SLAVERY</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846-52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. THE BLACK MAN'S MORMON STATUS DETERIORATES 1839-52</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. PRO-SLAVERY RHETORIC AND MORMONISM'S DIVIDED MIND</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852-65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. THE SAINTS PUBLICIZE THE BLACK MAN'S INFERIOR STATUS 1852-65</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. &quot;UNRECONSTRUCTED SAINTS&quot;--THE BLACK MAN'S INFERIOR STATUS REENFORCED 1865-1880</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPILOGUE</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank a number of individuals and institutions who aided me in the research and writing of this dissertation.

Larry Nielsen, a friend, fellow graduate student, and Latter-day Saint deeply concerned about the black issue within his church, encouraged me to look into this subject as a possible dissertation topic. He subsequently posed a number of valuable questions and acted as a sounding board for my initial ideas.

W. Turrentine Jackson, Chairman, along with Daniel Calhoun and Roland Marchand, members of my committee, offered the guidance and assistance necessary for the completion of this task. They gave of their time in offering suggestions and making valid criticisms in the areas of organization and interpretation.

Don Pisani, another friend and fellow graduate student, read and incisively critiqued the entire dissertation. His suggestions enabled me to measurably improve the quality of this work. Larry Lee of San Jose State University, a colleague and friend, also read a portion of this work and offered his valuable criticism.

Vera Loomis and her staff in Interlibrary Loan, University of California, Davis, obtained for me a large number of monographs and early Latter-day Saint newspapers and periodicals, thus saving me the time and expense of extensive travel. The staff of the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was most kind and accommodating in
allowing me to examine the diaries and correspondence of several important early Latter-day Saints. Also the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley made available a number of early Latter-day Saint pamphlets, tracts, and other materials.

Some other individuals provided additional information or historical materials which aided in the research and writing of this work. These include S. George Ellsworth, Utah State University, M. Blaine Hofeling, John S.H. Smith, Everett L. Cooley, and Davis Bitton all of The University of Utah, Donald R. Moorman of Weber State College, Mario S. De Fillis of the University of Massachusetts, Dale Z. Kirby of West Valley College, and Laurence M. Yorgason of Cleveland Heights, Ohio. I am also grateful for the help of my father and stepmother of Salt Lake City, who responded to my numerous requests for materials and information needed to complete this task.

Finally, I cannot adequately express my deep appreciation to my wife Mary Ann for her help in basic research during our stay in Salt Lake City in the summer of 1971, plus her invaluable role as an intimate critic and for her perseverance in typing the entire dissertation. But more important I admire her patience in tolerating for five long years this dissertation and all the hard times that have gone with it.
PREFACE

The decade of the 1960's was characterized by domestic protest and militant, often violent, actions against alleged social injustices. National attention during this turbulent period centered primarily on racial conflict, often violent in the South and in a number of troubled northern cities, and toward the end of the decade, on protests against American involvement in the Viet Nam conflict. It was natural then for the heretofore overlooked or ignored question of the racial relationship between blacks and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) to surface at this point in time. Although, the Mormon Church had for many decades excluded blacks from its lay-oriented priesthood, an organization open to virtually all other adult male members over twelve years of age, and prohibited blacks from participating in various sacred rites in their temples—a duty expected of all adult members in good standing—it wasn't until the 1960's that black as well as white activists registered their protest against these and other church practices affecting blacks. During the 1960's civil rights protesters demonstrated in front of the Latter-day Saint Church headquarters in Salt Lake City and black athletes refused to participate in sports contests with the Mormon-owned Brigham Young University. A number of Universities even went so far as to terminate all future athletic contests with this institution. All this activity dramatized the fact that Mormon attitudes and practices as they affected the black man had become, by the 1960's, a topic of increased interest.
and controversy, not just within Utah and the Mormon community, but in the larger American society.

This study attempts to consider the Mormon-black question from several different perspectives. First, on a direct level, this work tries to give the reader a basic understanding of the admittedly complex but yet very significant development and evolution of Latter-day Saint attitudes toward slavery, the black man, and race during the first fifty years of Mormonism's existence. Throughout the period 1830-65 the Saints displayed various, often contradictory, attitudes toward slavery. At different times, and sometimes concurrently the Saints expressed pro-slavery feelings, dislike for the Peculiar Institution, anti-abolitionist leanings and neutrality on the issues involving slavery. During these same years as the Saints conveyed these ambivalent, seemingly opposite views on slavery, they developed their attitudes and practices toward the black man and race in a less confusing manner. The black man's status within Mormonism fundamentally changed during the years 1830-1880. Early in this period the church had "no special rule" relative to the black man. The Latter-day Saints accepted the black man in full Christian fellowship allowing him to participate in all ordinances and activities including the priesthood. By 1849, however, the status of the black man deteriorated to the point where the Saints declared him ineligible for priesthood ordination. During the next thirty years, moreover, a number of trends, both within and outside of the church, made the black man's subordinate Mormon status permanent.

In a broader context, this study of developing Mormon attitudes toward slavery and the black man tries to provide a greater understand-

vii
ing of several more general trends affecting Mormonism during this period. The deteriorating situation of the black man, especially as it involved priesthood denial, was symptomatic of a religious movement becoming increasingly complex and structured. These same anti-black developments were the product of a Mormon Church attempting to "tighten up" and strengthen its doctrines and practices. The deteriorating status of the black man within the church also reflected a Mormon movement shifting its focus from initial Christian universalism to Old Testament particularism. In addition, the attempts by the Saints to define the black man's Mormon status and to take a stand on slavery took place at a time when the church was experiencing external hostility and internal strains. Such anti-Mormon activities and church divisions became even more pronounced following the death of Joseph Smith in 1844.

Finally, in an even broader sense, this consideration of Mormonism, slavery and the black man tries to provide some additional insights into the larger problems of slavery, race, and the black man in American society and Western Civilization. One might question such an effort, if Mormonism is considered solely as a peculiar religion composed of an isolated people attempting to "drop out" or withdraw from the dominant society around them. To some extent Mormonism did reflect these tendencies. The Saints, however, were not completely unique to, or isolated from their non-Mormon environment. As a millennialistic movement, Mormonism exhibited many of the same attitudes toward race and human bondage expressed by other groups of this type both within and outside of the United States at various times in history. In addition, when the Latter-day movement is considered as an American religion, and its attitudes toward slavery and the
black man examined along side those of other religious groups both within the United States and abroad, Mormon uniqueness does not seem so great. The Saints, despite their attempts to "drop out," found themselves in the same position as other American religious groups forced to deal with the very real problems of slavery, race, and the black man in an American society during an era of acute social and sectional stress.

The Latter-day Saints, in fact, reflected many of the attitudes and prejudices of this American-Western European civilization. The Saints in their ambivalent responses to the slave question mirrored the confused, divided attitudes of other ante-Bellum Americans, particularly in the North. Likewise, the Mormons by looking at the black man with increased disfavor acted like most Americans during the second third of the nineteenth century. It is true that the status of the black man apparently improved through the abolition of slavery and attempts to guarantee him his civil and political rights. But at the same time the black man's image in the white American mind deteriorated. Developing Mormon anti-black attitudes provide a prime example of this trend. Finally, emerging Latter-day Saint attitudes toward slavery and race take on an added significance if Mormonism is considered as a facet of America's westward expansion. The Saints in their anti-black and anti-slavery attitudes mirrored the feelings and prejudices of other American's moving westward during this same period.
Chapter I

MORMON ORIGINS AND INITIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD RACE AND SLAVERY 1805-30

A close look at Joseph Smith's socio-economic background and his ideas as expressed in the Book of Mormon is essential for a better understanding of the formation of Latter-day Saint attitudes toward race, the black man and involuntary black servitude. While the Book of Mormon was concerned more directly with the Indian than the black man, it did contain the seeds of basic Latter-day Saint racial theories and attitudes. In addition, this work discussed human bondage even though it did not deal, at least on the surface, with the particular problem of black slavery. These ideas established a foundation for specific Mormon attitudes toward blacks as these attitudes emerged in clearer forms during the 1830's.

Joseph Smith's social and economic origins seemed inauspicious for the founder of a major religious movement. Joseph Smith, Jr., the fourth child of Joseph Smith and Lucy Mack, was born in December 1805, near the town of Sharon, Vermont. Like many of the individuals who would assume leadership positions within the Mormon Church, Joseph Smith, Jr., was of New-England-Yankee-Puritan stock. The Smiths, again like a large number of those who would eventually become Mormons, had a hard time setting down roots and finding a way to make a living. By the time Joseph, Jr., was born, the Smith family had already moved at least five times throughout Vermont and New Hampshire. During the first eleven years of the future Mormon Prophet's life, the Smith family moved four more times. The Smiths became accustomed to what one writer has called a "nomadic existence."
All this time the elder Smith tried with limited success to earn a satisfactory livelihood for his family. In a number of New England locations, he eked out a living in farming. On one occasion he attempted to set himself up as a merchant. By 1816 the Smith family had finally found a somewhat permanent residence in upstate New York. Here Joseph, Sr., opened a "cake and beer" shop and augmented the family income by hiring out himself and his older sons as agricultural laborers. His wife, Lucy, brought in a little additional revenue by painting oilcloth covers. Within two years, the Smith family had earned enough money to make a down-payment on a one hundred acre farm just outside of Palmyra. In addition to farming wheat and other crops, the elder Smith and his older sons, including by this time Joseph, Jr., continued to hire themselves out as laborers to supplement the meager family income and to meet the payments on the farm. On at least one occasion young Joseph was hired by a man in search of buried Indian treasure. Despite the vigorous efforts of the Smith family to maintain a respectable economic position and meet their financial obligations, the elder Smith was unable to make the final payment on the farm and thus lost the opportunity to become a landowner.

The Smith family's uncertain economic situation was reflected in Joseph's limited formal education. In Vermont and Palmyra he attended "common schools" only long enough to learn how to read, write, and cipher. The need for young Joseph's services on the farm and as a day laborer precluded additional schooling, even though his older brother Hyrum had been able to attend an academy in New Hampshire some years before.

The uncertain status of the Smith family was also mirrored in their religious practices. Lucy and two sons, Hyrum and Samuel, belonged to the Presbyterian Church in Palmyra. Lucy, however, was not an enthusiasm-
tic and active member. 8 Joseph, Sr., although not affiliated with any particular church, apparently "experienced many visions or dreams." 9 Their son Joseph at one time "leaned" toward the Methodist but never joined. Instead, he proceeded to investigate the various denominations in the Palmyra area, attending their services and revivals in search of what he called the "right" or "true" church. 10

Joseph, Jr., was a religious seeker during a time of unusual revivalistic excitement in the local community. He experienced his first supernatural "vision" in 1820. The heavenly visitors in this vision, God the Father and His Son, told him that none of the established churches were true. Three years later, according to Smith, he witnessed a second heavenly vision, this time an angel, who told him that some golden plates containing the history of an extinct pre-Columbian race along with the principles of the True Gospel were buried on a hill near the Smith home. Joseph, however, was instructed not to remove the plates until a later date. Finally four years later, in 1827, according to the story, Smith was told to take the plates and decipher their "reformed Egyptian" writing, but not to show them to anyone. 11 In fulfilling these instructions, Smith sat on one side of a table divided by a curtain purportedly translating and dictating the contents of the plates to a scribe who was unable to see them. For this task Smith initially utilized his new wife Emma Hale. Eventually, he acquired the services of Martin Harris, a relatively prosperous farmer, for whom Smith had worked as a day laborer. Like Smith, Harris had been less than satisfied with the established religious denominations in his native New-England environment. After meeting Smith, Harris became intrigued with the Mormon Prophet's descriptions of the golden plates and was recruited as a scribe. Harris, however, was soon dismissed by Smith because he was
slow and unreliable. Despite his shortcomings, Harris provided the necessary financing, making it possible in 1830 to publish the completed manuscript as the Book of Mormon.12

Oliver Cowdery, who succeeded Harris, proved to be a better scribe. Cowdery, originally a resident of Vermont, worked at various jobs—farm labor, blacksmith, and store clerk—before becoming a school teacher.13 Soon thereafter, Cowdery moved to New York. While teaching school near Palmyra, Cowdery learned of Smith's golden plates and his need for a scribe.14 In this capacity, Cowdery was much more efficient than Harris and of great service in helping the Mormon prophet complete his translation. As a result, Cowdery was elevated to the rank of "Second Elder" following the formal organization of the Church in 1830. In addition, he was to play an important and influential role in the formation of Mormon attitudes toward slavery, race, and the black man during the 1830's.

Joseph Smith's precise motives for writing the Book of Mormon in 1830 have been hotly contested. Latter-day Saint writers have long believed that the Mormon Prophet was motivated by a sense of divine mission to inform people about "true" religious principles. By contrast, various non-Mormons believe that the Book of Mormon was undertaken as a money-making venture, or was inspired by less rational factors surrounding Smith's "erratic" or "paranoid" personality. Some observers have gone so far as to suggest that the Book of Mormon was not even written by Joseph Smith, but was plagiarized from non-Mormon sources or written by certain individuals close to Smith.15

Despite the confusion over its motives and even its authorship, the Book of Mormon had a great deal to say about race and human bondage. As a result, it is possible to determine initial Latter-day Saint attitudes
on these question.

The Book of Mormon reflected a lively interest in race. This work was published in 1830 as the sacred history of the ancestors of the American Indian. These people, according to Mormon belief, were part of one of the Biblical Lost Tribes of Israel. Led by a man named Nephi, they migrated from the Holy Land across the Atlantic. Eventually these "Nephites", as they came to be known, built up a flourishing civilization on the North and South American Continents lasting from 600 B.C. to 400 A.D.

However, a dissenting group led by Nephi's two disobedient brothers, Laman and Lemuel, separated themselves from the dominant Nephite culture, preferring instead to live "in tents...in the wilderness."

16 Because of their transgressions they were "cut off from the presence of the Lord." 17 Laman and Lemuel, along with their followers, received the "sore cursing" of a "skin of blackness" which "the Lord God did cause...to come upon them." 18 Thereafter they were known as Lamanites "a dark, and loathsome, and a filthy people, full of idleness and all manner of abominations." 19 Another group of dissidents who clashed with the Nephites were the Amlicites. As a sign of their protest, they painted red marks on their foreheads. For this, they were permanently colored, through divine intervention, with a red skin to match their own self-imposed marks. 20 A third group the Zoramites, like the Lamanites and Amlicites, opposed and lived apart from the Nephites. They became in time a dark-skinned people and were absorbed by the Lamanite nation. 21 These three civilizations, along with other tribes and individuals who dissented from the Nephites, were collectively known as "Lamanites." 22 On various occasions these dark-skinned opponents confronted the pale-faced Nephites on the field of battle. Usually the forces of light and truth prevailed over those of evil and darkness.
In time, however, even the light-skinned, civilized Nephites became unrighteous. A portion of these Nephites mixed with the Lamanites "becoming wicked, wild and ferocious, yea, even becoming Lamanites." The rest of the Nephite nation because of their wickedness was ultimately wiped out in a series of bloody wars fought among themselves and with their dark-skinned neighbors. Ironically, a significant portion of the degenerate, dark-skinned Lamanites survived this warfare becoming over a period of time:

...a dark, a filthy, and a loathsome people, beyond the description of that which ever hath been amongst us, yea, even that which hath been among the Lamanites and this because of their unbelief and idolatry.

The present-day Indians were believed to be the descendants of these dark-complexioned survivors.

In addition to race, the Book of Mormon also discussed the question of human bondage, albeit in an ambivalent manner. In certain instances, this work seemed to condone servitude, expressing approval for a master-servant relationship in which man was obliged to serve God. The Book of Mormon also recognized slaveholding in certain instances. The righteous Nephites were willing to become slaves to the wicked Lamanites if it was the will of the Lord. This work also suggested that those Nephites who were "wicked" and failed to repent of their "iniquities and abominations" could be "brought into" or "consigned to bondage." Such enslavement, as emphasized time and again, could be lifted only through Divine intercession: "None could deliver them but the Lord their God."

On the other hand, the Book of Mormon condemned slavery. In contrast to the Old Testament which approved or at least tolerated slaveholding by various divinely favored people, the Book of Mormon explained that it was "against [Nephite] law...that there should be any slaves among them."
Unlike Old Testament peoples, the Nephites also rejected the tendency to enslave those less favored than themselves, namely the dark Lamanites.

"Neither do we desire to bring anyone to the yoke of bondage,"31 In fact, the idolatrous Lamanites were the ones who practiced slavery and made repeated efforts to enslave the "civilized" Nephites.32 This Lamanite tendency to be slaveholders was cited as additional proof of their ferocious and wicked nature.33 The efforts by the righteous Nephites to resist Lamanite aggression were described as struggles for freedom against "bondage" and "slavery."34 According to one spokesman, the Nephites "would fight in all cases to protect...themselves from bondage."35

There are several possible explanations for a Mormon preoccupation with questions of race and human bondage. On an immediate level the Book of Mormon reflected a contemporary interest in the Indian within New York State and in the nation at large. In upstate New York, local residents inspired by the presence of numerous Indian burial grounds had hunted for buried Indian treasure. This in turn was accompanied by local speculation about the possible Hebraic origins and ethnic development of the one-time dark-skinned inhabitants of this region.36 Also in the nation at large, there was increased preoccupation with America's "Indian Problem." At this time, Federal Government officials, most notably Andrew Jackson, were formulating and carrying out a program of systematic Indian removal. Joseph Smith was not the first nor the last writer to theorize about the origins and development of America's Indian Civilizations.

A Latter-day Saint interest in race and dark-skinned people was also influenced by Mormonism's millennial orientation. The Book of Mormon as a millennialistic document reflected a desire to build up a black-white dualistic structure. In this work the role and activities of certain dark-
skinned "eschatological enemies" or "Antichrists" were established as counterimages to the righteous or chosen light-skinned Nephites. As a result, the activities of the latter could be sharply defined as the righteous example to be followed by those nineteenth century individuals who were in search of the true faith. 37 The Nephites could also be used as an ideal model in any effort to build up a community of True Believers. By contrast, the Lamanites could serve as a symbol of the corrupt society from which this true community was trying to escape. In addition, the dark counterimage of the Lamanites, Amlicites, and Zoramites as related to their racial degeneration would stand as a warning to those individuals who might think of wavering from the True Faith or opposing God's chosen people. The Nephites were warned that if they did not repent of their sins the "skins" of the dark-complexioned Lamanites would "be whiter than yours, when ye shall be brought with them before the throne of God." 38 Another threat was made again using the Lamanites as a counterfigure. "A mark or a dark skin would be "set... upon him that fighteth against thee and thy seed." 39 Finally, the enslavement of the unrighteous Nephites followed by their ultimate extermination at the hands of their dark-skinned adversaries served as potent millennialistic warnings. 40

Mormon concern with theories of racial origins and development was probably also influenced by a third factor: a contemporary general interest in race by a number of writers during the first third of the Nineteenth Century. The various racial theories contained in the Book of Mormon were not unlike those utilized by non-Mormon writers during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. While maintaining that divine intervention initially activated the process of racial degeneration, the Book of Mormon suggested that environmental factors—a particular social situation and/or a certain
geographic setting—played a crucial role in completing the process which caused the emergence of certain dark-skinned peoples. The idea that the physical and cultural environment brought about racial change was widely held by racial theorists during this period. Like Joseph Smith, moreover, many non-Mormon writers believed that such racial changes had taken place within a relatively short chronological span.

Contemporary general racial theories were reflected in other ways by Mormons. In its suggestions that certain fair-complexioned peoples had degenerated into a wild, savage, idolatrous, dark-skinned state, the Mormon work mirrored a general belief that all contemporary, primitive, dark-skinned peoples had degenerated from ancestors who had enjoyed an "advanced culture" at some earlier point in time. Like other writers, the author of the Book of Mormon was optimistic that this process of racial degeneration could be reversed, given the right conditions. The curse of a dark skin and savage behavior was lifted from those Lamanites who accepted the True Faith and allowed themselves to be inspired by the righteous example of the fair-skinned Nephites. The Book of Mormon even went so far as to promise those contemporary American Indians who became "civilized" and adopted the True Faith that:

...their scales of darkness shall begin to fall from their eyes; and many generations shall not pass away among them, save they shall be a white and delightful people.

This belief echoed the theories of non-Mormon writers that contemporary dark-skinned peoples had the capacity to regain the "original perfection" of a light skin, and a "civilized" state they had once possessed.

The Book of Mormon in its descriptions of a Golden Age, during which all people became "exceedingly fair and delightful" with no "Lamanites nor any manner of ites...," reflected a general racial belief that all
mankind, given identical "optimum" cultural-geographic conditions, might overcome all distinctions of race and become one white universal race. This dovetailed with a general American millennialistic belief, and to some extent the remnants of an earlier enlightenment optimism, that all mankind had the capacity to "return" to a pristine, pure white racial state like that occupied by the inhabitants of the Garden of Eden prior to the Fall of Adam.

On a more subtle level, the Book of Mormon, despite the lack of any direct reference, possibly reflected underlying anxieties about black slave-holding and the status of black Americans in general during the 1820's. While it is true that the major conflicts involving slavery and the black man did not become fully evident until the 1830's, many people were concerned about these problems before this time. In 1820 a significant number of Americans were alarmed about slavery as a "fire bell in the night" as a result of the Missouri crisis. Also, during the years preceding the South Carolina Nullification Crisis, the residents of that region were apparently deeply disturbed over slavery. Even in Joseph Smith's home state of New York there was, throughout the first three decades of the 19th century, lively debate and discussion over slavery and the status of the black man. Even though a statute had been adopted in 1799 providing for the gradual manumission of all New York slaves born after this date, black servitude continued to exist there, and remained an issue for the next thirty years. During this same period the status of New York's free blacks also generated political controversy. In 1821 and again in 1824, the State Constitution was amended in order to limit black participation in the electoral process. The expression of intense anti-black sentiments in Rockland County before 1830, the emergence after this date
of strong anti-slavery feeling in the "Burnt-over" district of upstate New York, as well as prominent anti-abolitionist feelings in places like Utica and New York City, indicates a deep concern by residents of the state over slavery and the black man during the 1820's.53

As for the Book of Mormon, its use of the term "black" interchangeably with "red" to describe various dark-skinned peoples, possibly suggests a subconscious concern about the contemporary black man.54 The Book of Mormon also briefly discussed the unrighteous behavior of Cain, a Biblical counter-figure who was to emerge in Mormon theory as a direct ancestor of the black man.55 In addition, Latter-day Saint interest in the black man may have been manifested through the Book of Mormon's reference to the Jaredites, a racial group whose activities were discussed in a significant digression.56

The Jaredites, according to Mormon belief, had migrated to the Western Hemisphere and built up a civilization but then died out due to their own unrighteousness. The rise and fall of this civilization occurred before the later arrival of the first Nephites. While the Book of Mormon was explicit in discussing the Hebraic ethnic background of Nephi and those who had arrived later, it was vague in describing the racial origins of the Jaredites. This early group was described as a people who had originally lived in a region near the Tower of Babel and later in the Valley of Nimrod.57 The Tower of Babel and Valley of Nimrod came to be identified in later Mormon writings as areas inhabited by ancestors of the contemporary black man.58

The Book of Mormon also seemed to express concern over America's problem of black slavery although on a superficial level the author seemed oblivious to this problem. America was described as a "chosen land...above all other lands" with a destiny to fulfill and a "land of liberty."59
This view was summed up as follows:

Behold, this is a choice land, and whatsoever nation shall possess it shall be free from bondage and captivity, and from all other nations under heaven. 60

However, the Book of Mormon also suggested that such liberty was not absolute. America would remain a "land of liberty" where "every man may enjoy his rights" only "so long as the Lord sees fit that we may live and inherit the land." 61 The American people received the rather ambiguous promise that the United States:

...shall be a land of liberty unto them; wherefore they shall never be brought down into captivity; if so, it shall be because of iniquity; for if iniquity shall abound cursed shall be the land for their sakes, but unto the righteous it shall be blessed forever. 62

The Book of Mormon, therefore, seemed to recognize that in America, certain people or races had, and could be brought into bondage because of their unrighteous behavior or simply in accordance with the will of God.

Despite a high degree of Mormon concern over the fate of dark-skinned peoples and human bondage, the Book of Mormon held out the possibility of universal Christian salvation for all mankind. The atonement of Christ was "infinite for all mankind," with Christ making himself manifest "unto every nation, kindred, tongue and people." 63 In one of its most famous passages, the Book of Mormon declared that the Lord

...denieth none that came unto him, black and white, bond and free, male and female; and he remembereth the heathen; and all are alike unto God, both Jew and Gentile. 64

According to Mormon Scripture the Nephites made a special effort to preach to all "both old and young, both bond and free, both male and female." 65 Alma, a Nephite missionary and one of the principal heroes in this work, tried to carry the True Gospel "unto every soul." 66 Other Nephite missionaries also made a special effort to preach among the dark Lamanites in
the belief that "all men are privileged the one like unto the other and none are forbidden."67

The initial concepts of Joseph Smith on race and slavery as articulated through the pages of the Book of Mormon were to have a significant impact on early Mormon converts, following the formal organization of the "Church of Jesus Christ."68 Anything that Joseph Smith had to say with regard to race and slavery, or any subject for that matter, was to carry a great deal of weight among his followers, who considered him more than just another leader. He was a millennialistic prophet, seer, and revelator who had direct communication with the Almighty. In addition, the Book of Mormon, which was published and made available to the public for the first time in 1830, was also canonized that same year, by the newly-formed Mormon Church. As a result, it was considered Holy Scripture on a par with the Bible.

The Book of Mormon set the tone and influenced subsequent attitudes toward slavery and race insofar as they affected the black man. This was the case, even though this work was primarily concerned with race and slavery on a general level, and as these issues related to the American Indian. Ambivalence toward slavery as initially articulated in the Book of Mormon, despite its slight anti-slavery tilt, was to be evident in other Mormon writings for the next thirty-five years. An intense Mormon preoccupation with the racial-ethnic origins of a particular race, whether it be Indian, black, white or any other racial group, continued for the next fifty years. In addition, Mormon anxieties over possible racial degeneration due to unrighteous behavior as well as concern over the ethnic disappearance of a particular race were evident during the following decades. As the focus of Mormonism shifted geographically westward from New York
to Missouri and Ohio, the Latter-day Saints would become increasingly concerned with such questions especially as they related to the black man during the 1830's.
Additional information on the geographic-ethnic and the social-economic origins of Mormon converts and their possible relationship to developing L.D.S. racial attitudes appears in Appendixes A and B.


Barrett, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration*, 57-8. Money digging and the pursuit for quick wealth were popular pastimes for many of the residents in and around Palmyra. According to Brodie, 16-21, Smith engaged in money-digging-treasure hunting activities on a number of occasions.

Barrett, 43.

Ibid., 34.

Corbett, 9. However, because of a fever which he, along with the entire Smith family, suffered he was forced to withdraw before completing the course of study.

Lucy was possibly alienated from this church by the events surrounding the death of her oldest son, Alvin, in 1822 or 1823. In the funeral sermon given by the minister, it was strongly suggested that Alvin, who had never been a church goer, had gone to hell. Brodie, 27-8.


Joseph Smith, Jr., I, 9-15.

13 Stanley R. Gunn, Oliver Cowdery: Second Elder and Scribe (Salt Lake City, 1962), 1-35.

14 Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District (Ithaca, New York, 1950); David M. Ludlow, Social Ferment in Vermont 1791-1850 (New York, 1939), 241-42. It is interesting to note that Cowdery before associating himself with Smith was apparently caught up in the religious enthusiasm sweeping the backcountry areas of New England and New York during the 1820's. While in Vermont, Cowdery had associated with a small millennialistic movement whose leader claimed direct revelation and engaged in mysterious treasure hunting.

15 For a brief, incisive analysis of the various interpretations and motives attributed to Joseph Smith with regard to the Book of Mormon, see James B. Allen and Leonard Arrington, "Mormon Origins and New York: An Introductory Analysis," BYU Studies, IX (Spring, 1969).


17 Ibid., 2 Neph 5:20.


19 Ibid., 1 Neph 12:23.


21 Ibid., Alma 3:12.


24 Ibid., Mormon 5:15.

25 Ibid., 1 Nephi 12:23.

26 Ibid., Jacob 5:21-42. This was reinforced by a general Christian belief that by becoming a "servant" of God through abstinence from sinful activity, man could avoid becoming a "slave" of the devil. David Brion Davis, The Problem of Slavery in Western Civilization (Ithaca, New York, 1966), 83-90.

27 Book of Mormon, Alma 62:12.
28 Ibid., Mosiah 7:15, 20, 22; 11:21, 23; 29:18; Alma 50:22.

29 Ibid., Mosiah 23:23. Also see Mosiah 24:15-17, 21; 29:20; Alma 5:5; 30:11-12; 36:2, 27; 38:4.


31 Ibid., Alma 44:2. Also see Mosiah 2:13, Alma 27:9. It is interesting to compare such Book of Mormon prohibitions with those portions of the Old Testament condoning the holding of slaves by God's chosen people and the rules to be followed in such slaveholding. See Genesis 14:14; 24:34; 30:43; Exodus 20:17; 21:2-32; Leviticus 25:39-55; 2 Samuel 8:2, 6, 14; 1 Chronicles 18:12, 6, 13; Proverbs 29-30.

32 Book of Mormon, Mosiah 7:15; Alma 43:29.

33 Ibid., Alma 50:22.

34 Ibid., Alma 43:45-49; 48:10-11.


36 Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 34-37; Klaus J. Hansen, "The Millennium, the West and Race in the Antebellum American Mind," Western Historical Quarterly, III (October, 1972), 380.

37 Such a procedure had been common among millenialistic groups since the Middle Ages. See Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (New York, 1957), 86-7.

38 Book of Mormon, Jacob 3:18.

39 Ibid., Alma 31:16.

40 Ibid., Jacob 3:13. The Indians apparently also received a promise that America would be "the land of their inheritance" and that:
...the Lord God will not suffer that the Gentiles [whites] will utterly destroy the mixture of thy seed, which are among thy brethren.
See 1 Nephi 13:30.

41 This work in emphasizing the role of a personal, identifiable God in influencing racial change possibly reflected a contemporary (1820's) reaction against the enlightenment concept of an impersonal God (or unidentifiable Supreme forces) bringing about such changes. At the same time by acknowledging the impact of social-environmental
factors, the Book of Mormon kept in tune with racial theories currently in vogue. Marvin Harris, The Rise of Anthropological Theory (New York, 1968), 58.


43 Harris, 86. According to Harris, some American racial theorists believed that racial change could take place within a single lifetime.

44 Ibid., 54; Hanson, "The Millennium, the West, and Race," 381.


46 Ibid., 2 Nephi 30:6.

47 Ibid., 4 Nephi 10,20. Besides being of one universal race all the people "had all things common among them; therefore there were not rich and poor, bond and free, but they were all made free, and partakers of heavenly gift." 4 Nephi 3. Compare this with Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America (Dallas, 1963), 243; George M. Fredricson, The Black Image in the White Mind (New York, 1971), 43.

48 Ernest Lee Tuveson, Redeemer Nation (Chicago, 1968), 53,78.

49 It is interesting to note that Joseph Smith was soon to proclaim Jackson County, Missouri as Mormonism's "Zion" or central "Gathering Place." See Doctrine and Covenants 57:1-2, July, 1831.

50 As articulated in William W. Freehling's, Prelude to Civil War (New York, 1965).


52 McManus, 187; Benson, 8,10,303,315,318.

53 Ibid., 301-3; Cross, The Burnt-Over District, 76,61; McManus, 186; Leonard L. Richards, Gentlemen of Property and Stature (New York, 1970).

54 Compare Book of Mormon 2 Nephi 5:21 with Alma 3:13. However, this same work also uses the terms "dark" or "darkness" on four occasions: 1 Nephi 12:23, Jacob 3:9, Alma 3:6, Mormon,5:15 and the term "filthiness" three times; Jacob 3:15,9,10 to describe these same people. It is interesting to note that Rev. Diedrich Willers, an early non-Mormon commentator...
misperceived the future racial development of the black skinned Lamanites. In a letter written June 18, 1830 he observed that "According to this [Mormon] assumption the origin of the Blacks would come from Laman, one of Nephi's brothers whom God had given a black skin because of his godlessness, and yet so many reasons exist to conclude that the origin of the Blacks came from Ham the son of Noah." D. Michael Quinn, trans. & ed., "The First Months of Mormonism: A Contemporary View by Rev. Diedrich Willers," New York History, LIV (July, 1973), 329

55 Book of Mormon, Helaman 6:27; Ether 8:15.

56 A digression in that it departed from the main thrust of the Book of Mormon narrative which primarily concerned itself with the activities of the Nephites and Lamanites. See Ether 1-5.

57 Ibid., Ether 13:5,33; 211.

58 In fact suggestions of a link between the Jaredites and the contemporary black man through their common descent from the Biblical figure Ham were made in 1843 by Joseph Smith and Orson Pratt. See Chapter VI.

59 Book of Mormon, 2 Nephi 1:10; 10:19; Alma 46:16-17.

60 Book of Mormon, Ether 2:12.

61 Ibid., Mosiah 29:32.

62 Ibid., 2 Nephi 1:7.


64 Ibid., 2 Nephi 26:125; 26:33.

65 Ibid., Alma 1:30

66 Ibid., Alma 29:2; 5:49.


68 The church was originally designated as the "Church of Jesus Christ" under the articles of incorporation for the State of New York in 1830. Four years later the name "The Church of Latter-day Saints" was adopted and in 1838 Joseph Smith through revelation proclaimed that henceforth the official church name to be "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day
Chapter II

ANTI-ABOLITIONISM DURING THE MORMON SOJOURN IN MISSOURI AND OHIO 1830-1839

During the nine years following the formal organization of the Mormon Church in 1830, Latter-day Saint attitudes toward slavery changed. In contrast to the ambivalent anti-slavery attitudes reflected in the Book of Mormon, Joseph Smith and his followers became staunchly anti-abolitionist by the mid 1830's. The movement toward this anti-abolitionist stance progressed through three distinct phases: (1) Initially, during the years 1830-33 the Mormons softened or moved away from those anti-slavery tendencies suggested in the Book of Mormon, adopting a non-committal, largely neutral stance. (2) In the period 1834-36, the church asserted, through its leaders and publications, a strong anti-abolitionist position. (3) Finally from 1837 to 1839, Mormon anti-abolitionism was manifested in a more muted fashion.

This changing position with regard to slavery took place during a time when Mormonism was shifting its geographic focus away from its birthplace in upstate New York to the west. Although the bulk of Latter-day Saint converts continued to come from the Northeast, the main focus of Mormon activity shifted to two western areas--Kirtland, Ohio, on the Western Reserve, and Western Missouri, initially Independence in Jackson County, and later the Prairie regions in the northern part of the state. These places were designated by Joseph Smith as Mormon "gathering" points. Here the Saints were ordered to build up their millennialistic society and prepare for the Second Coming. Joseph Smith, fleeing from persecution
in New York State, moved west in 1831 to join those of his followers who had already settled there. Although Smith in 1831 designated Independence, Missouri as the Mormon "Zion", or main gathering place, he spent the bulk of his time from 1831 to 1838, aside from four visits to Missouri, in Ohio.

However, it was in Jackson County that Mormonism's new attitude toward the Peculiar Institution first appeared. The church's position on various issues, including slavery, was primarily articulated through the pages of the Missouri-based Evening and Morning Star, a semi-official church publication under the editorial direction of William Wines Phelps. A slightly bombastic and at times rather emotional personality, Phelps, like so many of those Saints who migrated from the Northeast, came from a New England-New York background. One of the best educated of the early Mormons, Phelps prior to his conversion had been the editor of three newspapers, two of which he had founded, in upper New York State. Because of his extensive anti-Masonic editorial activities, he was seriously considered in 1830 as a possible candidate for Lt. Governor on the anti-Masonic party ticket. In that same year, however, he read a copy of the Book of Mormon and joined the Saints. When church leaders decided to publish a newspaper along with other Mormon materials, Phelps was the logical choice to serve a "a printer unto the church." This role, combined with Phelps' position as one of the four "Presiding Elders" in charge of the Missouri settlement, made him an important church spokesman.

After the Star began publication in August, 1832, Phelps assumed a non-committal and neutral editorial stance toward black slavery. Throughout his first year as editor, Phelps avoided any direct or serious discussion of slavery as it existed in Missouri or in the nation. The Star
completely ignored Nat Turner's Rebellion and the abolitionist movement. This periodical examined black slavery only on a remote, detached level. Typical articles discussed Spanish slave vessels, a cholera epidemic among some West Indian slaves, and the colonization of blacks in Liberia. 8

There were two reasons for this non-committal, detached Mormon position. Phelps, like most Saints, was a recent migrant from a non-slaveholding region. He probably ignored slavery so that his paper would not create misunderstanding and distrust among the predominant non-Mormon community in Jackson County. Secondly, the Star's format and editorial style were not suited to the extensive discussion of black slavery or any other non-ecclesiastical issue. The Star was primarily a vehicle for printing and disseminating doctrines and instructions to church members both within and outside of Jackson County. It was also a channel of communication between the two principal Mormon centers of Kirtland, Ohio and Independence, Missouri. 9 Since this journal was published only once a month, it had only a limited amount of space for non-Mormon secular stories, including those about slavery and abolition. In addition, Phelps expressed his personal desire not to become involved in the "political broils of the world."10

The Latter-day Saint desire to remain aloof from slavery and abolition was also evident in the Mormon response to Joseph Smith's "Revelation and Prophecy on War." This prophecy also reflected increased Mormon concern and anxiety over the growing slave controversy. It was purportedly received by the Mormon prophet at Kirtland on December 25, 1832, during the South Carolina nullification crisis. This millennialistic revelation predicted that numerous wars would "shortly come to pass, beginning at the rebellion of South Carolina." In time, prophesied
Smith, "the Southern States shall be divided against the Northern States" and war would then "be poured out upon all nations."\textsuperscript{11} According to this forecast, the black slave would have a role in these apocalyptic developments:

And it shall come to pass, after many days, slaves shall rise up against their masters, who shall be marshaled and disciplined for war.\textsuperscript{12}

While this prophecy was destined to become one of the best-known of all the revelations given by the church, it received only limited exposure and publicity during the 1830's. Although Joseph Smith, in an article written just two weeks following this revelation, expressed his belief that "not many years shall pass away before the United States shall present such a scene of bloodshed, as has not a parallel in the history of our nation," he made no direct reference to his earlier revelation.\textsuperscript{13}

Likewise, editor Phelps, while visualizing the "Rebellion" or "dissolution of South Carolina from the Union" as one of the "Signs of the Time," did not mention the Mormon prophecy.\textsuperscript{14} In later years at least one prominent churchman claimed he had publicized this prophecy as a missionary during the 1830's, but there was no contemporary evidence to support this claim.\textsuperscript{15}

The revelation itself was not made available to the general church membership in published form until 1851.\textsuperscript{16} Therefore, the "Revelation and Prophecy on War" apparently had a limited impact on the church during the 1830's. That this prophecy was not publicized strongly suggests a basic Mormon desire to remain neutral and non-committal on the slavery question, especially in light of possible adverse reaction that could result from the disclosure of a divinely predicted slave rebellion.

By July 1833, Mormon anxieties over slavery coupled with a desire to maintain a detached neutrality came to the surface in the Evening and
Morning Star. In outlining the procedure necessary for "Free People of Color" to migrate to Missouri, Phelps addressed himself for the first time directly to the issue of black slavery. He warned church members that:

Slaves are real estate in this and other states, and wisdom would dictate great care among the branches of the Church of Christ on this subject.

In another article in this same issue, Phelps commented:

As to slaves, we have nothing to say. In connection with the wonderful events of this age, much is doing towards abolishing slavery, and colonizing the blacks, in Africa.

The publication of these two articles helped to trigger violence against Phelps and his fellow Saints. On July 15, the non-Mormon residents of Jackson County circulated a "Secret Constitution" outlining the alleged misconduct of the Saints, accusing them among other things, of "tampering with our slaves, and endeavoring to sow dissensions and raise seditions amongst them." The Mormons were also charged with inviting "free negroes and mulattoes" to settle "among us." As a solution to the current difficulties, these non-Mormons called upon the Saints to get out of Jackson County.

Phelps, acutely aware of the non-Mormon uproar that his original articles had caused, attempted to redeem himself by issuing a Star "Extra" on July 16. In this issue, which was printed in the form of a handbill and distributed throughout the county, Phelps reversed his position with regard to "Free People of Color" explaining that he did not want them in Missouri or even in the Mormon Church. As for slavery, the Mormon editor repeated his earlier statement that he had "nothing to say" on this subject along with his descriptions of abolition and colonization as "wonderful events."

He then editorialized:

We often lament the situation of our sister states in the South, and we fear, lest, as has been the case, the blacks
should rise and spill innocent blood; for they are ignorant and little may lead them to disturb the peace of society.21

Needless to say, Phelps statements did not arrest the deteriorating Mormon situation in Jackson County. During the next six months, the Saints became victims of non-Mormon mob violence. The office of the Star, which also served as a home for the Phelps family was destroyed and its contents scattered in the street. In the wake of this violence, Phelps and his fellow Saints fled from the county and were granted temporary asylum in Clay County, just to the north of Jackson.22

As a result of the Mormon expulsion from Jackson County, the focus of Mormon Church activity shifted more than ever to Kirtland, Ohio. For the next four years this community became the center for the formulation of church policies and doctrines. These were publicized through the pages of the revitalized Evening and Morning Star, which resumed publication at Kirtland under the editorial direction of Oliver Cowdery—Second Elder and intimate advisor to Joseph Smith. The Mormon prophet, himself, continued to spend most of his time in Ohio.

The move to Kirtland was accompanied by the movement of the Saints toward a definite anti-abolitionist stance. As early as January 1834, the Star described individuals who would influence the slaves to rebellion as "beneath even the slave himself and unworthy of the privileges of a free government."23 W.W. Phelps, the former Star editor now limited as a church spokesman to the task of submitting monthly reports from Clay County, denounced the "false prophets" who directed the "abolition of slavery societies."24 By August 1835, the church made anti-abolitionism an "official" policy. A "General Assembly" of the church approved the following resolution:

We believe it just to preach the gospel to the nations of
the earth and warn the righteous to save themselves from the corruption of the world; but we do not believe it right to interfere with bondservants neither preach the gospel to, nor baptize them, contrary to the will and wish of their masters, nor to meddle with or influence them in the least to be dissatisfied with their situations in this life thereby jeopardizing the lives of men. Such interference we believe to be unlawful and dangerous to the peace of every government allowing human beings to be held in servitude.  

This declaration, first printed in the Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate, which had replaced the Star as the church’s major organ, became church law by virtue of its incorporation into the newly published Doctrine and Covenants. This latter work, primarily made up of the revelations of Joseph Smith, was initially published and canonized in September, 1835 as Holy Scripture on a par with the Bible and Book of Mormon.

Strong Mormon anti-abolitionist sentiments were also manifested through non-scriptural Mormon publications. In October, 1835, the Northern Times, a weekly political publication set up by several prominent church leaders, echoed the anti-abolitionist position enshrined in the Doctrine and Covenants just two months before. It declared:

We are opposed to abolition, and whatever is calculated to disturb the peace and harmony of our Constitution and Country. Abolition does hardly belong to law or religion, politics or gospel, according to our idea on the subject.

One month later, in November, 1835, Joseph Smith reinforced the anti-abolitionist position taken in the Doctrine and Covenants through a letter addressed "To the Elders of the Church." This epistle cautioned those missionaries preaching to "master and servants" to make "proper distinctions" and "not go unto...slaves or servants" unless granted permission by the master.

In conclusion it called upon "slaves or servants" to be "obedient to...their masters," and quoted from the Bible admonishing:

Servants, obey in all things your masters, according to the
flesh, not with eye service, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God.  

From November 1835 until April 1836, there was a lull in Mormon anti-abolitionist statements. However, in the spring of 1836, Latter-day Saint anti-abolitionism reached its peak. Joseph Smith led the way in a letter to Oliver Cowdery printed on the front page of the *Messenger and Advocate* which denounced northern abolitionists and dissociated church from their activities. Smith rejected any and all abolitionist suggestions that slavery was an "evil." He gave divine legitimacy to his anti-abolitionist arguments by quoting supportive scripture from both the Old and New Testaments, and concluded by referring to the previously-issued "belief of the Church concerning masters and servants" as contained in the *Doctrine and Covenants*.  

Other Mormons followed the lead of their prophet in denouncing abolitionism. Oliver Cowdery, through editorials in both the April and May issues of the *Messenger and Advocate*, condemned the useless and dangerous activities of the abolitionists. He held up the specter of slave rebellion, black pauperism, and miscegenation. Abolitionism was attacked and slavery defended in two other articles in this church journal during these same two months.  

The emergence of Mormon anti-abolitionism was motivated by several factors. Of primary importance was a Latter-day Saint desire to avoid identification with northern abolitionism. Like the Mormons, the abolitionists were detested throughout the North during the 1830's. The Saints, already harassed for their unique religious beliefs were understandably anxious to eschew all identification with a movement which would do nothing but compound their difficulties. The Mormons were well aware of northern
anti-abolitionist riots. These caused on Saint to ask, "Is the End Near?" 38
Another Mormon missionary, alarmed at the violence directed against an
abolitionist in Concord, New Hampshire, concluded that "Abolitionism in
that county...was...very unpopular." 39

The Saints in their desire to avoid any identification with northern
abolitionism were like other religious denominations during the 1830's.
The official Mormon anti-abolitionist resolution of August, 1835 was
similar to the declarations approved by other northern-based church groups.
The Methodists in their 1836 national convention adopted a resolution asserting that their members had

...no right, wish or intention to interfere in the civil and
political relation as it exists between master and slave in
the slaveholding states of this Union. 40

In a similar fashion, the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Catholics, in national
meetings of their respective churches, moved to prevent any discussion of
questions connected with slavery and abolitionism. 41 Even the Quakers,
who during the late eighteen century had pushed for the gradual elimination
of slavery, withdrew from active participation in all anti-slavery movements,
condemning abolition in general. 42 Several interdenominational organi-
zations including the Bible, Home Missionary, and Tract Societies also
rejected involvement in the abolitionist movement. 43 The Latter-day Saints,
therefore, as a northern-based religious denomination, were not unique
in their desire to remain detached from the intense abolitionist-anti-
abolitionist struggles of the 1830's.

The Latter-day Saints were also concerned about alleged association
that might be drawn between Mormonism and abolitionism as a consequence
of Kirtland's emergence as the principal church headquarters from 1833
to 1838. The Western Reserve, where this Mormon center was situated was
also the location of Oberlin College which served during the 1830's as a center for abolitionist activity carried on throughout the entire Mississippi Valley. Because of this and other abolitionist activity throughout the state, Ohio was subjected to more anti-abolitionist violence than any other part of the nation.

Mormon fears of an abolitionist identification was further stimulated by the appearance in the non-Mormon press of two articles drawing parallels between the Saints and abolitionism. \textsuperscript{46} Latter-day Saint leaders were possibly also concerned about Mormon-abolitionist connections that might be alleged following the formation of parallel missionary organizations by these two groups. The Saints in 1835 had set-up the "Seventies...to preach the gospel of Mormonism." This was followed by the abolitionist creation of the "Seventy", a group of anti-slavery missionaries in May 1835. The Saints, therefore, had one more reason to emphasize their differences with the abolitionists. \textsuperscript{47}

The Saints were also fearful of the parallels that might be drawn between the millennialism of the two groups. Like the Saints, William Lloyd Garrison felt the abolition of slavery would be brought about in a "quasi-anarchistic" manner, through extensive conflict, probable violence, and possible warfare, paving the way for the millennium and ultimate human perfectability. But since the Saints tended to agree with Garrison's anarchistic-millennialistic expectations, they probably felt compelled to reject his abolitionist means for bringing it about. \textsuperscript{49} The Saints as a millennialistic movement were not alone in a desire to dissociate themselves from millennialism· abolitionism. William Miller, Mormonism's principle millennialistic rival denounced those "fire-skulled, visionary, fanatical, treasonable, suicidal, demoralizing, hotheaded set of abolition-
ists. Even utopian-oriented groups, like the Shakers and Perfectionists which denounced black slavery, did not want to become actively involved in the abolitionist movement itself.

Mormon efforts to detach the church from northern abolitionism was perhaps most graphically illustrated in Latter-day Saint reaction to the April 1836 Kirtland visits by James W. Alvord, a key organizer for the American Anti-Slavery Society. Alvord, who was touring various communities on the Western Reserve, was, according to one account, received "kindly" by the residents of Kirtland who welcomed "his doctrines of liberty." In Kirtland, this anti-slavery advocate organized a chapter of his society composed of eighty-six members. In response, Latter-day Saint spokesmen attempted to "play down" the significance of this development. Joseph Smith, while conceding that "'an Abolitionist' had held forth several times to this community," claimed that "very few" attended the meetings of this anti-slavery zealot who was compelled to present "his arguments to nearly naked walls." In the wake of this development, another church spokesman explained that the Mormons "stand aloof from abolitionist societies." The Latter-day Saint reaction against Alvord's visits and the formation of the Kirtland Anti-Slavery chapter represented the peak of Mormon anti-abolitionism.

Although Mormon anti-abolitionism was primarily stimulated by a basic Latter-day Saint desire to remain detached from all northern abolitionist activity, other factors also played a role in the formation of such attitudes. Mormon anti-abolitionism has been described by certain writers as part of a Latter-day Saint effort to make themselves acceptable to the non-Mormon, slaveholding residents of Missouri. A large number of Saints continued to migrate and settle in Missouri throughout most of the 1830's.
The Saints, therefore, were probably anxious to prevent a reenactment of the anti-Mormon mob violence of 1833 which had culminated in their expulsion from Jackson County.

At that time the Saints were accused of "tampering with" black slaves and attempting to "corrupt" and "instigate them to bloodshed" (sic). These Missourians gave at least one specific example where they believed this had been the case. Such allegations, in the words of one distressed Saint, went "the rounds in the public prints." Non-Mormon charges that the Saints had stirred up "a seditious feeling" and "urged the slaves to be unfaithful" appeared in newspapers as far away as Vermont, Washington, D.C., and even in Joseph Smith's former home of Palmyra, New York. Mormon anti-abolitionist statements, therefore, can be seen as an attempt to refute such charges.

Mormon anti-abolitionist sentiments were also stimulated by new difficulties encountered by those Saints who had remained in Missouri after their removal from Jackson County. As previously noted, these Mormons had been granted temporary asylum in Clay County in late 1833. However, by June 1836, they were asked to leave this county because of their incompatibility with its non-Mormon residents. Among the charges brought against the Saints was that:

...they are non-slaveholders, and opposed to slavery; which in this peculiar period when abolition has reared its deformed and haggard visage in our land, is well calculated to excite deep and abiding prejudice in any community where slavery is tolerated and practice.

These non-Mormons then suggested that the Saints relocate their society in Wisconsin "a territory in which slavery is prohibited." In an effort to refute these charges, the Saints reiterated the anti-abolitionist position adopted by the August 1835 General Assembly, along with
the April 1836 anti-abolitionist statements of Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, and others. The besieged Clay County Mormons held an emergency meeting and adopted the following resolution:

We have no part for or against slavery, but are opposed to the abolitionists and consider that men have a right to hold slaves or not according to the law.

These Mormon anti-abolitionist statements did little to relieve the situation of those Saints in Clay County. They were forced, once more, to migrate north, this time to Caldwell and Daviess Counties on the upper Missouri plains.

Mormon anti-abolitionism emerged against the backdrop of a non-Mormon Missouri society excited over general questions of slavery and abolition during the early 1830's. The 1832 visit of Theodore Weld to St. Louis, accompanied by the formation of the American anti-slavery society, caused "excitement" throughout the state. By 1835, Missouri residents feared that "abolitionists" from Illinois would flood their state with literature and cause unrest among their slaves. Members of the American Colonization Society were forced to leave Hannibal, that same year, for distributing literature promoting their cause. Also in 1835, the abolitionist doctrines taught at Marion College, a Presbyterian institution in Palmyra, Missouri, stimulated a wave of anti-abolitionist activity. The anti-slavery activities of Elijah Lovejoy in St. Louis generated a great amount of controversy culminating in the destruction of his press and expulsion from the state in July 1836. Concerned Missourians pushed for the enactment of legislation to outlaw the dissemination of anti-slavery literature, and to punish any person found guilty of inciting the slaves to insurrection either through writing or speech.

While Mormon periodicals made no direct mention of these non-Mormon
conflicts, it is safe to assume that the Saints were aware of, and influenced by these developments in the formation of their own anti-abolitionist attitudes. The Mormon's August 1835 anti-abolitionist resolution was remarkably similar in its timing and contents to the resolutions adopted by conferences of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in Missouri. The Methodist resolution approved in 1835 condemned abolitionist societies as "mischievous in character", while a Presbyterian resolution adopted in October of that same year accused the "abolitionists" of "sowing seeds of discontent." 71

Mormon anti-abolitionist feelings were not simply triggered by developments in Missouri. The expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County in late 1833 did not stimulate an immediate outburst of Mormon anti-abolitionist propaganda. 72 Instead, Mormon anti-abolitionism developed gradually. Not until late 1835 and early 1836 did Latter-day Saint anti-abolitionism reach its prominent, vocal climax. Likewise, the forced removal of the Saints from Clay County in late 1836 did not activate a renewed flurry of Mormon anti-abolitionist activity comparable to that manifested earlier in the year. The besieged Clay County Mormons seemed content to stand by the anti-abolitionist statements publicized earlier.

The formation of Mormon anti-abolitionist attitudes was possibly also part of a Latter-day Saint effort to make themselves and their movement more acceptable in the slaveholding South. The church as a northern-based organization was anxious to prevent possible southern misunderstanding concerning its views on slavery and abolitionism. 73 Such an effort assumed increased importance as Mormon missionaries moved into the South during the 1830's. 74 Joseph Smith's November 1835 epistle "to the Elders" seemed to have special relevance for those missionaries working among southern
slaveholders. In his anti-abolitionist letter of April 1836, Smith wrote:

In one respect I am prompted to this course in consequence of many Elders having gone into the Southern States, besides there being now many in that country who have already embraced the fulness of the Gospel...75

In this same letter the Mormon leader told his northern-based followers that the hand of fellowship should not be withdrawn from the southerners simply because he "will not renounce slavery."76 Another Latter-day Saint added that southerners were guaranteed the "right" to hold slaves by the Federal Constitution.77

Despite this, Latter-day Saint concern for the sensitivities of slave-holding southerners was probably limited. Southern missionary activity and the total church membership in this region throughout this period was only a tiny fraction of what it was in the rest of the country, especially when compared with that in the Northeast and in Mormonism's "gathering places" of Ohio and Missouri. In the words of one writer, "The Southern States received attention only gradually" during the 1830's.78

From 1837 until 1839, Mormon anti-abolitionism entered a third and more subdued phase. While maintaining their basic anti-abolitionist stance, church spokesmen made fewer and less strident statements. Joseph Smith waited for seven months, until July, 1838, before responding to the rather pointed question, "Are the Mormons Abolitionists?" In his dilatory reply, Smith answered:

No, unless delivering the people from priestcraft and the priests from the power of Satan, should be considered such. But we do not believe in setting the Negroes free.79

While other church leaders also affirmed Mormon anti-abolitionism during the late 1830's, they did so less frequently and with less shrillness than had been the case earlier.80
A decline in anti-abolitionist statements at this time might, at first glance, seem incongruous when considered in the wake of Mormonism's shifting geographical focus. In late 1837 and early 1838 Joseph Smith, and those Saints acknowledging his authority, completely abandoned Kirtland, Ohio moving the church headquarters to Far West, Missouri in Caldwell County where a number of Saints had previously settled. One might logically assume that church leaders would be anxious to assert and "play up" their anti-abolitionist position following this removal of their church headquarters to the slave state of Missouri. However, this was not so; the Saints maintained a restrained anti-abolitionist posture even during a series of bloody conflicts with their non-Mormon, Missouri neighbors, which culminated in their forced exile from the state during the winter of 1838-39.

The decline in church anti-abolitionist expressions, even in the face of non-Mormon hostility, can be explained in several ways. First of all, slavery and abolitionism were only fringe issues during the Mormon-non-Mormon Missouri conflicts of 1838-39. These hostilities were primarily provoked by the tremendous influx of Mormons into the state who were in a militant mood—willing to fight for and defend their possessions and status in Missouri. Only one non-Mormon newspaper out of the dozens commenting on this struggle tried to link the Saints to the abolitionists. This limited non-Mormon concern with the issues of slavery and abolition was in sharp contrast to the importance assigned to these questions during the earlier Mormon-non-Mormon conflicts of 1833 and 1836. Secondly, by the late 1830's, the Saints themselves probably felt that it was no longer necessary to actively assert their anti-abolitionism, because of its common knowledge among Mormon and non-Mormon alike. Typical of this attitude were the comments of one non-Mormon writer who noted in passing that:
The abolition question is discarded by them as being inconsistent with the decrees of Heaven, and detrimental to the peace and welfare of the community.\footnote{83}

In addition, the Saints became more tolerant of the actual practice of slaveholding in Missouri. One church leader was willing to allow those Saints who desired to use "niggers" to perform menial tasks. Another official seemed to suggest that the practice of black slavery was essential for white status and social respectability in a slave state.\footnote{84} As early as 1836, at least one Saint, anticipating such a tolerant attitude, migrated from the South to Missouri with his black slave.\footnote{85} There is a strong indication that even Joseph Smith, himself, by the late 1830's may have held a slave or at least utilized the services of a black servant while in Missouri.\footnote{86} Finally, the Saints in manifesting their anti-abolitionist sentiments in a more restrained fashion during this period were probably responding to the emergence of a more tranquil and less emotional mood in American society over such questions. By the late 1830's Americans were not as agitated over the issues of abolitionism and anti-abolitionism as had been the case earlier.\footnote{87}

The shift of the Latter-day Saints from their initial anti-slavery tendencies to an anti-abolitionist position during the 1830's was significant for several reasons. This shift represented a Mormon effort to make the best of a difficult situation. During the 1830's the controversy over slavery and abolitionism occupied the attention of Americans. As a result, many individuals and groups were compelled to take sides in this controversy. For the Saints, detached neutrality would have been the ideal and logical stance. However, such a position was impossible for the Saints during the 1830's because of their geographic proximity to the centers of the controversy. The Mormon presence in the slaveholding
state of Missouri, pushed the church toward a pro-slavery position or at
least a tolerant attitude toward the Peculiar Institution. In addition,
the Saints were forced to react to the problem created by the location
of their church headquarters in Kirtland, Ohio on the Western Reserve.
This region was a hotbed of abolitionist activity throughout the 1830's.
Also, the Mormons, like the abolitionists whom they denounced, were per-
secuted and suffered at the hands of organized mobs throughout the 1830's.
The Saints, therefore, had enough troubles without taking on the added
onus of abolitionism. Besides, millennialistic-minded Latter-day Saint
leaders possibly felt that Mormon endorsement of any anti-slavery crusade
would divert energies away from their central mission of gathering the
Saints and preparing for the end of the world and Second Coming.

The Mormon shift to an anti-abolitionist position during the 1830's
was also significant in that it helped to focus increased Latter-day Saint
attention on the larger question of the black man and his place in American
society and within the church. Latter-day Saint leaders became increasingly
interested in the black man's role and in black biblical counterfigures
throughout the period 1830-1839, a development discussed in the following
section.
1 As briefly discussed in Appendix A. Also see S. George Ellsworth, "A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada, 1830-1860" (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of California, 1951) for a careful study of the geographic breakdown of church membership during this period.

2 William Mulder in "Mormonism's 'Gathering': An American Doctrine with a Difference," Church History, XXII (September, 1954), 248-64 discusses the importance of the "gathering" in Mormon history.

3 This was done through "revelation" later incorporated in the Doctrine and Covenants, 57.

4 "Semi-official" in that it spoke for the church but was not under the direct editorial supervision of Joseph Smith and other church leaders not living in Missouri. In this I disagree with Loy Otis Banks who suggests that the Star was a private undertaking published and edited outside of the church. See "The Evening and Morning Star," Missouri Historical Review, XLIII (1949), 324.


6 Perhaps Phelps was influenced in part by the strong anti-Masonic tendencies of this work.

7 As proclaimed by Joseph Smith through revelation, Doctrine and Covenants, 57:11.

8 Evening and Morning Star (Independence, Missouri), October 1832, May 1833, June 1833.

9 Banks, "The Evening and Morning Star," 324-5.

10 Bowen, 40.

11 Doctrine and Covenants, 87:1,3.

12 Ibid., 87:4.

13 Joseph Smith, Jr. to N.E. Sextus, January 7, 1833, Joseph Smith, Jr., Letterbooks, L.D.S. Church Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah. Italics in original.
14. *Evening and Morning Star*, January 1833. This was the case despite the fact that Phelps apparently recorded this revelation in a bound manuscript volume ("Book B") sometime after June 12, 1833 while in Independence. It also appears that Phelps made at least two other manuscript copies of this same revelation during the 1830's. See Earl E. Olson, "The Chronology of the Ohio Revelations," *B.Y.U. Studies*, XI. (Summer 1971), 333,335,338.

15. Orson Pratt, an early Apostle and prominent missionary, claimed that he knew of this revelation in 1833. According to his recollections, given in the late 1860's and 1870's, Pratt familiarized the Saints in Missouri with various manuscript revelations (including this one) during the 1830's. Pratt also remembered how he "carried forth" this revelation in the process of his extensive missionary activities throughout the United States and Canada. See *Journal of Discourses*, Orson Pratt, 12, August 11, 1867; 13, April 10, 1870; 17, February 28, 1875; 18, August 26, 1876, February 25, 1877. Wilford Woodruff also an early Apostle and later Mormon Church President, gave a somewhat more limited recollection of his experiences with this revelation. Woodruff recalled in 1871 that "I wrote [copied] this revelation twenty-five years before the rebellion [Civil War] took place; other also wrote it..." *Journal of Discourses*, Wilford Woodruff, 14, January 1, 1871.

16. This revelation unlike most of the other revelations given by Joseph Smith was not initially published in the early editions of the *Doctrine and Covenants* but instead was compiled and presented in the *Pearl of Great Price*, in 1851, along with the "lost" Biblical Books of Moses and Abraham (to be discussed in Chapter 3). This was the case despite the fact that his prophecy was included along with Smith's other pronouncements in a bound manuscript volume, the "Kirtland Revelations," compiled by Fredrick G. Williams, an early church scribe. Earl E. Olson, 333-34.

17. Phelps' motives for publishing this significant article will be discussed in Chapter 3.


19. Ibid.

20. As quoted in the *Star*, December 1833.

21. *Evening and Morning Star*, "Extra", July 20, 1833. In his reference to past and possible future slave rebellions, Phelps was possibly thinking of Nat Turner's rebellion and/or Joseph Smith's "Revelation and Prophecy on War."

22. For an examination of the causes and consequences of the Mormon expulsion from Jackson County in 1833 see Warren A. Jennings, "Factors in the Destruction of the Mormon Press in Missouri, 1833," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXXV (Winter, 1967), 57-76.
23. Evening and Morning Star, December 1833.

24. Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate, (Kirtland, Ohio), April 1835.

25. Ibid., August 1835.

26. This anti-abolitionist resolution was not a "revelation" but was part of a section entitled "A Declaration of Belief regarding Governments and Laws in General" near the end of the early editions of the Doctrine and Covenants. Eventually this declaration was incorporated in section 134:12 of this work where it remains today.

27. This publication was initially edited by Fredrick W. Williams, a church scribe and counselor to Joseph Smith in the First Presidency. Williams, like so many early Saints, had New England roots, born in Connecticut in 1787. At the age of 12 his family migrated west and settled in Cleveland, Ohio. As he grew older, Williams became a farmer and then became interested in medicine. He eventually moved to Kirtland where he purchased a farm and continued his medical practice. Williams who was economically well off helped the church financially. Through his help the church was able to set up a printing facility to replace the one destroyed at Independence. See Fredrick G. Williams, "Fredrick Granger Williams of the First Presidency of the Church," B.Y.U. Studies, XII (Spring, 1972), 243-61. Oliver Cowdery eventually succeeded Williams as editor.

28. Northern Times (Kirtland, Ohio), October 9, 1835.

29. Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate, November 1835. If the master refused to allow the missionary to preach "the responsibility be upon the head of the master of that house and the consequences thereof; and the guilt of that house is no longer upon thy skirts. Thou art free; therefore, shake off the dust of thy feet, and go thy way.

30. Ibid.


32. Although Oliver Cowdery as editor of the Northern Times, expressed his concern over the abolitionist-anti-abolitionist question on at least two occasions in February 1836 and wrote editorials to that effect. See Leonard J. Arrington, "Oliver Cowdery's Kirtland, Ohio 'Sketch Book'," B.Y.U. Studies, XII (Summer, 1972), 421-22. Entries for February 2 and 4, 1836.

33. Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate, April 1836.
34. Ibid., Genesis 9:25-26, Ephesians 6:1-9, I Timothy 6:1-5. By quoting Genesis, an attempt was made to link the black man's alleged descent from Ham and Canaan with his present condition of servitude. Various aspects of Mormon racial theories and attitudes toward the black man will be discussed in Chapter 3.

35. Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate, April and May 1836.


38. Latter Day Saint Messenger and Advocate, July 1835.


42. Thomas E. Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America (New Haven, Conn., 1950), 132-3, 144-5.


44. The importance of Oberlin and the Western Reserve in the northern anti-slavery crusade is discussed in Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, The Anti-Slavery Impulse 1830-1844 (New York, 1964); Dwight L. Dumond, The Anti-Slavery Origins of the Civil War (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1939 and W.G. Burroughs, "Oberlin's Part in the Slavery Conflict," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XX (1911), 269-83. It is worth noting that Lorenzo Snow, who was to become an Apostle and President of the church, was a student at Oberlin College before joining the Latter-day Saint movement in June 1836. Barrett, Joseph Smith and the Restoration, 327-8.
45 Edward Coleman Reilley, "The Early Slavery Controversy in the Western Reserve" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1940), 160.

46 Chardon Spectator and Geauga Gazette (Chardon, Ohio), July 10, 1835 reprinted in the Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate, June 1835, and the Philadelphia Courier (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), August 2, 1834 reprinted in the Messenger and Advocate, December 1835. The Saints were probably also aware and concerned about the religious-millennialistic appeals by the local (Geauga County) anti-slavery society which attacked those religious groups or "professing Christians who pray for the universal spread of the gospel and the speedy commencement of the millennium, while they at the same time oppose the abolition of slavery, exhibit a striking instance of the inconsistency of the human character." Painsville Republican (Painsville, Ohio), September 28, 1837.

47 Barnes, The Anti-Slavery Impulse, 104-5 and Doctrine and Covenants, 107:25. In the formation of the "Seventy" and Seventies" both the abolitionists and Mormons were apparently influenced by the example of Jesus in the New Testament who appointed and ordained seventy missionaries to go out and preach the Gospel. See St. Luke 10:11-20.


49 Doctrine and Covenants, Section 87. It is interesting to note that such Mormon anarchistic-millennialistic expectations concerning slavery and a future black-white racial conflict were hauntingly similar to those of Nat Turner as expressed in his Confessions of 1831.

50 As quoted in Francis D. Nichol, The Midnight Cry (Washington, D.C., 1964), 58. According to Whitney Cross, 318-19, William Miller reacted negatively to abolitionism as well as other reform movements because he was afraid that such activities would distract the faithful from their primary task of preparing for the end of the world.


52 As outlined in the non-Mormon abolitionist publication Philanthropist (Cincinnati, Ohio), April 22, 1836. This reception was in sharp contrast to the opposition and mob violence which he was given in many other northern Ohio communities during his organizing campaigns of 1836.
See Myers, Anti-Slavery Activities of Five Lane Seminary Boys in 1835-36," The Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, XXI (April, 1963), 101-02.

53 Ibid., 102; Reilly, "The Early Slavery Controversy in the Western Reserve," 155-66. It is difficult to determine the number of Mormons among this eighty-six. I have been unable to secure a complete name list. One available source gives only the names of two officers in the local Kirtland society—D. Hartindale and Samuel Billings. Neither of these individuals apparently belonged to the Mormon Church. See Robert Price, "The Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention of 1836," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XLV (1936), 173-88.

54 Latter Day Saint Messenger and Advocate, April 1836. Joseph Smith and other church leaders were also afraid that the Mormon failure to react in a violent or mob-like fashion against Alvord would be misinterpreted as a Latter-day Saint endorsement of abolitionist principles. Joseph Smith explained "I fear that the sound might go out, that "an Abolitionist" had held forth several times to this community, and that the public feeling was not aroused to create mobs or disturbances, leaving the impression that all he said was concurred in, and received as Gospel, and the word of Salvation." Mirroring similar L.D.S. tensions between anti-abolitionism and non-violence, another Mormon anti-abolitionist leader declared, "however erroneous his [Alvord's] principles may be...none should molest or make him afraid." Latter Day Saint Messenger and Advocate, April 1836.

55 Ibid. Italics in original.


57 As quoted in the Evening and Morning Star, December 1833.

58 Ibid., January 1834.

59 Ibid.

60 Illinois Advocate and State Register (Springfield, Illinois), November 23, 1833; Vermont Intelligencer (Bells Falls, Vermont), August 24, 1833; The Wayne Sentinel (Palmyra, New York), August 23, 1833. Also see the Maysville Eagle (Maysville, Kentucky) as reprinted in the Daily National Intelligencer (Washington, D.C.), July 23, 1834.

61 In addition, the Saints were possibly influenced by talk of returning and "redeeming" their "Zion" in Independence. According to one source the date set for such a return was September 11, 1836. See Joseph Smith History of the Church, 2, 145.
Reprinted in the Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate, August, 1836.

Ibid. It is interesting to note that the Clay County Saints in quoting from the August 1835 statement took a harder line than that intended by the original declaration: "We do not believe it right to interfere with bond servants nor preach the gospel to, nor meddle with, or influence them in the least to cause to be dissatisfied with their situation in this life." By omitting the phrase "nor baptize them contrary to the will or wish of their master" they seemed to close the possibility of baptizing black slaves (at least for the time being in Clay County). Compare with Doctrine and Covenants 134:12.

Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate, August 1836.


Merkel, 242-46.

Ibid., 239-46.

Savage, 373-5; Merkel, 246.

Harrison Anthony Trexler, Slavery in Missouri 1804-1865 (Baltimore, Maryland, 1914), 226-7; Savage, 315-17.

There were indications of lingering Mormon anti-slavery feeling even after the events of July 1833. Joseph Smith through revelations in August 1833 explained that the United States Constitution supported the "principle of freedom in maintaining rights and privileges" for "all mankind." In another revelation, in December 1833, Smith proclaimed, "Therefore, it is not right that any man should be in bondage one to another." See Doctrine and Covenants 98:5, 101:79. W.W. Phelps in one of his periodic letters boasted that the Saints didn't have to depend on slave labor, and a Mormon missionary lamented about the "power of tyranny that exists in the slave states." Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate, November 1834.


_Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate_, November 1835, April 1836.

_Ibid._, April 1836.

_Ibid._

Only 200 church members out of an estimated total membership of 16,100 by 1839, came from the South during the period 1835-39. See James A. Clark, "A Study of the Significance of Newspaper in Mental Contacts between Mormons and Non-Mormons 1824-1850" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1944), 167; Berrett, 168-69; Ellsworth, 335-36.

_Elders Journal_ (Kirtland, Ohio, Far West, Missouri), November 1837, July 1838. This question was first posed in the November 1837 issue of the _Journal_ but not answered until July 1838. The reason for the delay was that this periodical, which replaced the _Messenger and Advocate_ as the official church journal, was initially issued in Ohio but had its publication interrupted by serious divisions within the church in late 1837. The _Journal_ resumed publication in Missouri in July 1838.

Sydney Rigdon, _Oration Delivered by Mr. S. Rigdon, on the 4th of July 1838, at Far West Caldwell County, Missouri_ (Far West, Missouri, 1838), 8; Parley P. Pratt, _Mormonism Unveiled_ (New York, 1838), 39.


_Missouri Republican_, August 25, 1838. Even here it was done in a conjectural and indirect manner. This periodical described the Mormons as "most of whom we believe are abolitionists" and talked about expelling "Mormons, abolitionists and disorderly persons" from the county.

John Corrill, _Brief History of the Church of Latter-day Saints_ (St. Louis, Missouri, 1839), 47.


85 Wilford Woodruff, "Journal," September 19, 1836, original in L.D.S. Church Historical Department.

86 As suggested in an affidavit given by Thomas B. Marsh in 1839. In this document Marsh recalled the reaction of Joseph Smith to the withdrawal of non-Mormons from an area taken over by the Saints as follows: "When [Lyman] Wight returned from Mill Port [sic] and informed Smith that the people were gone and the property left, Smith asked him if they had left any negroes for them [the Saints], and Wight replied, no; upon which someone laughed and said to Smith, "You have lost your negro then." Reprinted in Leland H. Gentry, "A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri from 1836 to 1839," 413. In addition, David Whitmer, an early church leader and intimate to Joseph Smith, became a slaveholder after leaving the church and taking up residence in Missouri after 1838. Ebbie L.V. Richardson, "David Whitmer: A Witness to the Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1952), 12-13.

87 Leonard L. Richards, Gentlemen of Property and Standing, 155-65.
Chapter III

THE BLACK MAN WITHIN MORMONISM AND BLACK BIBLICAL COUNTERFIGURES 1830-39

During the 1830's as the Latter-day Saints were caught up in the slavery controversy and assumed an anti-abolitionist position, the church through its leaders and spokesmen became increasingly concerned about the black man on two additional levels. First of all, many churchmen found themselves, for the first time, forced to deal in a direct way with the status of the black man within Mormonism. At the same time, Joseph Smith and other Mormons became increasingly interested in the black man as a Biblical counterfigure—in both contemporary and historical terms.

Initially, the status of the black man within Mormonism did not differ from that of any other ethnic group. As an object for probable Mormon salvation, the black man fell within the purview of Mormon universalism. The Book of Mormon, as previously indicated, proclaimed a basic desire to preach the Gospel of Mormonism among all peoples, black as well as white, explaining that "all men are privileged the one like unto the other and none are forbidden." This same universalism was also expressed in the revelations given by Joseph Smith during the 1830's and incorporated as part of the canonized Doctrine and Covenants. Such Mormon scriptural universalism was manifested in four basic ways: (1) Divine universal will (2) the alleged widespread appeal of the Mormon gospel (3) instructions to the missionaries to preach to all mankind and (4) the inclusion of all peoples in the Mormon Gathering. According to Mormon scripture, the voice of the Lord was "unto all men...all flesh" was His, and He was "no
respeci of persons."² As for the gospel, it was "free unto all what-
soever nation, kindred, [or] tongue."³ "All those who humble themselves
before God" were to "be received by baptism into his Church," even the
"heathen nations."⁴ Mormon missionaries were instructed to go "into all
the world" to the "uttermost parts of the earth" and preach the gospel
"unto every creature . . . both old and young, both bond and free."⁵ Final-
ly, in the Mormon gathering to Zion the righteous from "every nation under
heaven" would be pushed together "from the ends of the earth" and "invited"
to "a supper of the house of the Lord."⁶

In addition to Joseph Smith, other church spokesmen expressed these
same universalistic desires. One of the most prominent exponents of Mor-
mon universalism was Parley Parker Pratt. Along with his younger brother,
Orson, Parley became an important missionary, a prolific pamphleteer, and
interpreter of church doctrine.⁷ Like so many of their fellow Saints,
the Pratts came from a New England-New York background. Their family,
like that of Joseph Smith's, had struggled to make a living from farming
and other activities.⁸ As a young man, Parley migrated to Ohio in the
1820's and settled near Cleveland. There he became a preacher in the new-
ly formed Campbellite movement. In 1830, while performing his religious
duties, he obtained a copy of the Book of Mormon, and becoming convinced
of its truthfulness, he joined the young Mormon Church. Parley and his
brother Orson became active missionaries and in 1835 were ordained Apostles
in the newly formed Council of Twelve, initially a missionary body, but
destined to become an important center of power within the church.⁹ Parley
exercised his talents as a writer through a number of tracts published
during this period. In these he expressed a desire to preach the gospel
"to all people, kindred, tongues, and nations without any exception."¹⁰
Through poetry he outlined the "mission of the Twelve" to all nations,
including those on "India's and Afric's sultry plains...where darkness, death and sorrow reign."\textsuperscript{11}

These universalistic sentiments were also expressed in the Mormon periodicals published during this period. W.W. Phelps wrote in the \textit{Evening and Morning Star} that the Lord had "some choice souls among every nation, kindred, [and] tongue" who must "hear his voice and be gathered to Zion."\textsuperscript{12} He looked forward to the time when Mormon missionaries would preach throughout the world with "some [sent] to Africa."\textsuperscript{13}

Scriptural instructions in the \textit{Messenger and Advocate} ordered the Mormons to go "into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."\textsuperscript{14} "All the families of the earth", according to this same periodical, were to be "blessed...whether they are the descendants of Shem, Ham, or Japheth."\textsuperscript{15} In tracing universalism through the history of the true Gospel, the \textit{Messenger and Advocate} discovered the Gospel's order was the same; it produced the same effect among all people, whether they were Seythian, Barbarian, bond or free, Jew or Gentile, Greek or Roman, it mattered not what they were; for in this respect, there was neither Greek nor Jew, bond nor free, male nor female; but they were all one in Christ Jesus, and the same blessing belonged to all, and the same fruits followed all, and the order was the same, whether it was in Africa, Asia, or Europe.\textsuperscript{16}

This universalism appeared in the first Mormon hymnal, published in 1835, which exhorted the Saints to spread the Gospel "throughout Europe, and Asia's dark regions, to China's far shores, and to Afric's black legions."\textsuperscript{17}

These universalistic sentiments apparently carried over into the actual relations between the black man and the Ohio Saints during the 1830's. According to one contemporary non-Mormon observer, the Mormons in Ohio maintained "the natural equality of [all] mankind without excepting the native Indians or the African race."\textsuperscript{18}

The Saints seemed to anticipate the black man's presence in their
recently completed temple at Kirtland. This temple's initial rules of conduct, adopted in 1836, provided for "old or young, rich or poor, male or female, bond or free, black or white, believer or unbeliever."19

In this atmosphere, at least two blacks joined the early church in Ohio and left their marks on Mormonism. One of these was Elijah Abel. Born in 1808 in Frederick County, Maryland, Abel later migrated to Ohio and in 1832 joined the Mormon movement.20 Not much is known about Abel's church activities during the 1830's. It is clear, however, that Abel was ordained an Elder in the Mormon priesthood on March 3, 1836.21 Later that same year he was listed in the Messenger and Advocate, along with a number of other Mormon priesthood holders, as a licenced "minister of the Gospel." Also in 1836, Abel was promoted to the rank of a Seventy.22 Abel was the first and one of very few blacks to receive the Mormon priesthood. Abel's significance and his unique position within Mormonism was not evident at this time. A black Mormon who generated more immediate controversy was "Black Pete." Through his activities as a self-styled "revelator", Pete attracted a great deal of attention in the contemporary non-Mormon press.23 Unfortunately, little is known about his background. It is not even clear whether Pete, like Abel, actually held the Mormon priesthood. Whatever the case, the black revelator was involved in at least one incident which caused two early Saints to remember him. In one account, Black Pete, through his "wild ideas" and "unnatural" distortions:

> got sight of one of those revelations carried by a black angel, he started after it, and ran off a steep wash bank twenty-five feet high, passed through a tree top into the Chagrin river beneath. He came out with a few scratches, and his ardor somewhat cooled...24

Another Saint recalled that Black Pete along with others exercised an unnatural "spirit" during a time when important church authorities were
not around. When Joseph Smith and other leaders returned to Kirtland
Black Pete and the other offending Mormons were "tried for the fellowship;
and those who would not repent and forsake it the evil spirit were cut
off."25

Despite the notice and controversy engendered by the activities of
Black Pete and Elijah Abel, the number of blacks within the church in
Ohio was probably very small.26 While Mormon universalistic rhetoric
encouraged the gathering of all kindreds and tongues including the black
man, Ohio's anti-black law and regulations undoubtedly diminished the
feasibility of any large scale black migration. Ohio statutes, which had
been enacted in 1804 and 1807, limited the migration of free blacks into
the state and required the posting of a $500 bond for each and every black
person who did so.27 During the 1830's, moreover, state authorities made
an effort to severely enforce these statutes in the face of continuing
black migration into the state.28 Such enforcement, combined with economic
difficulties within the Mormon movement during this same period, made the
encouragement of any large black Mormon "gathering" to Ohio utterly impracti-
cal. From a social point of view, the Saints were probably also reluctant
to encourage any large scale migration of free blacks to Kirtland. The
black man, along with the anti-slavery zealot, was a prime object of northern
anti-abolitionist mob violence during the 1830's and the Saints, there-
fore, were probably anxious to avoid an identification with him.

The question of the black man's status within the church also con-
fronted the Mormons in Missouri. In the spirit of Latter-day Saint univer-
salism, initial preaching in Missouri was directed toward an audience made
up of "specimens of all of the families of the earth; Shem, Ham, and Japheth
including "quite a respectable number of negroes--descendants of Ham."29
Expressing this same desire to preach to all peoples, Parley P. Pratt recalled that on one occasion, while travelling to Missouri by steamer, a group of passengers asked him to preach. Pratt agreed only on one condition:

that steerage passengers, boat hands, fire men and all classes black or white, should have the privilege of assembling in the cabin to hear the discourse.30

The publication of "Free People of Color" by W.W. Phelps in July 1833 was probably the most dramatic expression of Mormon universalism or desire to gather all peoples, including blacks, to their Missouri Zion. At the same time, however, this article graphically illustrated the complications inherent in such an undertaking. "Free People of Color" was, in the words of the Star, printed

To prevent any misunderstanding among the churches abroad, respecting free people of color, who may think of coming to the Western boundaries of Missouri as members of the church...31

The article then quoted a number of relevant clauses from the laws of Missouri. These stipulated that a "free negro or mulatto" could enter the state only if he was an American citizen and a "certificate of citizenship" attesting to this fact. The failure to produce such a certificate upon request could result in a fine of five hundred dollars. The editor of the Star then concluded:

So long as we have no special rule in the church, as to people of color, let prudence guide; and while they, as well as we, are in the hands of merciful God, we say: Shun every appearance of evil.

While it is clear that "Free People of Color" touched upon the status of the black man within Mormonism, the exact motives behind the publication of this article are difficult to determine. It has been suggested that the Saints by printing the restrictions on the "free negro or mulatto"32
in Missouri were trying to tell their non-Mormon neighbors that they endorsed the prevailing anti-black attitudes. Strong hostility toward the free black had been evident ever since Missouri had applied for statehood in 1819-20. At that time Missouri citizens had hoped to include a provision in their proposed state constitution which would prohibit any and all free blacks from migrating into the state. The desire for such a clause had triggered animated controversy. Finally under the Compromise of 1820, Missouri agreed to allow the migration of free blacks into the state, but only under severe statutory limitations. These statutes, as reprinted by the Saints in the July 1833 issue of the Star, were still very much in force during the 1830's.

This explanation, however, is not completely satisfactory. The article instead of reassuring non-Mormon Missourians that the Saints supported the prevailing anti-free black position, could at best be interpreted as evidence of an ambivalent Mormon attitude toward the free black. That is, the Saints were not against free black Mormons migrating into the state, but wanted all prospective black migrants to be aware of those Missouri statutes that might hamper their journey. The non-Mormon residents of Jackson County, however, didn't view the article in such an ambivalent light. They believed that "Free People of Color" was intended to invite "negroes and mulattoes from other states to become 'Mormons' and settle among us." Phelps in an "Extra" edition of the Star attempted to repair the damage done by his original article:

Having learned with extreme regret, that an article entitled, "Free People of Color," in the last number of the Star, had been misunderstood, we feel in duty bound to state in this Extra, that our intention was not only to stop free people of color from emigrating to this state, but to prevent them from being admitted as members of the Church.
This new severe Mormon position was rejected by the citizens of Jackson County as a "weak attempt to quiet our apprehension." This coupled with Missouri anger over Phelps' twice stated opinion that "abolition" and "colonization" were "wonderful events", helped to trigger the Mormon expulsion from Jackson County. 37 Therefore, "Free People of Color," did irreparable harm and adversely affected Mormon-non-Mormon relations in Missouri that not even the "Extra" could reverse. If the Saints in printing "Free People of Color" had been primarily motivated by a desire to inform and assure the non-Mormons of the county of their anti-black attitudes, they would have, in all likelihood, structured this article in the clear, concise manner of the "Extra." Moreover, the timing of the original article brings into question possible anti-black motives. If Missouri church leaders wanted to assure their non-Mormon neighbors that they stood "right" with them on the issue of free blacks in Missouri, why did they wait until July 1833, over a year after the Star first commenced publication in Missouri, to inform them of that fact?

It has been suggested that "Free People of Color" was motivated by Missouri Mormon expectations of an imminent migration of black Mormons into the state from abroad. 38 The remarks accompanying this article were indeed part of a larger section containing general information about what church members outside of Missouri could expect upon their arrival. All these remarks were addressed: "The Elders Stationed in Zion to the Churches Abroad in Love, Greeting." 39 There is, however, apparently nothing in the contemporary journals or correspondence of principal church leaders to suggest that Elijah Abel, "Black Pete" or any other free black Mormon was contemplating migration to Missouri. 40 In fact, the total number of free black Mormons who could have participated in any such migration appears
to have been very small. Parley P. Pratt estimated in his later recollection that:

One dozen free negroes or mulattoes never have belonged to our society in any part of the world, from its first organization to this date, 1839.41

"Free People of Color" was probably not motivated by the anticipation of particular black Mormons migrating to Missouri, but rather by general Mormon expectations. Perhaps, Phelps and other officials in the course of presiding over a Mormon settlement which was growing at a dramatic rate, felt that the influx of free black Saints would inevitably come as part of the ever increasing flow of Mormon migrants into the state.42 Phelps may have also been caught up in the universal-millennialistic rhetoric, so much a part of Mormon thinking at this time and the belief that the literal gathering of all peoples and races to Zion was imminent.43 Phelps, mesmerized by such universal-millennialistic rhetoric against the heady background of rapid Mormon growth in Missouri, may have become oblivious to the possible consequences of his controversial article. Such considerations, Phelps may have reasoned, were out-weighed by his primary responsibility to explain to potential black Mormon migrants Missouri statutory obstacles.44 Despite confusion over the origins of "Free People of Color," this article represented the earliest known Latter-day Saint effort to specifically discuss the role and place of the black man within Mormonism.

Certain writers have suggested that the church inaugurated the practice of black priesthood denial during the 1830's. They maintained that the complications resulting from "Free People of Color" and other Mormon Missouri difficulties caused the church to shift from "no special rule" with regard to "people of color" to the establishment of an inferior status for the black man within Mormonism. While conceding that W.W. Phelps went
too far in suggesting the existence of an absolute Mormon ban on black membership in the church, these writers believe that steps were taken during the 1830's to prohibit the ordination of black Mormon males to the church priesthood, a lay organization open to all other male members of the church in good standing.45

The 1879 recollections of Zebedee Coltrin and Abraham O. Smoot have been used as the basic evidence to prove that such a ban was inaugurated during the 1830's.46 According to Coltrin, the question of the black man's priesthood status came up in 1834 while he was in Missouri and during the course of a discussion with another church member—J.P. Greene. Greene argued that the black man had "a right to the priesthood," while Coltrin maintained that he had "no right." The debate became so heated that Greene accused Coltrin of "preaching false doctrine" and threatened to report Coltrin to Joseph Smith once they returned to Ohio. Coltrin then recalled:

And when we got to Kirtland, we both went to Brother Joseph's office together to make our returns, and Brother Green[e] was as good as his word and reported to Brother Joseph that I said the Negro could not hold the priesthood. Brother Joseph kind of dropped his head and rested it on his hand for a minute, and then said, 'Brother Zebedee is right, for the spirit of the Lord saith the Negro has no right nor cannot hold the Priesthood.' He made no reference to Scripture at all, but such was his decision.47

Smoot in his recollections also described how the subject of black priesthood ordination came up again in 1835 and later in 1836 while he and three other Mormons were laboring as missionaries in the South.48 According to Smoot, some "Negroes...made application for baptism, and the question arose with them whether Negroes were entitled to hold the Priesthood." It was decided that the priesthood would not be conferred upon these blacks until Joseph Smith's opinion was solicited. "His decision," as Smoot "understood was, they [the Negroes] were not entitled to the Priesthood, nor yet to
be baptized without the consent of their Masters." Smoot also recalled that he conferred personally with Joseph Smith on this subject again two years later, following the movement of the church headquarters from Kirtland to Far West, Missouri in 1838.

I received from Brother Joseph substantially the same instructions. It was on my application to him, what should be done with the Negro in the South, as I was preaching to them. He said I could baptize them by consent of their masters, but not to confer the priesthood upon them.

The Coltrin-Smoot recollections while serving as the basic "proof" for those who argue that a church-wide practice of priesthood denial for the black man was inaugurated during the 1830's are, however, open to serious questions. There appears to be no corroborating contemporary historical evidence to support directly the assertions made by Coltrin and Smoot in 1879. Joseph Smith did not directly deal with the question of priesthood ordination for the black man in any of his revelations or scriptural writings during the 1830's or even the 1840's.

There is nothing in the available journals or correspondence of Smith, as examined by this writer, to suggest that the Mormon prophet was ever concerned with this question. Latter-day Saint periodicals and tract literature published during the 1830's did not even mention the so-called black priesthood question.

Significantly, even the available contemporary journals and correspondence of Coltrin and Smoot in the 1830's do not discuss the black man in terms of his status within the Mormon priesthood. Finally, the ordinations of Elijah Abel to the office of Elder in March 1836, followed by his elevation to the higher rank of Seventy in November 1836 took place two years after the date Coltrin alleges Joseph Smith told him the black man "cannot hold the priesthood."

Therefore, outside of the questionable Coltrin-Smoot recollections of 1879, there is nothing to suggest a change in church practices with regard to
Mormon-black priesthood ordination analogous to the concurrent shift from initial anti-slavery tendencies to anti-abolitionism.\textsuperscript{54}

At the same time that the Latter-day Saints became increasingly concerned about the black man's status within the Mormon movement, they became interested in the black man on a scriptural or Biblical level. Joseph Smith led the way in expressing a lively concern for certain Old Testament, often dark-skinned counterfigures. Through his writings of this period, first the Book of Moses and later the Book of Abraham, Smith discussed the activities of certain counterfigures. These individuals or groups were often identified or came to be associated with the contemporary black man.

Joseph Smith initially presented his views through the Book of Moses—a work considered a "correction" or supplement to the Old Testament.\textsuperscript{55} This work contained a detailed description of Satan and his activities. Satan would, in time, come to be affiliated with the black man, in the Mormon mind.\textsuperscript{56} Satan, identified in the Book of Moses as a "fallen" Son of God, had a direct, corrupting influence on various individuals and groups causing them to become "carnal, sensual, and devilish."\textsuperscript{57} Satan was pictured as the "father" of those who were wicked and unrighteous.\textsuperscript{58} He "had a great chain in his hand, and it veiled the whole face of the earth with darkness."\textsuperscript{59}

The Book of Moses also detailed the deeds or misdeeds, of Cain and his wicked descendants; a set of counterfigures, who, in time, came to be identified in the Mormon mind as the alleged ancestors of the present day black man.\textsuperscript{60} The Book of Moses discounted the murder of Abel by Cain as a spontaneous outburst of anger, but the product of a carefully planned conspiracy between Cain and Satan.\textsuperscript{61} As punishment, Cain was "cursed from
the earth" to be "a fugitive and a vagabond." In addition, "the Lord set a mark upon Cain" and he "was shut out from the presence of the Lord." The activities of Cain's descendants were also described in an unfavorable light. Lamech, one such descendant, like Cain entered into a "covenant with Satan" and killed one of his relatives. Lamech carried out this deed as a member of a "secret combination" whose "works were in the dark." For this deed, Lamech was "cursed", along with "his house," by the Lord and "was despised and cast out" from "among the sons of man." In a later reference, the "Prophecy of Enoch," the descendants of Cain were described as a segregated, dark-skinned people:

And Enoch also beheld the residue of the people which were the sons of Adam; and they were a mixture of all the seed of Adam save it was the seed of Cain, for the seed of Cain were black, and had not place among them.

A third group of Biblical counterfigures examined in this work were the "people of Cainan." This group, like the descendants of Cain, would also be identified with the contemporary black man even though they allegedly descended from Seth, a righteous son of Adam. The "people of Cainan... dwelt in the land of Cainan...a land of promise" and "righteousness... by the sea east." The people of Cainan became unrighteous according to the prophet Enoch, who looked ahead and prophesied their future activities. According to Enoch's prophecy, the people of Cainan would go into battle against the people of Shum, "a great people," and "utterly" destroy them. It was predicted that the "people of Cainan" would then "divide themselves in the land," but the land would be "barren and unfruitful, and none other people shall dwell there but the people of Cainan." Divine displeasure would then be expressed:

For behold, the Lord shall curse the land with much heat, and the barrenness thereof shall go forth forever; and there
was a blackness came upon all the children of Cainan, that they were despised among all people.\textsuperscript{70} The people of Cainan were apparently not considered fit objects for salvation, for "Enoch continued to call upon all the people, save it were the people of Cainan, to repent." These writings seemed to suggest that the plight of the people of Cainan was part of "a curse" that "went forth ... upon all people that fought against God."\textsuperscript{71}

Joseph Smith's Book of Moses was also concerned with the activities of Ham and his son Canaan, already identified by the Saints and other Biblical literalists as the ancestors of the contemporary black man. In the early part of this text, Ham was described as an individual who, along with his father and two brothers, "walked with God.\textsuperscript{72} However, after the Great Deluge, Ham became unrighteous as demonstrated by his act of looking upon "the nakedness of his father," Noah, while the latter was "drunken" with wine in his tent. Ham then told his brothers Shem and Japheth of their father's condition. When Noah "awoke from his wine and knew what his younger son had done unto him," he "cursed," not Ham, but Canaan his grandson to be "a servant of servants ... unto his brethren.\textsuperscript{73} Then Noah said:

\begin{quote}
Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant, and a veil of darkness shall cover him, that he shall be known among all men.\textsuperscript{74}
\end{quote}

Joseph Smith through the Book of Abraham, written during the late 1830's but not published until 1842, discussed the activities of a number of additional scriptural counterfigures related to the black man. The Book of Abraham was primarily concerned with the activities of the Prophet Abraham and his unrighteous "fathers" in the "land of the Chaldeans"—people with tenuous, but significant links with Ham and other alleged ancestors.
of the contemporary black man. More important, this work briefly discussed the activities of Pharaoh and the Egyptian people, identified with the same Hametic ancestors of the black man. Pharaoh was described as "a descendant from the loins of Ham and...a partaker of the blood of the Canaanites by birth." This account also attempted to elaborate further on the racial and ethnic origins of the Egyptian people themselves:

From this descent of Pharaoh sprang all the Egyptians, and thus the blood of the Canaanites was preserved in the land.

The land of Egypt being first discovered by a woman who was the daughter of Ham, and the daughter of Egyptus, which in Chaldean signifies Egypt, which signifies that which is forbidden.

When this woman discovered the land it was under water, who afterwards settled her sons in it and thus from Ham sprang the curse in the land.

The Book of Abraham, in a number of crucial verses, then discussed the extent of the Pharaoh's political power but more important the limits of his religious authority. The government "established by Pharaoh, the eldest son of Egyptus, the daughter of Ham" was set up "after the manner of the government of Ham which was patriarchal." Although Pharaoh was described as a "righteous man" who "judged his people wisely and justly" and was "blessed" by "his father...Noah...with the blessings of the earth, and with the blessings of wisdom," he was "cursed" by Noah "as pertaining to the priesthood." This was because Pharaoh was "of that lineage by which he could not have the right of priesthood notwithstanding the Pharaohs would fain claim it through Ham." These verses, while suggesting priesthood proscriptions for the descendants of Ham, were not used in the 1830's to deny the Mormon priesthood to the contemporary black man, contrary to the suggestions of certain writers. Eventually, however, this portion of the Book of Abraham would provide scriptural justification for black
priesthood denial. 81

Mormon scriptural preoccupation with certain Biblical, often black counterfigures was apparently motivated by three factors. First, the "building up" of eschatological opponents through Joseph Smith's Books of Moses and Abraham was a continuing characteristic of Mormonism as a millennialistic religion. Joseph Smith, as previously indicated, had registered his initial millennialistic interest in certain dark-skinned peoples through the pages of the Book of Mormon during the late 1820's. The extensive Scriptural discussions of Satan, Cain and his descendents, the people of Cainan, Ham and his progeny, and the idolatrous Egyptians, as contained in Smith's later writings, represent a continuing preoccupation with counterfigures, characteristic of millennialistic religions in general.

Secondly, Mormon interest in Biblical opponents or counterfigures was possibly the scriptural reflection of greater Latter-day Saint concern with their contemporary enemies. The 1830's was a time when Joseph Smith and his followers were confronted by both divisions within the church and anti-Mormon enemies on the outside. From within, Joseph Smith found his claims to Mormon authority challenged. Also, a number of individuals left the church in protest, including such important leaders as Oliver Cowdery and W.W. Phelps. Latter-day Saint leaders, as previously noted, also had to deal with outside, often violent hostility, in Missouri, Ohio and in other areas where the church was active.

These confrontations caused certain churchmen to look for parallels between their enemies and opponents, and various Biblical counterfigures. Oliver Cowdery explaining how the wrath of God fell on those who opposed His chosen people utilized Biblical analogies. He warned that the "Egyptians
...the posterity of Ham" had been swallowed up in the Red Sea for their opposition to God's Chosen People. For a similar offense, the "posterity of Canaan" felt the "shock" of God's divine punishment when the walls of Jericho came tumbling down. W.W. Phelps cautioned those who had apostatized or had been "cut off from the church or priesthood" that they would "not find an inheritance among the Saints of Most High." Their fate would be like that of certain Biblical counterfigures who found themselves "polluted" and "put from the priesthood." By 1835 Phelps shifted his discussion of contemporary opponents and Biblical counterfigures to a racial plain. In speculating about the fate of the apostate he asked:

Is or is it not apparent from reason and analogy as drawn from careful reading of the Scriptures, that God causes the Saints or people that fall away from his Church to be cursed in time, with a black skin?

In support of his theory, Phelps then asked:

Was or was not Cain, being marked, obliged to inherit the curse, he and his children forever? And if so, as Ham, like other sons of God, might break the rule of God, by marrying out of the church, did or did he not have a Canaanite wife, whereby some of the black seed was preserved through the flood, and his son, Canaan, after he had laughed at his grand father's nakedness, heired three curses: one from Cain for killing Abel; one from Ham for marrying a black wife, and one from Noah for ridiculing what God had respect for? Are or are not the Indians a sample of marking with blackness for rebellion against God's holy word and holy orders? And can we not observe in the countenances of almost all nations... a dark, sallow hue, which tells the sons of God, without a line of history, that they have fallen or changed from the original beauty and grace of father Abraham.

On a less abstract level Phelps pointed out that those who were persecuting the Saints "acted more heathenish" than "the untaught Hottentots." Joseph Smith in denouncing a number of prominent Saints who left the church noted:

One thing we have learned, that there are negroes who were [wear] white skins, as well as those who wear black ones.
The most important factor, however, behind the lively Mormon preoccupation with black Biblical counterfigures was increased Mormon awareness and involvement with the black man—both slave and free—during the 1830's. The Latter-day Saints, as outlined above, became embroiled with the questions of black slavery, abolitionism, as well as the status of the black man within the church and in American society at large. The Biblical counterfigures discussed in Joseph Smith's Books of Moses and Abraham, as contrasted with those earlier described in the Book of Mormon, reflected an increased Latter-day Saint interest in the black man. The Book of Mormon, as previously indicated, described the activities of the dark-skinned Lamanites, Amlicites, and Zoramites, believed to be the ancestors of the contemporary Indians; reflecting the intense concern of Joseph Smith and Americans in general, with this race of people during the 1820's. In turn, the Biblical counterfigures Cain, his descendants, the people of Cainan, the Egyptians, etc., as discussed in the Book of Moses and Abraham, were believed by some individuals both within and outside of the church to be the ancestors of the contemporary black man. An animated Mormon interest in these black Biblical counterfigures, therefore, probably reflected an increased concern with the status of slavery and the black man by American society in general and the Saints in particular during the 1830's.

Although increased Mormon concern with the black man, as reflected through the Books of Moses and Abraham was analogous to earlier Book of Mormon interest in the Indians, there were several important differences in Latter-day Saint perceptions of these two racial groups. In contrast to the Book of Mormon counterfigures, the Saints were less optimistic about possible racial regeneration and ultimate salvation for the dark-
skinned peoples discussed in Smith's later writings. These works, unlike the Book of Mormon, tended to discount the possibility of racial "improvement" e.g. transformation to a "white and delightsome" state for its dark-skinned subjects. By the 1830's, Joseph Smith and his fellow Saints moved away from their earlier, optimistic belief that a person's racial deformities, that is, his dark skin color and accompanying habits or behavior, could be "improved" by his exposure to righteous or "civilizing" elements. 87

Also departing from earlier Book of Mormon theories, later Latter-day Saint writings did not favor racial intern mixture as a method for bringing about racial improvement or regeneration. In contrast to earlier environmental racial theories, the Books of Moses and Abraham assigned an increased role to heredity and lineage, as factors in perpetuating the disadvantageous position of certain dark-skinned counterfigures. In a number of cases these people were not even considered fit objects for salvation. 88 This Old Testament particularism stood in sharp contrast to the Christian universalism expressed just a few years before in the Book of Mormon.

Mormon pessimism concerning racial regeneration and salvation for certain Biblical counterfigures appear to reflect increased Latter-day sensitivity to America's deepening racial difficulties after 1830. Before this date the Saints, along with most Americans, believed that red or even black skinned people could be uplifted and regenerated. In the end all mankind would become one, universal, white race. By the critical decade of the 1830's, however, racial regeneration no longer seemed possible. Racial internmixture or miscegenation was certainly out of the question as a means to bring about this regeneration. 89 Mormon writers such as W.W. Phelps seemed to believe that only the strict separation of blacks


and whites through compensated emancipation and colonization of the blacks abroad would solve America's race problem.

The decade of the 1830's, therefore, was an important time in the formation of Mormon attitudes toward the black man, race and slavery. For the first time the Saints were forced to deal with questions involving the black man and his status within Mormonism. Although the Saints did not establish an inferior place for the black man within the church at this time (contrary to the views of later writers), Joseph Smith and others alluded to a link between the present day black man and certain Biblical counterfigures. Such a black-Biblical counterfigure identification as articulated in various writings, especially the Book of Moses and Book of Abraham would, however, eventually provide the scriptural foundations upon which the Saints would establish and assert a subordinate Mormon status for the black man.

At the same time the Latter-day Saints moved away from their initial Book of Mormon anti-slavery tendencies to an anti-abolitionist position which they maintained throughout the 1830's. Toward the end of the 1830's this anti-abolitionism did become more muted. This helped to pave the way for emergence of Mormon anti-slavery tendencies during the following decade. This dislike would dominate Mormon thinking on involuntary servitude during the seven years after 1839 in much the same way that anti-abolitionism had been the predominant Latter-day Saint mood during the 1830's.
1Book of Mormon, 2 Nephi 26:28.

2Doctrine and Covenants, 1:2, 38:16. See also 1:10.

3Ibid., 10:51, See also 1:23, 1:34, 1:24.

4Ibid., 20:37, 45:154.


6Ibid., 45:69, 58:19 & 45. See also 45:71, 33:6.

7In this latter capacity, they were to fill a void created by the death of Joseph Smith in the period after 1844. The contributions of the Pratt brothers in this area will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 8.

8For a more detailed discussion of the early activities of Parley P. Pratt, see his Autobiography (Salt Lake City, 1873). Also see T. Edgar Lyon, "Orson Pratt--Early Mormon Leader" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1932).

9The role of the Council of the Twelve, as an important center of power, was dramatized by the ascendency of Brigham Young during the late 1840's following the death of Joseph Smith.

10Parley P. Pratt, A Voice of Warning and Instruction to All People (New York, 1837), 139-40.


12Evening and Morning Star, December 1832, March 1833.

13Ibid., October 1832.


15Ibid., February 1835.

16Ibid., September 1835.

17Emma Smith, compiler, A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of Latter Day Saints (Kirtland, 1835) as quoted in Lester E. Bush, "Mormon-
ism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," 17.


20 Based on the findings of Lester E. Bush, "Mormonism's Negro Policy," 17 ff. 30. However, there is some confusion concerning the precise date and place of Abel's birth. In both Andrew Jenson's L.D.S. Biographical Encyclopedia (Salt Lake City, 1920), Vol. III, 577 and Reasons and Patrick, "Elijah Abel Reached Top Mormon Ranks," They Had a Dream Series, Abel's birthdate was given as July 25, 1810 and his birthplace in Washington County, Md.

21 Ibid.

22 Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate, June 1836; Lester E. Bush, 17.

23 See Ashtabula Journal (Ashtabula, Ohio), February 5, 1831 reprintied from Painesville Gazette (Painesville, Ohio); Albany Journal (Albany, N.Y.), February 16, 1831 taken from the Geauga Gazette and The Sun (Philadelphia) August 18, 1831.

24 Journal of Discourses, 11, George A. Smith, November 15, 1864. A slightly different account given in the Times and Seasons (Nauvoo, Illinois), April 1, 1842, had Pete chasing "a ball that he said he saw flying in the air," while The Sun, August 18, 1831 wrote that Pete was trying to fly.

25 Times and Seasons, April 1, 1842. However, it is unclear whether or not "Black Pete" was among those "cut off." In the wake of these difficulties, Smith received a revelation pertaining to the general problem of false revelators. The Mormon Prophet was told that only certain individuals "appointed unto you" were authorized "to receive commandments and revelations." He was instructed to "receive not" the teachings, revelations or commandments of others for "they are not of me [the Lord]." See Doctrine and Covenants, 43:3-6.

26 The number of blacks who belonged to the church during these early years will probably never be known. Surviving membership roles and records of this period are very limited. Only an approximate guess can be made.


30 Parley P. Pratt, Autobiography, 81.

31 Evening and Morning Star, July, 1833.

32 Ibid.,

33 See, for example, Richard L. Bushman, "Mormon Persecutions in Missouri, 1833," B.Y.U. Studies, III (Autumn, 1960), 12. This view was given credence by the Saints in the accounts of the Missouri difficulties which they gave in later years. See, for example, Journal of Discourses, 2, Brigham Young, February 1, 1855.


37 Contained in the "Propositions of the Mob." First published in the Western Monitor (Fayette, Missouri), August 9, 1833 and the Missouri Republican, August 9, 1833.


39 Evening and Morning Star, July 1833.

40 This according to the findings of this writer following an extensive and systematic examination of such materials in the L.D.S. Church Historical Department.

41 Parley P. Pratt, Late Persecutions of the Church of Latter-day Saints (New York, 1840), 28. This statement was an estimate of free blacks only. There are no apparent statements or estimates concerning the total number of black slaves who were church members or "associated" with the church (through the membership of their masters) during the 1830's. But in the light of the limited Mormon missionary success in the slaveholding areas of the United States this number was probably not very large.
The extraordinary growth of Mormonism in Jackson County is evident from an examination of the population statistics of the period from May 1832 to July 1833:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Mormon Population in County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 1832</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1832</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1833</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1833</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures are significant if considered in light of the fact that the total population of Jackson County in 1832 was only 5,071. Figures compiled from Jennings, "The Destruction of the Mormon Press in Missouri, 1833," 68, Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 120-21, and S. George Ellsworth, "A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada," 133.

Such an attitude seems feasible on the basis of Phelps's activities at this time. He was in the process of compiling the Book of Commandments in 1832-33. This work, never completed, was projected to include a number of universalistic-millennialistic revelations which ultimately found their way into the Doctrine and Covenants of 1835. See Doctrine and Covenants 18:28 & 42, 33:16, 45:149, 68, 69, 69:71, 58:45. Phelps also echoed such universalistic expectations through the pages of the Evening and Morning Star, December 1832, March 1833.

Against the background of his "slightly bombastic" and "rather emotional" personality, Phelps' publication of this article can perhaps be considered on a millennialistic, psychological level. Like other millennialists, at other times, Phelps probably indulged in fantasies of persecution and suffering. His publication of this controversial article might have reflected a subconscious desire to provoke the wrath of the non-Normans of Jackson County in order to "justify" his own "millennialistic victory" over original sin and social restraint (as represented by his conversion to Mormonism). See David Brion Davis, The Problem of Slavery in Western Civilization, 296, for a brief discussion of similar behavior patterns displayed by other millennial figures.

See, for example, Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery and Mormon Doctrine," 328; Stephen G. Taggart, Mormonism's Negro Policy, 30. This closely parallels the "official" position of the church today. Current Latter-day Saint leaders maintain that Joseph Smith upheld black priesthood denial from the earliest days of the Mormon movement.

Zebedee Coltrin and Abraham O. Smoot occupied "middle level" positions of leadership and influence within the church. Coltrin was born in 1804 at Ovid Seneca County, New York. He joined the church soon after its organization. He held the priesthood offices of Seventy and High Priest. According to contemporary accounts in the 1830's, Coltrin spoke in tongues and experienced at least two supernatural visions. He later assisted in the establishment of the Pioneer Colony in Utah and settled in Spanish Fork, Utah where he became a Patriarch in the church and died.
in 1887. Abraham O. Smoot was born in 1815 in Franklin County, Kentucky. The family eventually moved to Tennessee where Smoot joined the church in 1835. He was first ordained an Elder and then a Seventy during the 1830's and preached extensively in the South during the 1830's and 1840's. After 1846 he became a Bishop, later a Stake High Councilman, and served a mission in England. After migrating to Utah, he served as a Justice of the Peace, Mayor of Salt Lake City, and later Mayor of Provo, Utah, which he helped to found. He died there in 1895. See Andrew Jenson, *Latter Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, Vol. I, 190 & Vol. IV, 697; C. Elliott Berlin, "Abraham Owen Smoot," (unpublished M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955).

47 As recorded in L. John Nuttall, Diary, August 1878-June 1879, May 31, 1879, p. 170. Typescript copy of original in Special Collection Department of Brigham Young University Library.

48 These included Apostles David W. Patten and Thomas Marsh, along with Warren Parrish.

49 L. John Nuttall, Diary, May 31, 1879. In this Smoot was partially paraphrasing the 1835 church position concerning "bond servants." The 1835 statement, while declaring that the church did not "believe it right" to "neither preach the gospel to nor baptize them [bond servants] contrary to the will or wish of their masters," said nothing about black ordination. See *Doctrine and Covenants*, 134:12.

50 L. John Nuttall, Diary, May 31, 1879.

51 Even in those revelations concerned directly with questions of the Mormon priesthood nothing was said or even hinted at concerning the black man and his status within the priesthood or the church (except the question of slavery) as contained in the *Doctrine and Covenants*, 134:12. See, for example, D. & C. 107 which was an extensive discourse dealing with priesthood matters. The only prohibitions on priesthood ordination recorded in this work were those imposed on those white Missourians who persecuted the Saints. See *D. & C.*, 121.

52 As determined from a page by page examination of all the early journals published by the church and tract literature contained in the Bancroft, Library, University of California, Berkeley.

53 As determined from those available in the L.D.S. Church Historical Department. In this same Library, the journals and correspondence of J.P. Greene, Thomas Marsh, David W. Patten and Warren Parrish were examined with similar negative results.

56 The Coltrin-Smoot statements were probably not a complete fabrication if considered within the context of Mormon missionary activity in the South during the 1830's. Joseph Smith possibly authorized proscrip-
tions on black priesthood ordination in the South on a short range, immediate basis. He possibly did this out of consideration of the practical situation in the South during this period. In the wake of Nat Turner's Rebellion, a majority of the slaveholding states had passed statutes prohibiting blacks--both free and slave--from preaching or engaging in missionary activities. Those Saints concerned with missionary efforts in the South, in order to avoid violence, undoubtedly conformed to prevailing anti-black laws and practices. For discussion of non-Mormon church proscriptions on the black man in the South see Carter G. Woodson, The History of the Negro Church (Washington, D.C., 1921), 116-17; The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 (Washington, D.C., 1919), 159-69, 179-90.

55. This work, as a part of Joseph Smith's larger efforts to revise or "correct" both the Old and New Testaments, was essentially complete by 1833. Certain portions were published in the church newspaper as The Prophecy of Enoch and the Book of Moses. See Evening and Morning Star, August 1832, March and April 1833. The complete Biblical manuscript was not published until 1866. Then it was published as the Holy Scriptures by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The Utah Mormons, or those Saints who followed Brigham Young West, never published this work because they believed it was "incomplete." See Reed Connell Durham, Jr., "A History of Joseph Smith Revision of the Bible" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1965), 140. Also see Robert J. Mathews, Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible--A History and Commentary (Provo, Utah, 1975).

56. The Mormon tendency to identify the black man as the "Devil's representative on Earth" was to become evident during the late 1870's and early 1880's. See Chapter 9.


59. Pearl of Great Price, Moses 7:26, Holy Scriptures, Genesis, 7:32. It was also noted that many spirits were "in chains of darkness." Moses 7:57, Genesis 7:64.

60. A Mormon preoccupation with the activities of Cain was not new. The conspiracy of Cain with Satan and the fact he "was a murderer from the beginning" had been previously noted in the Book of Mormon, Helaman 6:27, Ether 8:15. At the same time, however, it must be pointed out that theories linking the contemporary black man to Cain were still tentative among the Saints during the 1830's. One non-Mormon observer following his visit among the Saints reported that although they believed that the "descendants of Cain were all now under the curse...no one could possibly designate who they were." Missouri Republican, April 29, 1837 reprinted in the Illinois State Gazette and Jacksonville News, May 24, 1837.
Pearl of Great Price, Moses 5:18-33; Holy Scriptures, Genesis 5:6-18. It is interesting to compare this detailed account of Cain and his activities with the limited account in the Bible. See Genesis 4:11-11.


63 Pearl of Great Price, Moses 5:40-41; Holy Scriptures, Genesis 5:25-26. It should be noted that nothing was said in these writings to directly suggest that the mark was a black skin. According to the Standard Bible, Genesis 4:16, Cain "went out from the presence of the Lord" in contrast to being "shut out."

64 Pearl of Great Price, Moses 5:49-50; Holy Scriptures, Genesis 5:35-6.


66 Pearl of Great Price, Moses 6:152, 54; Holy Scriptures, Genesis 5:38, 41. After Lamech, according to this account, the works of darkness began to prevail among all the sons of man." Moses 5:55, Genesis 5:42.


68 Pearl of Great Price, Moses 6:17, 41-2; Holy Scriptures, Genesis 6:15, 43-44. Such alleged descent from Seth, seems to be supported at least by one scholar—James E. Talmage—who carefully studied these Mormon scriptures and compiled reference notes attesting to this belief in 1902. See Moses 6:41 and Moses 7:61. Because of the close spelling of Cain and Canaan and because both the "people of Canaan" and "seed of Cain" were black, coupled with the fact that the scriptural descriptions of their activities are in close proximity, Moses 7:6-12, Genesis 7:6-14 (people of Canaan) and Moses 7:22, Genesis 7:29 (seed of Cain), there was a tendency, especially in the period after Joseph Smith's death, to link these two peoples together as the descendants of Cain. Further confusion was caused because of the two different spellings used in Mormon scripture to denote this people Canaan (Holy Scriptures) and Canaan (Book of Moses). These people have been confused at times with Canaan, the grandson of Noah and his descendants. To minimize such confusion and because this writer subscribes to the Talmadge view of descent (from Cainan) the "Cainan" spelling will be used.


70 Pearl of Great Price, Moses 7:18; Holy Scriptures, Genesis 7:9-10.


Holy Scriptures, Genesis, 9:30. This is significantly different from the standard Bible which does not include the phrase "veil of darkness," Genesis 9:26.

These links included a tendency by this people to worship the same "god of Elkenah" as the Pharaoh of Egypt—a descendant of Ham. Also on one occasion a "priest of Elkenah who was also the priest of Pharaoh" sacrificed "three virgins" who were of "royal descent directly from the loins of Ham." Finally Abraham and his seed were promised the "strange land of Canaan" where the "idolatrous nation"of the Canaanites dwelt. See Pearl of Great Price, Abraham 1:11, 5-7, 11, 216, 18-19.

Ibid., Abraham 1:21-27. This digression from the main story of the Book of Abraham was analogous to, and in some ways remarkably similar to the distinct discussion of the Jeradites contained in the Book of Mormon. See Chapter 1 of this study.


Ibid., Abraham 1:22-24. Again there is some confusion concerning which "Canaanites" this account is referring to. It could be to those people of Cainan (or Canaan) discussed in the Holy Scriptures or "Book of Moses," or it could be to the descendants of Canaan, the son of Ham. The context in which these Egyptians are discussed seem to suggest the latter possibility. This is also suggested in the reference notes of James A. Talmage for this section. See Abraham 1:23 ff 21 & 2m.


See, for example, Taggart, Mormonism's Negro Policy, 58-62; Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 173.

This development is discussed in Chapters 8 and 9.

Evening and Morning Star, March 1834. Through Mormon scripture, Joseph Smith had suggested that contemporary enemies, like their Biblical counterparts, would be "smitten" and "cursed." On another occasion the "avenging" of enemies was prescribed "unto the third and fourth generations." See Doctrine and Covenants 24 and 106:30.
83 *Evening and Morning Star*, January 1833. Priesthood denial was also interjected into Mormon scripture in the wake of the Latter-day difficulties in Missouri during 1838-39. It was declared that those responsible for Mormon suffering would "not have right to the priesthood, nor their posterity." *Doctrine and Covenants* 121:21.

84 *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate*, March 1835. Although Phelps comments were speculative, there are indications that other Mormons were affixing to their contemporary opponents or enemies, the possibility of undesirable racial" characteristics. Joseph Smith, on a figurative level, described the activities of those who persecuted the Saints as "dark and blackening deeds." *Doctrine and Covenants*, 123:10. In later years President Wilford Woodruff, along with Apostle Orson Hyde and Abraham O. Smoot, recalled how they actually observed apostates and enemies turning black. Hyde after briefly leaving the church had allegedly expressed his fear that if he stayed outside the true faith "the curse of Cain a black skin would be upon him." See Matthias F. Cowley, ed. of Wilford Woodruff journals, *History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals* (Salt Lake City, 1909), 50-53; Marvin S. Hill, "A Historical Study of the Life of Orson Hyde" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955), 60; C. Elliott Berlin, "Abraham Owen Smoot, Pioneer Mormon Leader" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955), 22. Such accounts, however, must be viewed with caution and a degree of skepticism because they, like the Smoot-Coltrin recollections, were recorded years after the fact.

85 *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate*, October 1835.

86 *Elders Journal*, August 1838.

87 In the wake of Mormon persecutions, certain Saints appeared to question the commonly accepted criteria of race and technology for determining which peoples were civilized. Oliver Cowdery asked. "Is it color that constitutes a savage, or is it the acts of men that appear disgusting, and awake in our breasts feelings of piety and compassion for them?" *Evening and Morning Star*, February 1834.

88 This was evident in the references made to the "Seed of Cain" and "people of Canean (or Canaan) in terms of their exclusion from possible conversion to the True Faith, and was graphically illustrated in the ineligibility of Pharaoh for the priesthood because he was of "that lineage" which couldn't hold it even though he was a "righteous man" in other respects.

89 See, for example, the comments of Oliver Cowdery in the *Evening and Morning Star*, April 1836 and Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography*, 235, 241.
Chapter IV

OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY BY THE ILLINOIS-BASED SAINTS 1839-46

During the seven years following the Latter-day Saint expulsion from the slave state of Missouri, the center of Mormon activity shifted eastward to Illinois, where the Saints proceeded to build a new city—Nauvoo, along the banks of the Mississippi—destined to be their main gathering place. Accompanying this geographic movement was a shift in Mormon attitudes toward slavery. Prominent Latter-day Saint individuals and periodicals expressed opposition to slavery. This was in contrast to the predominate anti-abolitionist mood of the 1830's and somewhat reminiscent of the ambivalent anti-slavery attitudes initially expressed in the Book of Mormon.

Joseph Smith led the way in registering Mormon opposition to slavery. In 1842, when confronted with the problem of southern converts who had slaves but wanted to migrate to the free state of Illinois, Smith recommended. "I have always advised such [southern converts] to bring their slaves into a free country and set them free."¹ In 1843, Smith suggested that slavery be abolished through a program of "national equalization." This would involve freeing the black slaves and giving them equal rights and privileges but segregating them "by strict law to their own species" in their own section of the United States.²

By 1844, Smith's opposition to slavery had taken the form of a specific program included in his famous "Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States." These "views" were extensively publicized as part of his platform during his campaign for the Presidency
of the United States on a self-styled third party ticket. As a candidate, Smith was concerned that in the American South "Some two or three millions of people are held as slaves, because the spirit in them is covered with a darker skin than ours." He called for the "break down [of] slavery" and removal of "the shackles from the poor black man."
This could be done by encouraging southern citizens to petition their legislators to abolish slavery through a program of compensated emancipation with funds obtained through the sale of public lands. Smith was confident that the "hospitable and noble" southerners would help rid "so free a country" as the United States "of every vestige of slavery." Wherefore, were I the president of the United States, by the voice of a virtuous people...when that people petitioned to abolish slavery in the slave states, I would use all honorable means to have their prayers granted...that the whole nation might be free indeed.
Smith believed that his program could bring about the complete elimination of slavery within the United States by 1850.

Joseph Smith's program for compensated emancipation was not new with the Latter-day Saints. The British utilized a similar approach in abolishing slavery in the British West Indies during the 1830's. It is possible the Saints were directly influenced by the English example; especially as the British Isles developed into an increasingly important arena of Mormon missionary activity following the conversion of large numbers of new members during the late 1830's and throughout the 1840's. Joseph Smith was undoubtedly also inspired by attitudes within the United States itself. Thomas Jefferson, after whom the Mormon prophet's "Jeffersonian" party was named, had at one time suggested a plan for the colonization of the black man abroad, financed by the sale of public lands. Henry Clay also publicized and gave his support to proposals for compensated
emancipation during the 1830's.\textsuperscript{8}

Joseph Smith, in formulating his proposals for compensated emancipation, was apparently also concerned about disagreements between the proponents of Manifest Destiny and those individuals afraid of expansion because of the possible acquisition of additional slave territory.\textsuperscript{9} Smith attempted to reconcile these conflicting views by announcing that as president he would annex Texas and proceed to do away with the "evil" of slavery in the following manner:

As soon as Texas was annexed, I would liberate the slaves in two or three States, indemnifying the owners, and send the negroes to Texas, from Texas to Mexico, where all colors are alike.\textsuperscript{10}

This Mormon proposal calling for the colonization of black slaves in Texas or other land acquired from Mexico was similar to those suggestions made by other non-Mormon westerners during the 1840's.\textsuperscript{11}

In addition to the proposals made in his "Views on the Government," Joseph Smith expressed his opposition to slavery on other occasions. In a letter to the National Reform Association, the Mormon Prophet assailed slavery as a great "national evil" which should not be allowed to generate "fleshy capital" through its operation in one-half of the United States.\textsuperscript{12} Smith also attacked Henry Clay, his Whig presidential opponent, for his earlier role in the Missouri Compromise, a measure which Smith condemned as "derived for the benefit of slavery."\textsuperscript{13} Smith lamented that America was not an "asylum for the oppressed" so long as the "degraded black slave" was compelled to hold up his manacled hands and cry, "Oh liberty, where are thy charms that sages have told me were sweet."\textsuperscript{14} Individuals outside of the church also noted Smith's opposition to slavery. One non-Mormon observer recalled that the Mormon Prophet "recognized the curse
and iniquity of slavery."\textsuperscript{15}

Other Latter-day Saint spokesmen expressed a similar dislike for slavery. Among the most prominent Mormon foes of the Peculiar Institution during the early 1840's was John C. Bennett. A powerful and influential leader during this period, Bennett was a recent convert to Mormonism. Previous to his baptism into the church, Bennett had been an instructor in midwifery in a small Ohio college and Secretary of the Ohio Medical Society, and after his migration to Illinois, Quartermaster-General of the state militia. He played a key role in lobbying in the state legislature for a charter for the Mormon city of Nauvoo following his conversion to Mormonism in 1840. The grateful Saints rewarded Bennett for his efforts by electing him Nauvoo's first mayor. He also achieved a number of other positions of authority and importance within the Mormon community—Major-General in the Nauvoo Legion, Chancellor of Nauvoo University, and Secretary of the local Masonic Lodge. Within the church itself Bennett became an "Assistant President of the Church" and for a year and a half was Joseph Smith's most "intimate friend and advisor."\textsuperscript{16} Bennett, in a widely publicized exchange with C.V. Dyer, a non-Mormon anti-slavery advocate based in Chicago, was asked his views on the subject of American slavery. "I [have] ever detested servile bondage. I wish to see the shackles fall from the feet of the oppressed, and the chains of slavery broken."\textsuperscript{17} Other prominent Latter-day Saints echoed Bennett's sentiments. Sydney Rigdon, a counselor to Joseph Smith, expressed his view that "every man should be free" with "the slave liberated from bondage."\textsuperscript{18} Several Mormon Apostles or members of the Council of Twelve—who assumed an increasingly important role in church affairs during this period—were concerned about the "alarming condition" of involuntary servitude. They
denounced those who traded "in horses, chariots and SLAVES and SOULS of MEN."19 Slavery was described as an institution that the government should do "away with."20

The church did not officially incorporate this anti-slavery stance into its canonized writings as had been done with its earlier anti-abolitionist views, in the Doctrine and Covenants during the 1830's, but Mormon dislike for slavery was given extensive exposure through various church periodicals. The most important Latter-day Saint publications during this period were the Times and Seasons, which by 1839 had replaced the Elders Journal as the principal church organ, and the Nauvoo Neighbor, a secular newspaper. John Taylor, a Mormon Apostle and member of the Council of Twelve, edited both of these Nauvoo publications. Taylor, unlike most of his fellow Saints during this period, came from an English background. He was born in 1808 at Milnthrope, Westmoreland, England. As an adult he became a preacher or exhorter in the Methodist Church. In pursuit of his religious duties Taylor migrated to Toronto, Canada. There, a group of Mormon missionaries converted Taylor in 1836. He rose rapidly through the Mormon ranks. By the time the Saints arrived in Nauvoo in 1839, Taylor had been ordained a Mormon apostle.21 Through his role as editor of the Times and Seasons and Neighbor, Taylor became a leading advocate and defender of the Mormon faith. As a result, he became a visible exponent of Mormon anti-slavery rhetoric. In some of his early articles, Taylor contrasted the slaveholding state of Missouri whose "coffers" groaned "with the spoils of the oppressed" with Nauvoo where "a slave does not raise his rusting fetters."22 Taylor, like Joseph Smith, denounced Henry Clay as a "slaveholder" who if elected president would make America the "slavest and vainest nation on earth."23 Accord-
ing to the Mormon editor, the "traffic in human flesh" acted as a blot on America as "an asylum for the oppressed." Poetically, Taylor lamented that Africa had become a "meadow of black flowers [used] to beautify white gardens" and that:

All the world's an auction;  
All the men and women;  
All the beasts and cattle  
All that look like human -  
Are merely goods for sale;  
A little will suffice 'em',  
And a little money buys 'em',  
the times are now so frail.²⁵

Latter-day Saint dislike for the Peculiar Institution was also evident in other quarters. The Mormon representative in the Illinois State Legislature took care to explain that "the Normons like[so]many others believe that slavery is an evil."²⁶ The English-based Latter Day Saints Millennial Star, which began publication in 1840 for the ever-increasing number of British Saints, registered its "abhorrence" at the "slaveholder who deprives his fellow-being of liberty."²⁷

Several factors influenced the emergence of Mormon anti-slavery sentiments. The most important of these was the shifting geographic focus of Mormonism from Missouri to Illinois after 1839. In the wake of their expulsion from Missouri, the Saints had bitter memories of their treatment in this slaveholding state. As a result, certain Saints associated the persecutions they suffered in Missouri with the Peculiar Institution of that state. The Saints described Missouri as "a land of oppression" where they had been "in bonds."²⁸ In one account, several of the Saints, including Joseph Smith, had been "driven off...like a parcel of menial slaves."²⁹ Smith, himself, even suggested that the citizens of Missouri were utilizing a number of orphaned children left behind by the Saints.
as "Mormon slaves." By contrast, they characterized Illinois as a "land of freedom" which had helped the Saints "burst the chains of slavery" by giving them "asylum."30

The Latter-day Saints expressed their dislike for Missouri and in turn the Peculiar Institution in other ways. The Saints described the Missourians as a people who routinely "burnt Negroes and butchered Mormons."31 The Saints during the early 1840's further denounced the slaveholding Missourians and their Peculiar Institution in the wake of Missourian attempts to extradite Joseph Smith back to that state for trial on charges growing out of earlier Mormon-Missouri difficulties. One church spokesman criticized those Missouri officials in pursuit of Smith for disguising themselves as "officers in search of runaway negroes."32 Another Missouri sheriff attempting to arrest Smith was denounced as a "nigger-driver," and John Taylor was alarmed that "Negro drivers and dealers" from Missouri were "allowed" to cross the boarder into Illinois "to steal white men."33 The Mormons drew parallels between the notices for "negroes" appearing in a Missouri newspaper and the attempts by its citizens to enslave the Saints.34 On another occasion, Taylor dramatically proclaimed that the Saints would rather "sacrifice their lives than bow to the yoke of Missouri...or be governed by the dictates of the mobocratic nigger drivers of Missouri."35

Mormon anti-Missourian-anti-slavery expressions were also evident in the tendency of the Saints to identify with the abolitionists. The Saints compared the failure of the United States Congress to respond to their petitions for redress from the Missouri difficulties with the non-response of this same body to the petitions of the abolitionists.36
By 1842, as the Saints fought Missouri efforts to extradite Joseph Smith, they saw parallels between Smith's case and an earlier one involving a New York abolitionist. In the New York case, the abolitionist had fled from Alabama to New York in the wake of charges accusing him of inciting "rebellion and insurrection." New York then refused the request of Alabama to extradite him. It was argued that since New York had refused to deliver the abolitionist to Alabama, Illinois should, therefore, refuse Missouri's request for the Mormon prophet. 37

Mormon dislike for slavery was also encouraged by a Latter-day Saint tendency to identify with certain anti-slavery attitudes in their new Illinois environment. 38 Like other residents of Illinois, the Saints denounced the arrest, conviction and imprisonment in Missouri of three men found to be the "liberators of slaves." 39

The Saints in expressing their dislike for slavery from their base in Illinois were possibly influenced by the shifting attitudes of other northern-based religious denominations. A number of religious groups, in contrast to earlier anti-abolitionist sentiments of the 1830's moved toward an anti-slavery position by the 1840's. The Presbyterians led the way when a significant segment of this denomination assumed an anti-slavery position during the late 1830's, causing a split within their movement. By the mid-1840's the number of anti-slavery Presbyterians increased causing further divisions within this denomination. 40 The Methodists, especially within their northern churches, became increasingly anti-slavery during the 1840's. By the middle of the decade, the slave issue caused a schism within this church comparable to that among the Presbyterians. 41 Among the Baptists a growth of anti-slavery feeling in its northern branches became evident and by 1845 a split between northern and southern Baptists
occurred. Among smaller denominations in the North—the Catholics and Quakers—anti-slavery feeling became increasingly evident after 1840. Even the non-denominational Home Missionary Society experienced an increase in anti-slavery feeling which precipitated a split, resulting in the formation of the rival anti-slavery American Missionary Association.

Although the Saints were influenced by the anti-slavery trends of various northern-based religious organizations, the church did not simply ape dominant northern religious attitudes toward the Peculiar Institution. Often Latter-day Saint spokesmen lamented and condemned northern-based religions for concerning themselves with the slave question at all. John Taylor, as editor of the *Times and Seasons* and *Nauvoo Neighbor*, led the way. He expressed his concern about the "sudden ecclesiastical opposition to slavery" among the Methodists, warning that this controversy could lead to "the overthrow of the Methodist and American union, slavery and peace." He used stronger language in denouncing the debate and division among the Baptists.

The inference we draw from such church jars among the sectarian world, is, that the glory which professing clergymen think to obtain for themselves by division on slavery...is nothing but vanity and vexation of spirit. Taylor then recommended that "Religion shouldn't be brought into a question wholly national." The only way to settle the slave question was "through the ballot box." As for the Saints, those in the North as well as those in the South would "stick together, and stick to the Union."

While increased Mormon opposition to slavery was primarily influenced by trends related to the geographic shift of the church from Missouri to Illinois, other factors were also important. A Mormon shift from a "pre"
to a "post" millenialistic orientation during the 1840's facilitated Latter-day Saint antipathy toward the Peculiar Institution. Those who subscribed to pre-millennialism, as did the Saints in the 1830's, believed the millennium to be imminent and therefore saw no need to eradicate society of its various evils, including slavery, through reform prior to the millennium. As a result, reform and perfection, including the abolition of slavery, could not be brought about prior to Christ's Second Coming. The Saints in the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants and possibly through their lack of anti-slavery sentiments during the 1830's reflected this pre-millennialistic immediacy during the 1830's. However, by the 1840's, Joseph Smith and other Saints had moved toward a post-millennialistic orientation—a belief that the Second Coming was at least forty years away.\(^4^9\) As a result, the Saints felt that they had more time and thereby expressed a greater impulse toward reform, including the abolition of slavery, as preparation for the Millennium and Second Coming.

The Mormon shift from a "pre" to a "post-millennialistic" orientation was like that of other groups and individuals in nineteenth century American society.\(^5^0\)

These post-millennialistic, anti-slavery impulses were strengthened and complemented by a Mormon desire for universal freedom for all men. Joseph Smith believed it was the desire of God "to ameliorate the condition of every man."\(^5^1\) On another occasion, the Mormon Prophet explained that he supported "UNIVERSAL LIBERTY" for "every soul of man—civil, religious, and political."\(^5^2\) Apostle Parley P. Pratt, in millennialistic-universalistic tones reminiscent of the Book of Mormon, proclaimed America "a land of liberty" in which all peoples should be "free from bondage."\(^5^3\) Various Mormon periodicals called for the breaking "of every yoke" in
order to "let the oppressed go free."\(^{54}\)

Along with anti-Missouri feelings and Mormon millennialism, Latter-day Saint dislike for slavery was also influenced, to some extent, by a third factor—limited Mormon identification with the slaveholding South during this period. As in the 1830's, Mormonism in the 1840's primarily appealed to those in the North and Northeast.\(^ {55}\) During these same years, moreover, the Saints expanded their missionary activity in the British Isles.\(^ {56}\) Meanwhile, the South as a field for Mormon converts continued to languish. Southern hostility toward Mormonism as a northern-based movement with distinctive doctrines and teachings retarded missionary efforts in this section.\(^ {57}\) Reflecting such feelings of animosity, one southern governor "laughed" off Mormonism as a "religious Ism" whose "prophets have no honor in our country."\(^ {58}\) Mormon leaders responded to these feelings of southern hostility instructing their missionaries to "confin[e]" their activities "to the free states" and not go into "any" of the "Slave States."\(^ {59}\) British-based Latter-day Saints who were migrating to the United States in ever increasing numbers were also discouraged from settling in the southern states.\(^ {60}\)

The immediate prospects for Mormonism in the South were not good, but Joseph Smith and others thought that the South could play a significant role in the future of the church. As early as 1840, Joseph Smith made optimistic predictions about "a large gathering from the South."\(^ {61}\) In that same year he expanded the geographic boundaries of "Zion" or Mormonism's Gathering Place to encompass all of North and South America, including the slaveholding South.\(^ {62}\) Smith's desire to incorporate the South as a place to gather the Saints was reflected in a concrete proposal by Apostle Lyman Wight and those Saints under his leadership at
Black Falls, Wisconsin. Wight, despite his position of responsibility and leadership within the church, was in many ways a restless, rootless individual. Like so many of the early Saints, Wight came from a New England background, and had joined the church in the early 1830's, migrating first to Ohio, then to Missouri, and in 1839 to Illinois. Because of a Mormon need for lumber for the numerous structures being built in the rapidly growing community of Nauvoo, Wight was instructed by Joseph Smith to organize the so-called "Pinery Settlement" in Wisconsin which he proceeded to do. Shortly after their arrival in Wisconsin, however, Wight and his followers expressed their dissatisfaction with this northern settlement's inhospitable environment. They wanted to move further south and settle the "table lands of Texas" and utilize it as a "gathering point for all the South." According to Wight such a plan had great potential because there were "thousands of...rich planters who would embrace the Gospel...if they had...some slave holding point" where they could "plant their slaves."

Certain Latter-day Saint leaders believed that these southern-based Saints could use their slaves to grow cotton and sugar cane for the Saints in the North. The actual attempt by Wight to implement his plan for Mormon colonization in the South, shows that some Latter-day Saints (at least those who followed Wight) had not completely "written off" the South. In addition, Joseph Smith showed sensitivity for the South in the way he structured his 1844 proposals for gradual and compensated emancipation. These proposals would begin only with the approval of the slave states.

Although Mormon opposition to slavery was more intense during the Nauvoo period than at any other time before 1865, this anti-slavery mood was far from absolute. The Saints stood in sharp contrast to militant
anti-slavery proponents within various anti-slavery societies and the Liberty Party in that they expressed their opposition to slavery in a relatively low-keyed fashion. The Saints still feared being identified with the extreme abolitionists. Joseph Smith, while affirming his own dislike for slavery, made it clear that the Saints cared "nothing about nor were "advocates of [immediate] abolition as it now exists." The Times and Seasons accused the "abolitionists" of "trying to make void the curse of God." Another church spokesman characterized the Saints as "anti-abolitionists...in every respect," while at the same time admitting that slavery was "an evil," this Saint's statement shows that the church was far from ready to take a militant stand against slavery.

Mormon anti-slavery tendencies were further tempered by Latter-day Saint anxieties over the black slave and his role in possible future warfare and apocalyptic destruction. A revelation purportedly received by Joseph Smith in April 1843 reflected this Mormon fear.

I prophesy, in the name of the Lord God, that the commencement of the difficulties which will cause much bloodshed previous to the coming of the Son of Man will be in South Carolina.

It may probably arise through the slave question. This a voice declared to me, while I was praying earnestly on the subject, December 25, 1832.

Other Latter-day Saints dreaded the future use of black slaves in the Southwest. The Nauvoo Neighbor speculated that the Mexicans reacting against the American annexation of Texas might attempt to recover their lost lands by enlisting a "black population of three or four millions" in return for liberating them from "the deepest wrongs" of involuntary servitude. Other Mormons believed that "nегroes in the South were ready to join the Mexican Standard."
The Saints, possibly reflecting these anxieties over the black slave and their dislike for abolitionism per se, continued to uphold their earlier, much publicized, anti-abolitionist statement of 1835. This was done by including it in a second, revised edition of the Doctrine and Covenants published in 1845.72

Despite these tendencies, Mormon dislike for the Peculiar Institution predominated during the Nauvoo period. The shifting geographic focus of Mormonism from Missouri to Illinois primarily motivated this opposition. Latter-day Saint anti-slavery expressions were also facilitated by Mormon millennialism and limited church identification with the slaveholding South. The emergence of this anti-slavery mood was significant in that various Saints would continue to express a similar dislike for the Peculiar Institution even after the Saints abandoned Nauvoo and migrated westward. While it is true that Mormon anti-slavery rhetoric became more muted after 1846, the church remained basically opposed to black slavery as an institution for its members for the next twenty years.


4. Joseph Smith, Jr., Views on the Government and Policies of the United States (Nauvoo, Illinois, 1844), 3. This pamphlet was distributed throughout the United States. It was also reprinted in various periodicals edited by church spokesmen. See Times and Seasons, May 15, 1844; The Nauvoo Neighbor (Nauvoo, Illinois), May 8, 1844 and The Prophet (New York City), June 8, 1848.

5. Joseph Smith, Jr., Views on the Government, 3, 7-8. The feasibility of Joseph Smith's proposal to liberate the black slaves through the payment of a "reasonable price" to southern slaveholders with funds obtained from the sale of public lands has been questioned by at least one writer who explained, "There were almost 3,000,000 slaves in 1844, with an average value in excess of $500. Total public land sales in the 1840's averaged approximately $2,000,000 yearly, and the proposed cut-backs in congressional membership and pay (which Smith suggested as an additional source of revenue) would have produced perhaps $500,000." According to these figures, at 1840's rates it would have taken about 700 years, rather than the 5 to 6 estimated by Smith to carry out his program. See Martin B. Hickman, "Editorial Footnotes to General Smith's Views", Dialogue, III (Autumn, 1968), 28.


10. Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church*, 6, 244. Another Mormon official, Apostle Wilford Woodruff, made a similar suggestion that he "would liberate two or three states to pay them for their slaves and let them go to Mexico where they are mixed blacks." *Wilford Woodruff, Journal*, March 7, 1844. It is not clear what Woodruff meant by the phrase "Mexico where they are mixed blacks." In referring to "they" Woodruff could have been talking about the black slaves, or Mexicans or, like Joseph Smith, both the Mexicans and blacks.


13. *Times and Seasons*, June 1, 1844.

14. Ibid.

15. Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past* (Boston, 1883), 376-400.

16. For two differing views of John C. Bennett and his activities see Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, 266-8, 271, 273, 314 and Ivan J. Barrett, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration*.


18. Ibid., February 1, 1844.


22. *Times and Seasons*, July 1, 1843; *Nauvoo Neighbor*, April 17, 1844.


24. Ibid., Sept. 10, 1845. On another occasion he compared the so-called "freedom" in the United States with a "stool pigeon, it flutters by force to decoy others." *Times and Seasons*, February 15, 1846.
25. The Nauvoo Neighbor, October 29, 1845, April 7, 1845.


27. Latter Day Saints Millennial Star (Liverpool, England), September 1843. Also various Mormon groups who broke away from the leadership of the Nauvoo-based Twelve Apostles following the assassination of Joseph Smith expressed anti-slavery views. See Gospel Herald (Veree, Wisconsin), June 22, 1848, August 17, 24, 1848, September 2, 1848, November 2, 9, 1848 and January 4, 1849 edited by the followers of James J. Strang. Also The Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate (Pittsburgh, Penn.), February 15, 1843, a publication of those Saints who acknowledged the authority of Sydney Rigdon. The role and influence of these and other schismatic Mormon groups on developing Latter-day Saint attitudes toward slavery and the black man are discussed in Chapter 6.

28. Times and Seasons, April, August, 1840.


30. Times and Seasons, February 15, September 1, 1841, March 15, 1842.

31. The Wasp, September 17, 1842; The Nauvoo Neighbor, August 30, September 13, 1843. It is interesting to note that the "negro burnt alive" to which the Neighbor made repeated references, was one McIntosh, a black sentenced and executed in this grotesque manner over a slow-burn- ing wood fire for his part in killing a law officer some years before. Elijah Lovejoy, the noted abolitionist, expressed his abhorrence at McIntosh's execution in his St. Louis newspaper. This concern generated additional Missouri hostility against Lovejoy who was driven from the state and forced to take up residence in Alton, Illinois.


34. The Nauvoo Neighbor, April 7, 1845.

35. Ibid., December 20, 1843.

36. The Nauvoo Neighbor, June 12, 1844.

37. Times and Seasons, December 5, 1842.
38. Sherman Savage, "The Contest Over Slavery Between Illinois and Missouri," 311-25. Although it should be noted that anti-slavery feeling in Illinois was far from absolute. A significant portion of the state's population, particularly in the south, had originally migrated to Illinois from southern slave states, and there were strong anti-abolitionist feelings among many Illinois citizens. See Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery, 8-9, 13, 15-16, 27; Richards, Gentlemen of Property and Standing, 92-3, 100-11.

39. Savage, 318; Times and Seasons, March 15, 1842.


43. Rice, American Catholic Opinion in the Slavery Controversy, 87; Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America, 162-74.

44. Griffin, Their Brother's Keeper, 185.

45. Times and Seasons, October 1, 1844.

46. Ibid., April 1, 1845.

47. The Nauvoo Neighbor, May 1, 1845.

48. Ibid., June 4, 1845.

49. Doctrine and Covenants 130:15-17. Also see Joseph Smith, Jr., "Discourse," July 19, 1840, Joseph Smith's Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department. Smith felt that the Second Coming of Christ was at least fifty years away. However, such feelings were not complete among all Saints. Some Mormons saw the divisions over slavery among various religious denominations as indicators of the approaching millennium. Times and Seasons, August 1845.

50. For two somewhat different examinations of "post-millennialism" and "pre-millennialism" within the context of nineteenth century American society see Tuveson, Redeemer Nation and Ernest R. Santee, The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millennialism, 1800-1930. (Chica-
go, 1971). In addition, the Saints in relegating the millennium to the more distant future were possibly attempting to differentiate themselves from William Miller, their principal pre-millennialistic rival. Throughout the early 1840's, various church periodicals (especially the *Times and Seasons*) contained numerous articles debunking and refuting William Miller's claim that the millennium would begin in 1843 or 1844.

51 *Times and Seasons*, February 1840.

52 Ibid., March 15, 1842. Italics in original.

53 *Latter Day Saints Millennial Star*, September 1842.

54 *Times and Seasons*, March 1, 1844; *The Nauvoo Neighbor*, March 6, November 6, 1844.


58 *Miles Register* (Baltimore, Md.), June 28, 1841. Italics in original. It is interesting to note that one Mormon editor expressed somewhat the reverse argument with regard to Mormon attitudes toward the South. "It is to the credit certainly of the Mormons that their sect was originated and has flourished in the North where the greatest degree of intelligence is supposed to prevail." *The Wasp*, July 9, 1842.


60 *Latter Day Saints Millennial Star*, August 1841.


63 He was confident that in this way southern Saints could circumvent the difficulties arising out of limitations of their mobility as a result of their possession of "that unfortunate race of beings the negroes." See Letter from Lyman Wight, George Miller, et.al., to the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve, February 15, 1844; Letter from Wight to Smith, February 15, 1844 reprinted in "Journal History", Originals in L.D.S. Church Historical Department.
Letter from George Miller to President and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, March 17, 1847; Letter from Orson Hyde to Joseph Smith, April 26, 1844 reprinted in "Journal History," L.D.S. Church Historical Department.

It is not clear how Joseph Smith, himself, felt about the concept of southern Mormon colonization, or the whole idea of using the products of slave labor. Lyman Wight felt that the Mormon Prophet, prior to his death, had given his approval to a southern Mormon "gathering." For two accounts of Lyman Wight and his subsequent activities in Texas as a leader of a schismatic Mormon group see Davis Bitton, "Mormons in Texas: The Ill-Fated Lyman Wight Colony 1844-1858," Arizona and the West, XI (Spring, 1969), 6-26 and C. Stanley Banks, "The Mormon Migration into Texas," Southwest Historical Quarterly, XLIX (October 1945), 233-44.

Times and Seasons, June 1, 1842, October 1, 1842, The Nauvoo Neighbor, January 8, 1844.

Times and Seasons, April 1, 1845.

The Prophet, February 22, 1845. Also see The Wasp, October 15, 1842, October 22, 1842. Certain Saints expressed their dislike for abolitionism on another level, utilizing the term "abolitionist" as a label to attack or defame their opponents. This was done in the case of John C. Bennett, a strong anti-slavery proponent, following his fall from Mormon favor, as a result of his illicit and excessive sexual activities. He was characterized as "the same abolitionist he always was" and as an "amalgamationist," The Wasp, August 27, 1842; Letter, George Backman to General Moses Wilson, January 20, 1843, George Backman Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department. On another occasion, the labels "abolitionist...nullifier, and ...second rate man" were applied to a rabidly anti-Mormon newspaper editor. See The Nauvoo Neighbor, October 25, 1842.

Doctrine and Covenants, 130:12-13. The last part of this revelation referred to Smith's famous "Revelation and Prophecy on War," Doctrine and Covenants 87:1, 3-4, allegedly received in 1832. The origins and contents of this earlier revelation were discussed in Chapter 11.

The Nauvoo Neighbor, June 12, 1844.

New York Messenger, September 27, 1845. Sydney Rigdon expressed similar anxieties. See The Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate, February 15, 1845. Other aspects of limited Mormon identification with the black man during the Nauvoo period are discussed in Chapter 6.

Doctrine and Covenants (Nauvoo, Illinois, 1845).
Chapter V

THE DIVIDED MORMON MIND--AMBIVALENCE TOWARD SLAVERY 1846-52

During the six years from 1846 to 1852, the Mormon mind was divided on questions involving slavery. On the one hand, some Saints, as they had done during the early 1840's, continued to express their dislike for the Peculiar Institution, but at the same time other churchmen showed their support for slavery even to the point of utilizing the services of black slaves. To make matters even more confusing, the church assumed a neutral, detached, often non-committal position, refusing to discuss the issue of black bondage as it directly affected the Saints in their western settlements, or related to American society in general.

Two developments brought this divided Mormon attitude into sharp focus after 1846. The first, involved the removal of the Saints from Illinois and the establishment of a new gathering point, first on a temporary basis at Winter Quarters, Iowa and finally in the remote regions of the Great Basin. In this desolate western area, then a part of Mexico, the church built up Salt Lake City as Mormonism's new headquarters.

This geographic shift involved the Saints, against their wishes, in the sectional conflict of 1846-50 over the status of slavery in the Great Basin. This conflict stemmed from America's annexation of the Great Basin along with other Western territory following its victory in the Mexican war. As a result, the Saints found their actions and attitudes involving slavery subject to greater non-Mormon scrutiny, especially from northern and southern partisans. Ironically, however, as the
Saints found themselves under increased pressure to take a position on this vexing question, Mormon ambivalence, which had always been evident on this subject, came into sharper focus.

A second Mormon development—a change in church leadership—also encouraged an ambivalent attitude toward slavery. Following the assassination of Joseph Smith in 1844, Brigham Young, President of the Council of Twelve Apostles, emerged as the acknowledged leader of those Latter-day Saints who migrated westward. In 1847, following the arrival of the first Saints in the Great Salt Lake Valley, Young was sustained as President of the whole church, thereby inheriting the powers of "Prophet, Seer, and Revelator" held by his predecessor Joseph Smith.

In certain respects, Young's background was similar to that of the slain Mormon prophet. Young, like Smith, was descended from New England stock; born in Vermont and eventually ending up in New York. Like Smith, Young received very little formal education due to the family's economic difficulties. Following the death of his mother, the family separated and the young lad served an apprenticeship to a cabinetmaker, painter, and glazier in Auburn, New York. As a young man, Young, like Smith, favored the Methodists through his membership in that church; a denomination in which Young's three older brothers served as itinerant preachers. During the early 1830's, however, Young and his brothers were exposed to the teachings of Joseph Smith and joined the Mormon Church. Shortly thereafter following in the footsteps of Smith, Young left New York State and migrated to Kirtland, Ohio where he distinguished himself as a vigorous missionary, and in 1835 was ordained a member of the newly formed Council of Twelve Apostles. Young further demonstrated his capacity for church leadership during the Mormon difficulties in Missouri in 1838-9
which had resulted in the imprisonment of Joseph Smith and other church leaders. Young, as the senior member of the Council of Twelve, temporarily stepped in and assumed control over the whole church directing the exodus of the besieged Saints to Illinois.

Young, however, differed from Joseph Smith in a number of important respects. Unlike his predecessor, Young was a man of action, not a doctrinal theoretician. The new church president, along with those advisors upon whom he relied after 1846, were principally concerned with the practical problems of establishing a new Zion in the Rocky Mountains. Young and his advisors handled the various problems of settlement, the economy, government and church doctrine on an immediate, day by day basis, sometimes with a seeming lack of consistency. Likewise these same leaders also responded to various aspects of the slave question as it affected them in an ambiguous, seemingly contradictory manner.

On one level, the Saints continued to express their dislike for slavery as they had done before 1846. Brigham Young through his private correspondence pointed out that the Saints were "adverse" to the institution of slavery. Through letters, a number of other apostles wrote that the Mormons "as a people" were "generally... opposed to slavery and would "never...sustain" or tolerate it in any of the regions they occupied.

The Saints also registered their continuing opposition to slavery through their public pronouncements. After their arrival in the Great Basin, church spokesmen presented their anti-slavery attitudes at several public gatherings. On one such occasion, Apostle Parley P. Pratt proclaimed that in Utah

...no chains or fetters bind the limbs of men; no slave exists to tremble, toil or sweat for nought, or fear and crouch, full low to please his fellow man."
In a poetic verse at another celebration, Pratt made a promise to all those who migrated to Mormonism's mountain retreat:

Freedom, peace and full salvation  
And the blessings guaranteed—  
Liberty to every nation  
Every tongue, and every creed.  

Another Latter-day Saint called for "Liberty and truth...to illuminate the whole earth until the sun" sets for the last time "on the cottage of the slave." Utilizing Biblical analogies, a third churchman lyrically explained that "Old Adam," the first man

...had no slave to black his boots, nor nigger to attend him  
With his own hands he did his chores, yet none would dare offend him.

Mormon opposition to slavery was also evident on a practical level. During the campaign and election of 1848, one Mormon apostle observed that those Saints encamped at Kanesville (or Council Bluffs), Iowa who were eligible to vote were strongly inclined toward the Free Soil party ticket. Another apostle suggested that the Saints might be favorable toward a second term for James Polk if he came "out on Free Soilism."

The Latter-day Saints also indicated their dislike for slavery through their efforts to exclude the Peculiar Institution from their projected Mormon state of Deseret or Utah. One churchman proclaimed that "Justice demands for us Free Soil & Free Tariff." Brigham Young and other church leaders also believed that Mormon support for free soil principles could be used as a vehicle for the desired goal of Utah statehood. This Mormon objective coincided with President Zachary Taylor's desire to divide the Mexican Cession—including the Mormon-dominated Great Basin—into individual states as soon as possible. Consequently, Taylor, like Young, was willing to accept free soilism and/or the Wilmot Proviso as
a prerequisite. Taylor sent his personal representative General John Wilson west with a proposal that a single state based on the principles of the Wilmot Proviso be immediately formed out of two Western regions: the Mormon-dominated Great Basin and the non-Mormon gold field settlements of the Pacific Coast. After conferring with Wilson, Brigham Young agreed to this plan provided that this state be divided by 1857 into two states—a Mormon Great Basin state and a non-Mormon West Coast state. In January 1850, Young sent Apostle Amasa Lyman to California to confer with officials of that region and register Mormon support for "a temporary coalition with California to sue for admission into the Union as a free and sovereign state." The Taylor-Mormon plan, however, was rejected by the Californians as impractical due to problems inherent in governing two such distant settlements.

All the time Brigham Young and other Saints were pushing for a state based on the Wilmot Proviso, other Mormons were supporting the Peculiar Institution by bringing black slaves into the Great Basin. As early as 1845 when a number of migrating "brethren" from the southern states asked church leaders what to do with "their negroes"; they were told to bring these slaves with them on the Mormon migration westward. Three black slaves—Green Flake, Hark Lay, and Oscar Crosby—accompanyed the Latter-day Saint vanguard into the Great Salt Lake Basin in July 1847. By January 1849, approximately 60-70 black slaves had been brought west by their fourteen Mormon masters. Included in the list of Latter-day Saint slaveholders were at least two Mormon apostles and a future delegate to Congress. In 1852 the Saints legally recognized the black slavery in their midst through "AN ACT in relation to Service" passed
by the first session of the Utah Territorial legislature. At the same time certain Saints supported slavery, other Saints remained neutral and detached from all aspects of this vexing question. These Saints indicated their desire for non-involvement by the way they reacted to the problem of the runaway slave. This problem confronted those Saints encamped at Kanesville, Iowa, just across the border from the slave state of Missouri. This settlement was under the direction of Apostle Orson Hyde who had assumed an increasingly important role in church affairs during this period. Like many other church leaders he came from a New England background and had worked in various occupations; first on a farm, then in an iron foundry, and eventually in a woolen mill. Hyde, like Smith and other Saints, was a religious seeker, first as a Methodist, then a Campbellite preacher, before finally joining the Mormons in 1831. He distinguished himself as a missionary and was ordained a Mormon Apostle in 1835. Following the assassination of Joseph Smith in 1844 and as Mormon-non-Mormon difficulties intensified in Illinois, Hyde was appointed to help supervise the evacuation of Nauvoo in 1846-47, and then was placed in charge of the temporary Mormon settlement in Iowa. While at Kanesville, Hyde established a newspaper, The Frontier Guardian, which became the official church organ at that place, and reflected the opinions of the church leaders at Kanesville as well as those in the Great Salt Lake Valley—until they commenced publication of their own newspaper in 1850. Hyde, when confronted with the problem of the runaway slave, instructed those Saints under his authority to treat such a runaway as they would any other stranger: to feed him if he was hungry and then send him on his way. The Saints were admonished to remain "neutral" in dealing with both the fleeing slave and the
owner in pursuit. They were told not to "harbor or secret the runaway," but at the same time not be "officious to procure" the black fugitive's "arrest" unless he had committed some specific criminal act. In conclusion, Hyde instructed the Saints

...keep yourselves entirely free and unspotted from so dark a subject. Suffer not yourselves to be partizans sic in any form, to this vexatious question. Although the problem of the runaway slave was of primary relevance to the Council Bluff Saints and not to the Utah-based Mormons, the latter group was forced to deal with this question on at least one occasion, when it was disclosed that a fugitive slave was living among them. A church spokesman was careful to point out that the Saints

...had no agency at all in causing him [the runaway] to fly from servitude; and are not disposed to have any agency in causing him to return to slavery. He is there and is at work, and if the owner should send for him, he would probably meet with no resistance from our people in getting him, neither would they be disposed to aid or facilitate his return to slavery.

Latter-day Saint leaders also attempted to handle the general question of Utah territorial slavery in this same neutral, uncommitted and detached manner. Mormon "Sentiment from the Salt Lake Valley" was expressed through the pages of The Frontier Guardian in the following manner:

In regard to the Wilmot Proviso, slavery &c., we wish you to distinctly understand that our desire is to leave that subject to the operation of time and circumstances, and common law; that we wish not to saddle with this subject, but leave these to their natural course.

Brigham Young and other church leaders also instructed those Mormon representatives, sent to Washington, D.C. to promote statehood or territorial status for the Saints, to act in a similar detached, neutral manner. Brigham Young instructed these delegates to oppose the inclusion of "a
probationary clause...[on] our territory in relation to the subject of slavery. 26 Another church leader told these same representatives to remain "neutral" and not commit themselves "in the least by taking sides with the Democrats, Whigs, Free Soil or any other party," and "keep a close mouth with all parties." 27

Almon W. Babbitt and John H. Bernhisel, the Latter-day Saint representatives to Congress, acted on these instructions in ways as different as their diverse backgrounds. Babbitt was a native New Engander, born in Berkshire County, Massachusetts in 1813. He became a lawyer, but there is nothing to indicate whether he was self-educated or had received formal training. Babbitt joined the Mormon movement in 1831 and by the 1840's was the Latter-day Saint representative in the lower house of the Illinois legislature. By virtue of his background and experience Babbitt was, therefore, a logical choice to present the Mormon case for statehood or territorial status before the United States Congress. 28 John H. Bernhisel, by contrast, was a native of Pennsylvania, born in 1799 near Loysville in Cumberland County. Bernhisel was a medical doctor and, therefore, had scant political experience prior to his appointment to work with Babbitt in Washington, D.C. He was possibly selected for this task because of his pro-Whig party sympathies which tended to counterbalance the pro-Democratic sympathies of Babbitt. 29 Whatever the case, the two men acted quite differently in following the instructions of Brigham Young and other church leaders. Bernhisel tried to follow church advice and remain neutral and detached from the slave question.

I made it a point not only during my travels last summer and fall, but since my arrival in Washington, not to make Slavery nor politics a point. 30 Bernhisel's efforts stood in sharp contrast to the behavior and actions
of Babbitt who attempted to get himself seated in Congress as a delegate for Deseret or Utah by presenting himself as a "pro-slavery man." Babbitt also attempted to curry southern favor by declaring the presence of four hundred slaves among the Utah-based Mormons. Babbitt, according to one pro-Mormon observer, "seemed desirous to drive upon the position of Utah on the Slavery Question...by...proclaiming it ultral-pro-slavery and Slavery Territory." Utah church leaders took note of Babbitt's unauthorized behavior and recalled him to Utah. By contrast, these same leaders rewarded Bernhisel by making him Utah's permanent delegate in Congress. This Latter-day Saint desire for neutrality or non-involvement in the slavery controversy was also evident in their proposed State Constitution. This document, sent to Washington with Bernhisel and Babbitt, did not even mention slavery. This omission caused one mid-western newspaper to observe rather naively that:

Not a word is said in the Constitution about slavery or the Wilmot Proviso, such things not having entered into the imaginations of the lawgivers as important for their welfare.

This was not the case. Latter-day Saint leaders recognized the dangerous potential inherent in the existing controversy over the status of slavery in Utah and other territory recently acquired from Mexico. They wanted to dissociate themselves as much as possible from this strife. One apostle expressed this desire quite frankly in a private letter to an intimate non-Mormon friend.

We [the Saints] are a peaceful and industrious people have [sic] removed to the Sequestreal[sic] Valley of the Great Salt Lake. We do not wish to have anything to do with the "vexed question of Slavery" and other exciting political questions and therefore we deemed it expedient not to introduce a clause into our constitution prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the State of Deseret.
Apostle Orson Hyde, through *The Frontier Guardian*, gave a more public response to the question of "Why have not the Mormons said something about Slavery and the Wilmot Proviso?"

> We view these questions as a prolific source of bitterness and strife, the agitation of which would tend to sour and alienate the feelings of our own people one against another. 37

Latter-day efforts to maintain a detached and neutral stance from the controversy over slavery in their territory was aided by a contemporary belief in the "natural limits" theory of slaveholding. This concept held that Utah, along with most of the other territory recently acquired from Mexico, was an area where slavery could not possibly exist because of unsuitable geographic and climatic conditions. This idea, according to Bernhisel, writing from Washington, was widely held by "all of the leading men in the non-slaveholding states and of all the moderate men in the Slaveholding States" both in and out of congress. 38 Influential Congressional leaders including Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Lewis Cass, and Stephen A. Douglas maintained that the "natural limits" theory applied to the Mormon occupied Great Basin. 39 Even those southerners who had fought most vigorously against the adoption of the Wilmot Proviso accepted the idea that slavery was not likely to flourish in the Mormon occupied regions of the Great Basin. 40

John M. Bernhisel not only chronicled the prevalence of a widespread congressional belief in the "natural limits" theory, but also tried to further promote this view. When approached by a sympathetic senator with the question "Is Deseret [Utah] likely to become the Theatre of slave labor?" Bernhisel answered, "In my judgement, there is no part of Deseret, so far as it has been explored, in which slave labor can ever be profitably employed." 41
Bernhisel also promoted this "natural limits" idea by trying to prevent the public disclosure of black slaveholding among the Saints. This attempt to "cover-up" Utah's black slavery developed in response to the Federal Census of 1850. When informed that census takers were on their way to the Great Basin to count the inhabitants--both free and slave--Bernhisel suggested to Brigham Young that

...no person of African descent be reported as a slave. I make this suggestion because a large majority of the members of both branches of Congress, and a vast majority of the jurists in the United States, entertain the conviction that slavery does not, and cannot exist in the Territory of Deseret without the sanction of positive law, yet to be enacted.42

Bernhisel in his efforts to "cover up" Utah's black slavery was motivated by a fear that such disclosure would jeopardize Mormon efforts to secure a territorial government. Such a government, Bernhisel later recalled, would have never been granted to the Saints if Congress had believed "that slavery existed" among the Mormons with "even half a dozen slaves."43

Bernhisel's efforts to "cover up" Utah's black slavery, however, failed. When the figures of the 1850 Federal Census were published two years later, Bernhisel learned to his dismay that church leaders in Utah did not follow his suggestions of reporting zero black slaves. Instead, the final census figures for Utah recorded twenty-six black slaves.44 Although this number was somewhat modest in terms of the 60 to 70 slaves actually held in the territory, it was still too high to suit Bernhisel.45 The Mormon delegate seemed to believe that he had been deceived or at least misled by church leaders in Utah. After learning of the disturbing figures, he tersely wrote Brigham Young:

I understood from brother Bullock last summer that there were not slaves in the Territory and I have been asked how
they came there, but was unable to answer. Will brother B. [righam] explain?\textsuperscript{46}

In one respect therefore, Latter-day Saints efforts to maintain a detached, neutral position on the slave issue were motivated by a desire to avoid being caught up in the 1846-50 controversy over slavery in territories; especially when this issue affected the Saints in a direct way following their migration to the Great Basin. Secondly, detached Mormon neutrality was possibly motivated by a general Latter-day Saint desire to avoid being caught up in the general sectional strife over slavery which threatened to engulf the nation in civil war during this period.

Latter-day Saint writings reflected Mormon fears about the dangerous potential of the slave question for the nation as a whole. Various churchmen viewed with alarm the "feelings of deepest hatred" between the North and South over the "all engrossing" and "grave and great question of slavery."\textsuperscript{47} These two sections were "arrayed in hostile variance," according to Mormon observers. Other accounts characterized slavery as "a bone of contention" creating "wars times" among the politicians in Washington.\textsuperscript{48}

Some Latter-day Saints even made dire predictions concerning the cataclysmic outcome of this controversy. One Mormon apostle prophesied "war, blood and thunder" between the North and South leading to "the overthrow of this government."\textsuperscript{49} John M. Bernhisel expected "the great and grave question of slavery" to "shake this Union to its centre," and possibly break it "into as many fragments as there are States composing it."\textsuperscript{50} The North and South, warned Apostle Orson Pratt, were rushing "headlong into the opening vortex that has swallowed up nations and generations."
Pratt predicted that:

The people of the United States are to be divided among themselves—the North against the South; the Southern states will call on Great Britain for help; Great Britain will call on other nations ... and thus war shall be poured out upon all nations, and no people under heaven shall be at peace except the Lord's people— the children of Zion.  

The predictions of Pratt, as well as those of Bernhisel and other church spokesmen, were remarkably similar to those contained in Joseph Smith's millennialistic-apocalyptic 1832 "Revelation and Prophecy on War" which was incorporated into the Pearl of Great Price and published for the first time in 1851.

Latter-day Saints, therefore, held ambivalent and at times apparently contradictory attitudes throughout the period 1846-52. The divided mind of Mormonism on the whole slave issue was perhaps best reflected in the various motives behind the 1852 "Act in relation to Service." On a very obvious level this act was a pro-slavery measure. Through its legal acceptance of black slavery among the Saints, this measure tacitly recognized Utah as a slave territory. Most of the 60 to 70 black slaves in Utah belonged to southern converts who had brought these slaves West with them. These Mormon slaveholders undoubtedly pushed for and/or welcomed this legislation which legally recognized their right to hold chattel property in the territory.

Besides attempting to fulfill the pro-slavery wishes of Utah's slaveholders, the Act of 1852 also addressed itself to those "persons coming to this Territory and bringing with them Servants justly bound to them." This statute, therefore, seemed to be assuring southerners in general that if they so desired their right to hold slaves within the Territory of Utah would be recognized and upheld.
A third factor also indicative of Mormon-pro-slavery feelings prompted the enactment of the 1852 statute. This act in its timing and origin represents a Mormon attempt to declare null and void an earlier anti-slavery law enacted in 1829 by the Mexican government. This 1829 act had had the effect of abolishing slavery in all of that territory, including Utah, later ceded under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

A strong belief that the Mexican law was still in effect was evident in the Congressional debates of 1848-50. A majority of the members of Congress and a "vast majority of the jurists in the United States," according to John M. Bernhisel, believed that Mexican "municipal laws," abolishing the "patriarchal institution" remained in force and

Slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime cannot exist, or be introduced into [Utah or any other part of the Mexican cession] until that law shall be repealed, and another enacted by the Legislative Department of this United States Government, permitting its introduction. 55

According to this view, therefore, it was up to Congress, if it desired legal recognition for slavery in these western territories, to repeal the earlier Mexican law and replace it with a "positive law" of its own. Congress, however, declined to deal with the problem of slavery on a local or territorial level because it subscribed to the concept of popular sovereignty as enunciated in the Compromise of 1850. Therefore, the residents of Utah, along with those in other parts of the Mexican cession, were left with the responsibility of handling the earlier Mexican anti-slavery law in whatever way they chose. Utah's 1852 "Act in Relation to Service" can be viewed as a definite pro-slavery measure declaring null and void earlier Mexican anti-slavery legislation. The Saints by eliminating this legal obstacle opened Utah to the institution of black slavery.
A fourth, more subtle pro-slavery factor also motivated the enactment of this statute. In its timing and structure, the 1852 statute appears to be the by-product of Mormon actions relative to the Indian slave trade in their midst. This trade, conducted by Mexican slave traders who usually sold their Indian captives into bondage or killed them outright, prompted Mormon church leaders into action. Brigham Young proposed a statute which would enable the Saints to purchase those captive Indians in danger of losing their lives and hold them in "humane" bondage. Young urged the Saints to purchase Indian slaves rather than leaving them subject to the Mexicans, "beings scarcely superior to themselves."

In contrast to the "low servile drudgery of Mexican slavery," the Mormon statute would expose the Indians to the benefits of a "civilized" and "humane and benevolent society."

This question of Indian slavery, moreover, appeared in Mormon minds to be closely related and possibly intertwined with that of black slavery. In a somewhat ambiguous manner Brigham Young explained:

It is unnecessary, perhaps for me to indicate the true policy for Utah, in regard to slavery. Restrictions of law and government make all servants; but human flesh to be dealt in as property, is not consistent or compatible with the true principles of government. My own feelings are, that no property can or should be recognized in slaves either Indian or African. No person can purchase them, without their becoming as free, so far as natural rights are concerned as persons of any other color.

Young, however, went on to suggest that slavery as a temporary institution could be used to "redeem" both the Native American and the black man "from servile bondage both mental and physical." The enactment of statutes legalizing both black and Indian slavery, Young concluded, could accomplish this task.

So shall the benevolence of the human heart be called into
action, to promote the improvement of the down-trodden race, whose fathers long swayed the destiny of empires; so shall the condition of the poor, forlorn, ignorant savage, or African, as the case may be, become ameliorated, and a foundation laid for their advancement in the scale of useful, excelling existence; useful to themselves, to their nation, and all who come within the purview of their influence. 58

Both of the statutes of 1852 providing for black and Indian servitude, therefore, were remarkably similar in their timing and desired aims.

One should not overemphasize the significance of various pro-slavery motives in the enactment of the 1852 statute. After all, Mormon leaders, as previously indicated, never considered Utah slave territory. The number of black slaves living in Utah was never very large throughout this period. 59 Brigham Young also discounted the significance of Utah's black slavery in evaluating the primary motive behind the passage of the 1852 Act in Relation to Service. Young declared that this statute, along with a number of other anti-black laws, had been primarily enacted to rid Utah of its "colored population" and only incidentally to establish "controls over those remaining." 60

The Act of 1852, therefore, was possibly part of a larger Mormon effort to rid Utah of its black slave population. A year earlier, just after John M. Bernhisel had proposed a "cover-up" of Utah's black slave population, a second advisor suggested a more permanent solution for Utah's slave problem. Thomas L. Kane, an important non-Mormon friend, advised Brigham Young to "avoid passing legislation" in reference to slavery, and instead handle all "affairs affecting it" through "other and quiet arrangements." 61 Kane seemed to be suggesting that Utah's entire black slave population be removed or encouraged to leave the territory. Subsequent to his communication with Kane, Young sent a church colonizing expedition to California. It included twenty six-black slaves—the same number re-
ported in Utah's territorial census for 1850.62 A statement was then in-
serted in the census report, itself, explaining the black slaves in ques-
tion were "on their way to California." Thus, the Saints tried to create
the impression that as of 1852, there were no black slaves in Utah.63
When it became obvious that this was not the case, Brigham Young then urged
the territorial legislature to adopt the 1852 Act in Relation to Service.
Young possibly hoped that this Act, with its numerous restrictions on
slaveholders as well as black slaves, would have a discouraging effect
on Utah's small slaveowning population; prompting them to leave the terri-
tory with their chattel property and settle elsewhere.

Mormon attitudes toward slavery during the fourteen year period from
1839-52, while initially against involuntary servitude, became increasingly
ambivalent and at times seemingly contradictory following the Mormon mi-
gration west. Certain Saints continued to express dislike for the Peculiar
Institution as they had done before 1846 and characterized the Great Basin
as a region where slavery could not flourish. By contrast, other Mormons
indicated their support for slavery by introducing black slavery into the
Great Basin and legalizing it by passing "AN Act in Relation to Service."
On still another level, various church leaders tried to maintain an official
neutral, detached position from all aspects of the slavery controversy.

Mormonism's shift from the anti-slavery position of the Nauvoo period
to an ambiguous position by 1852 occurred simultaneously with, and was
related to the deteriorating status of the black man within Mormonism--
a trend which reached its climax during these same years.64 This deterio-
ration was most graphically illustrated in black priesthood denial. Even
a non-Mormon observer perceived the interrelationship between the increased
Mormon tolerance for, black slavery (albeit ambivalent) and black priest-
hood denial.

Involuntary labor by negroes is recognized by custom; those holding slaves keep them as part of the family as they would their wives. Negro caste springs naturally from their doctrine of blacks being ineligible for the priesthood.65

The shift of Mormonism to an ambivalent position on slavery was significant in that it played a role in undermining the black man's status within Mormonism, a development discussed in the following chapter. In addition, this divided Mormon attitude toward slavery was important, in that it would persist for the next thirteen years even though pro-slavery rhetoric would tend to blur its basic contradictions and ambiguities.
S. Dilworth Young, *Here is Brigham* (Salt Lake City, 1964), 14-37. It is interesting to note Brigham Young's father, as a young man, had been "bound out" to a man...who had both white and black servants." This man, according to the stories handed down, treated the elder Young and his other servants "cruelly."

John Henry Evans in Ezra T. Benson (Salt Lake City, 1941), 127-38, alludes to the shifting focus of the church leadership from theological to practical concerns following the death of Joseph Smith, in discussing the activities of various leaders.

Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, July 19, 1849, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Historical Department.

Orson Hyde to Brigham Young, June 12, 1849, Orson Hyde Papers, LDS Church Historical Department; Wilford Woodruff to Thomas L. Kane, November 27, 1849, Wilford Woodruff Papers, LDS Church Historical Department.

*Latter Day Saints Millennial Star*, January 1, 1849.

Ibid., December 1, 1849.

*Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), August 10, 1850.

Ibid., November 16, 1850.

George A. Smith to Brigham Young, October 2, 1848, George A. Smith Papers, LDS Church Historical Department. Potential Mormon support for the Free Soil Party, however, was far from complete because of Latter-day Saint hostility toward their standard bearer—Martin Van Buren. In addition, the *Latter Day Saints Millennial Star* referred sarcastically to the members of this party as "half-blood Abolitionists," February 1, 1848.

Willard Richard to Thomas Kane, July 25, 1849, Willard Richards Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department.

Willard Richards to Thomas Kane, May 2, 1849, Richards Papers. Italics in original.

Daniel H. Wells to Orson Hyde, March 5, 1849, Daniel H. Wells Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department. Also church leaders hoped that the growing debates over Free Soil and slavery in the territories would divert political attention away from the Saints and their activities.
This goal of immediate statehood was based on Taylor's desire to bring an end to all Congressional debate over the question of slavery in the Mexican Cession, thus restoring domestic tranquility. See Holman Hamilton, *Zachary Taylor: Soldier in the White House* (New York, 1951), 263-79. Also see Hamilton's *Prologue to Conflict* (New York, 1964), 20, 47-8. The Saints, however, in pursuing this same goal of immediate statehood looked at the current North-South crisis in a different light. Brigham Young summed up the view of some Saints. "Should the Wilmot Proviso or slave question, by any means, become settled before our admission into the Union, politicians might feel themselves more independent, and our interests might not lay so near their hearts." Brigham Young to Amasa Lyman, September 6, 1849, Young Papers.

Hamiton, *Prologue to Conflict*, 20; J. Keith Melville, *Highlights in Mormon Political History* (Provo, Utah, 1967), 61-62; Leland H. Creer, *Utah and the Nation* (Seattle, Washington, 1929), 80-81. The main motive behind the idea of combining these two regions, was the feeling that each of these two regions, alone, lacked sufficient population for statehood.

Brigham Young to Amasa Lyman, September 6, 1849, Young Papers.

"Journal History," January 31, 1850.

Melville, 64; Creer, 81.

"Journal History," September 25, 1845.

For a compilation of black slaves and their Mormon masters living in the Great Basin and elsewhere during this period see "Appendix C: Lists of Slaves and Free Blacks Associated with the Latter-day Saints During the Period 1830-1865."

"AN ACT in relation to Service," *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1855), 160-62.


*The Frontier Guardian* (Kanesville, Iowa), October 17, 21, 1849.

Ibid., October 17, 1849.

Ibid., August 8, 1849.

Ibid., September 18, 1849. It is interesting to note that the original correspondence from Daniel H. Wells to Orson Hyde, July 19,
1849, Wells Papers, is somewhat different in its contents and implication from that reprinted in the Guardian. The unpublished portion of the correspondence noted that "You might safely say (if it was of any particular case) that as a people we are adverse to Slavery, but we wish not to meddle with this subject at present but leave things to take their natural course." Italics and crossed out in original.

26 Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, July 19, 1849, Young Papers.

27 Wilford Woodruff to Almon W. Babbitt, November 27, 1849, Woodruff Papers; Conversation between Thomas L. Kane, John M. Bernhisel and Wilford Woodruff, November 26, 1849, as recalled and noted by Woodruff, Thomas L. Kane Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department.


30 John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, March 21, 1850, John M. Bernhisel Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department. Italics in original.

31 Congressional Globe (Washington, D.C.), 1912, July 21, 1850. Babbitt, in his pro-slavery approach may have been influenced by the unsuccessful efforts of a delegate from New Mexico to get himself seated by virtue of his opposition to slavery for his territory.

32 Ibid., 1912, August 29, 1850. Another source gave the figure of "some two hundred slaves." See Robert W. Johannsen's Stephen A. Douglas (New York, 1973), 267. These two sets of figures were a gross exaggeration. See Appendix C. Babbitt in his quest for southern support for the Saints, may have also been encouraged by what he perceived as underlying southern sympathy for the Mormon cause as suggested in the speeches given by at least two southerners in Congress. See Congressional Globe, 19 Appendix, June 5, 1850 and July 9, 1850.

33 Thomas L. Kane to Brigham Young, February 19, 1851, Kane Papers.

34 First printed in Latter-Day Saints Millennial Star, January 1, 1850.

35 Daily Missouri Republican (St. Louis), October 1, 1849. This omission was also noted by the New York Tribune, as reprinted in the Deseret News, June 15, 1850.
36. Wilford Woodruff to Thomas L. Kane, November 27, 1849, Woodruff Papers.

37. The Frontier Guardian, January 23, 1850. He went on to explain that Divine providence had not foreordained "the Mormons to work up the knotty and crossgrained lumber of Slavery and the Wilmot Proviso" but had left this task to those outside of the True Faith.

38. John H. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, March 21, 1850, Bernhisel Papers. He felt that only the "ultra-fanatics of the South" held an opposite opinion.


40. Ibid., 17 Appendix, June 28, 1848, July 12, 20, 1848; 18 Appendix, February 10, 1849; 19 Appendix, May 21, 1850, June 24, 27, 1850. This southern belief that the Great Basin was not a fertile ground for the expansion of the Peculiar Institution was perhaps best illustrated by the lack of concern at the Nashville Convention of 1850. Even in the emotion-charged proceedings of this gathering, partisan southerners did not consider it worth their effort to promote even the symbolic right to hold slaves in the Mormon dominated Great Basin.

41. Ibid., 19 Appendix, July 8, 1850. Bernhisel's answer as printed in the Globe was somewhat different from the description which Bernhisel gave President Young. To Young, he said, "Slave labor can never, in our opinion be profitably employed in Deseret so far as it has been explored." Italics mine. See John H. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, March 21, 1850, Bernhisel Papers.

42. Bernhisel to Young, July 3, 1850, Bernhisel Papers.

43. Bernhisel to Young, September 12, 1850, November 9, 1850, Bernhisel Papers.


45. See Appendix C.

46. Bernhisel to Young, February 13, 1852, Bernhisel Papers.

47. Latter Day Saints Millennial Star, October 15, 1848; Bernhisel to Young, March 5, 15, 1850, Bernhisel Papers.
Latter Day Saints Millennial Star, April 15, 1847, October 1, 1847, February 1, 1849.

Ibid., March 1, 1850. See letters from Wilford Woodruff to Orson Pratt reprinted in Latter Day Saints Millennial Star, April 15, 1849; Wilford Woodruff to George A. Smith, February 22, 1849; Woodruff to Young, February 15, 1849, Woodruff Papers.

Bernhisel to Young, March 21, 1850, Bernhisel Papers.

Latter Day Saints Millennial Star, November 15, 1848, December 15, 1850.

Pearl of Great Price (Liverpool, England, 1851). The background and contents of this prophecy were discussed in Chapter 2.


Bernhisel to Young, March 21, 1850, July 3, 1850, September 7, 1850, Bernhisel Papers.

Brigham Young, "Speech to the Joint Session of the Legislative Assembly, January 5, 1852," 109, Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah 1851-1852 (Salt Lake City, 1852).

Ibid., 108.

Ibid.

See Appendix C.

Deseret News, December 25, 1852.

Kane to Young, February 19, 1851, Kane Papers. Italics in original.

However, there is nothing in the papers or correspondence of Apostles Charles C. Rich and Amasa Lyman (who led this expedition), or in that of church leaders in Utah (as examined by this writer) to suggest that the settlement in San Bernardino was in any way motivated by
such a desire, or that, the inclusion of these twenty-six blacks in the initial migration was part of a plan to rid Utah of black slavery or the black man. Such suggestions are also absent in Joseph S. Wood's "The Mormon Settlement in San Bernardino" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1967).

63 *Statistical Views of the U.S. and Compendium of the Seventh Census* 1850, 83. The Deseret News, June 12, 1852, following the publication of the census, further explained that the twenty-six slaves in the report "were in the Territory at the date of the census, in 1850, on route for California and were so marked on the census papers; they left the Territory in the spring of 1851."

64 Although it should be noted that even when various Saints spoke out against black slavery throughout this period, they often betrayed their negative feelings toward the black man in general. When attacking slavery and slaveholding the terms "nigger" and "nigger-drivers" were often used. See Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church*, Vol. V, 472; The Nauvoo Neighbor, June 12, 1844; Deseret News, November 16, 1850. Negative feelings toward the black man were also evident by the solutions proposed by the Saints to solve the slave problem. The Mormon solutions offered in 1833 and 1844, proposed not only emancipation but also colonization of the newly freed black slave in some place outside the United States. Thus America would rid itself not only of its Peculiar Institution but the black man as well.

Chapter VI

THE BLACK MAN'S MORMON STATUS DETERIORATES 1839-52

During the thirteen years from 1839 to 1852 as Mormonism's position toward slavery shifted from the prevalent antipathy of the Nauvoo period to a detached ambivalence, general Mormon attitudes toward the black man and his status within Mormonism also changed. The black man's position deteriorated as the church's basic theological perceptions and practices evolved. In 1849, for the first time, the Latter-day Saints prohibited the ordination of blacks to their priesthood—a lay organization open to virtually all other adult male members of the church. Throughout this whole period the general position of the black within Mormon theology deteriorated. As early as 1842, Joseph Smith had labeled contemporary "negroes...the sons of Cain." This was the first known Mormon effort to directly link the black man to the alleged first murderer. Smith also theorized that all blacks had come "into the world slaves, mentally and physically." By 1845 another church spokesman drew an intimate parallel between blacks and "apostate[s] of the holy priesthood." Like the apostate, the black man suffered from the liabilities of involuntary servitude, "a black heart," and "a black skin." In that same year, Apostle Orson Hyde, a leading theological spokesman following the death of Joseph Smith, explained that the black man's subordinate status in this life had been "predetermined" or foreordained by events during a premortal existence. Expanding upon a basic belief originally developed by Smith, Hyde theorized that certain premortal spirits were doomed to
receive black bodies because of their less than valiant activities during a premortal war which took place between God and Lucifer. According to Hyde these premortal spirits that

...did not take a very active part on either side, [during this war] were not considered bad enough to be cast down to hell, and never have bodies [as were those who had sided actively with Lucifer] neither were they considered worthy of an honorable body on this earth as were those who had fought for God.6

Therefore these spirits "were required ...to take bodies in the accursed lineage of Canaan; hence the negro or African race."7 Brigham Young in 1849 summed up the prevailing church view in addressing himself to the question of the black man's status within Mormonism. When asked to speculate on the chances of the black man for "redemption," Young replied:

[The curse remained upon them because Cain cut off the lives [sic] of Abel, to prevent him and his posterity getting ascendancy over Cain and his generations, and to get the lead himself, his own offering not being accepted of God, while Abel's was. But the Lord cursed Cain's seed with blackness and prohibited them the priesthood, that Abel and his progeny might yet come forward, and have their dominion, place, and blessings in their proper relationship with Cain and his race in the world to come.8

A number of trends both within and outside of Mormonism contributed to the black man's deteriorating status. On a very obvious level, the black man's Mormon status was certainly undermined by shifting Latter-day Saint attitudes toward slavery. As the Saints moved from their initial anti-slavery attitudes so prevalent during the Nauvoo period to a less hostile attitude toward slavery after 1846, they found it easier to accept certain concepts upholding the inferior position and limited capacities of the black man in other areas. For example, Brigham Young took note of the black man's limited "capability and natural rights" in asking for the 1852 Act in Relation to Service to legalize slavery in Utah.9
A second development, an increased Latter-day Saint willingness to support and even enact secular anti-black regulations and statutes contributed to the black man's declining Mormon position. The Saints, following the removal of their church headquarters to Illinois in 1839, found themselves subject to a state statute which limited the migration of free blacks into the state. Church officials who were supervising the large Mormon migration into Illinois were undoubtedly sensitive to the provisions of this state law requiring any free black entering the state to furnish notarized proof of his or her freedom, and post a $1,000 bond. Therefore, the Latter-day Saints, despite a universalistic rhetorical "desire" to gather all races and ethnic groups, including the "degraded Hottentot" to their new Illinois Zion, were forced by law to look at blacks in a somewhat different light than other ethnic groups migrating to Nauvoo.

The Latter-day Saints not only accepted existing Illinois anti-black laws, but proceeded to enact local statutes of their own limiting the rights and activities of the few blacks living in their midst. This was first done in the Nauvoo City Charter, conceived and written by the Saints. This Mormon document limited the right to vote, hold municipal office, or belong to the militia--the famed Nauvoo Legion--to "free white males." Another local statute prohibited intermarriage between whites and blacks. The validity of this statute was upheld by Joseph Smith himself. As a city official presiding over the trial of two blacks for attempting "to marry white women," Smith "fined one $25 and the other $5." This Mormon practice of enacting anti-black statutes--prohibiting blacks from voting, holding public office, belonging to the militia, and intermarrying with whites--continued, and in fact, intensified follow-
ing the Latter-day Saint migration west after 1846. 15

A willingness to legally recognize the black man's inferior status within the secular realm was no new thing for the Saints. Throughout the first decade of Mormonism's existence, as discussed earlier, the Saints had found themselves forced to recognize, and even obey various non-Mormon, anti-black statutes during their sojourn in Ohio and Missouri. What was different about Latter-day Saint actions after 1839, first in Illinois and later in Utah, was that the Saints, themselves, for the first time and by their own initiative enacted anti-black statutes. This Mormon implementation of measures which maintained an inferior status for those blacks living in areas under Latter-day Saint control, undoubtedly made it easier for church leaders to affirm a subordinate position for the black man within the Mormon Church itself. A Mormon tendency to "blur over" and interrelate secular and ecclesiastical matters during this period has been perceptively noted by at least one student of Latter-day Saint history. 16 Reflecting this tendency, Brigham Young in 1852 explained that the black man or "The seed of Canaan cannot hold any office, civil or ecclesiastical. They have not the wisdom to act like white men." 17

A third development further contributed to the black man's deteriorating status within Mormonism. This involved the shift in Latter-day Saint racial values and perceptions. An increased Mormon tendency to establish and impose on their enemies an inferior, negative, often black racial identification influenced this change. The Mormon inclination to impose this negative identification developed as a result of increased Latter-day Saint conflict with various enemies, first in Missouri, and ultimately in Illinois during the period 1839-46.
Although the conflicts between the Saints and their opponents in Missouri, as discussed in a previous chapter, had resulted in the expulsion of the Mormons from the state in 1838-9, this action did not end the hostility between these two groups. During the early 1840's, the Saints responded to anti-Mormon actions by their former Missouri neighbors in both a physical and especially a rhetorical manner. Through their newspapers, the Saints described their Missouri neighbors as a "blood-thirsty and savage race of beings in the shape of men" who were "profaning the refinements of civilization." The anti-Mormon actions of Missouri's governor Libern Boggs, in the words of one churchman, had "Shed a darker polish on the blackened aspect of that disgraced state." The offending Missourians were compared by the biblical-minded Saints with certain scriptural countergroups who had opposed God's chosen people in the past. Thus Missouri became "Western Egypt" and its citizens "Egyptians" or "uncircumcised Philistines," while their hostile acts were compared with those of "Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, and Herod." The Saints affixed the epithet "Edomite...led captive by the devil" to Governor Boggs.

It is interesting to note that the Saints not only associated these offending Missourians with inferior Biblical figures, but also made them the objects of Mormonism's first effort at collective priesthood denial. Through revelation, Joseph Smith denounced these Missourians for their "dark and blackening deeds," and denied the priesthood, not only to those Missourians who had lifted "up the heel against mine anointed," but also on "their posterity after them, from generation to generation."

The Mormon tendency to use negative, often racial figures to identify their enemies was further prompted by an increase in Mormon-non-Mormon conflicts within Illinois, itself, during the mid-1840's. One Saint
criticized Mormon opponents in the nearby town of Carthage, Illinois for their "barbarous notions." These Carthaginians, explained another account, lacked the capacity to learn "good neighborship" as "an Etheopian cannot change his skin, nor a leopard his spots." The Saints suggested that these Carthaginians migrate to a "more congenial clime"—Missouri—where they could be with their own kind. As they continued to clash with the citizens of Carthage, the Saints seized upon what they perceived as the metaphoric significance of the name "Carthage" and compared the contemporary Illinois community with its ancient African namesake. According to Mormon accounts, this rival community, led by a modern "Hannabal," was plotting "to swallow up Nauvoo." Through the use of Biblical counter-figures, the Saints drew racial analogies between Carthaginian anti-Mormons and the inhabitants of ancient Carthage. Alluding to the alleged Biblical-Hamitic racial origins of ancient Carthage, the Saints constructed metaphorical parallels with the anti-Mormons of Carthage, Illinois and assigned them figurative "black" racial characteristics. Thus, an anti-Mormon gathering in Carthage was labeled a "Nigger meeting" and its proceedings given in terms of a "Sambo story."

By 1844, as Mormon-non-Mormon conflicts in Illinois intensified, climaxing in the assassination of Joseph Smith, the Saints carried their assignment of unfavorable racial characteristics one step further. A number of Latter-day Saint spokesmen expressed their hope and belief that their opponents would literally be given an unfavorable racial status through divine intervention. A Mormon apostle saw a racial significance because Smith's assassins had blackened their faces prior to committing their violent deed. He characterized these killers as "Artificial black
men. Another church spokesmen in carrying this analogy one step further, prophetically warned

White folks can't live with the Mormons! The murderers no doubt are sorry they have white skins, if they had not been, they would not have painted themselves when they went to kill Joseph and Hyrum Smith. But I suppose they wanted to make their faces correspond with their hearts. Well, this was quite proper, but God will paint them by and by with a color that soap will not wash off.

Some Latter-day Saint writers went so far as to condemn as "Artificial black men" not only those who "paint" and "murder," but also those individuals who "justify and approve those who do."

It would be a wonder, indeed, if such an apologist has not a little of the "blackening" unwashed from his body—and a few drops of innocent "blood" in his skirts, to witness what has been and what will be.

Speaking in somewhat more general terms, Apostle Orson Hyde expressed his belief that racial blackness would be assigned to other non-Mormon adversaries as well. While admitting that current anti-Mormon persecutions were "bringing grey hairs upon the Saints," Hyde warned that in due course "the Heads of the persecutors will be covered with blackness."

Another set of changing Latter-day Saint racial perceptions also contributed to the black man's deteriorating position within Mormonism. This involved the way in which the Saints viewed themselves as a chosen or biblical people. This change stemmed from increased Mormon concern over their own ethnic-racial status and identification as white men. Ironically, Mormon anxieties over their white racial status developed as a by-product of the same Mormon-non-Mormon conflicts which had facilitated the assignment of a negative biblical-racial identification to various Latter-day Saint enemies. During the course of these same conflicts, anti-Mormon observers noted parallels
between the Saints and the despised black man. This anti-Mormon practice of asserting a Latter-day Saint-black identification was no new thing, but had been evident during the Missouri hostilities of 1833-39.33 Joseph Smith in recounting these Missouri difficulties resented the fact that the Saints had not been treated as white men.34 Latter-day Saint racial sensitivity continued, and in some ways intensified during the course of Mormon-non-Mormon conflicts in Illinois. Another Saint expressed this anxiety over Mormonism's racial self image. Accordingly he tried to discount the

...many faint and incorrect descriptions...given Nauvoo and the temple by travellers, passers by, and others until some have thought the temple built upon moonshine, and the city a barbarian--ugly, formal, with heads and horns and stuck into the nethermost corner of the universe where none but Indians, Hottentots, Arabs, Turks, wolverines, and Mormons dwell.35

By 1845, when it became evident that the Saints would have to leave Illinois, a Latter-day Saint apostle sarcastically pointed out that the Saints were "not considered suitable to live among 'white folks'", and "not accounted as white people."36

In an apparent attempt to assert their status as white men, the Saints "identified" with various "chosen" peoples of the Old Testament --the Hebrews, the Children of Israel, and the Seed of Abraham.37 Throughout the 1840's church spokesmen suggested that a spiritual link existed between the Saints and the "Seed of Abraham."

There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ's then ye are Abraham's seed and heir according to the promise.38

Apostle Orson Pratt believed that an individual could become "a citizen of the Church" or Kingdom of God, and by implication the "Seed of Abraham,"
through the "law of adoption." 39

Physical suffering at the hands of non-Mormon enemies strengthened the Mormon desire to identify with Old Testament "chosen peoples." In the wake of their forced expulsion from Missouri and their arrival in Illinois in 1839, the Saints saw themselves as the Children of Israel who had come out of Egypt. After the Saints came into conflict with their non-Mormon Illinois neighbors, Apostle Parley P. Pratt expected the Lord to lead the Saints "out of Egypt into some Canaan." 40 Following their exodus from Illinois, and the establishment of a temporary Mormon camp at Winter Quarters, Iowa, the Saints designated themselves as the "Camp of Israel." 41 The persecutions and difficulties faced first by Joseph Smith and then by Brigham Young were compared to those endured by Abel, Moses, and other Old Testament prophets. 42

The Mormon assertion of a spiritual identification with Old Testament prophets and peoples did not auger well for the position of the black man within Mormonism. This development, coupled with Latter-day Saint efforts to figuratively "blacken" the image of their enemies and opponents, made it increasingly difficult for the Saints to look with respect upon those individuals and groups with a darker skin. Mormon anxieties over their own status as white Americans probably caused the Saints to accentuate those racial characteristics which would uphold a white ethnic self-image and vigorously reject suggestion to the contrary.

Changing racial perceptions, resulting from growing divisions within the Latter-day Saint movement following the violent death of Joseph Smith, acted on another level to further undermine the black man's status within Mormonism. The followers of Brigham Young and the Twelve Apostles,
the largest Mormon group, found themselves forced to deal with a number of rival claims to Mormon authority. These opponents fell into two general categories: those who claimed that only the actual literal descendants or family of Joseph Smith could assume leadership and control over the church; and those rivals who maintained that they had received their authority from the hands of Joseph Smith prior to his death or through Divine Providence, or a combination of the two. Included in the first category were people like the former Mormon apostle, Lyman Wight, who led his small group of dissident Saints to Texas; and Sidney Rigdon, a former councilor and assistant to Joseph Smith, who established his Mormon group in western Pennsylvania in 1845. Neither Wight nor Rigdon claimed church authority or control for himself; each acted as a temporary "guardian" or protector for Joseph Smith, III—the eldest son of the slain Mormon prophet. In the wake of Smith's murder, they argued that legitimate Mormon authority had passed from the elder Smith to "young Joseph," who at this time was an adolescent and therefore unable to assume active control over church affairs. Both of these claimants argued that once the younger Smith reached adulthood, he could assume actual church leadership and their self-appointed guardianship would end.

The second set of rival claimants included individuals such as James J. Strang, who claimed that he had received specific authority from Joseph Smith prior to his death designating him to be the new Mormon leader. Strang discounted kinship to Joseph Smith as a prerequisite to church authority or leadership. By exercising his alleged powers of "prophet, seer, and revelator," in a manner reminiscent of Joseph Smith, Strang, by the late 1840's, established himself as Brigham Young's most effective rival for Mormon authority.
Brigham Young and the Twelve responded to such rival claims to Mormon authority by viewing Rigdon, Strang, and others in an unfavorable Biblical and racial light. Young described his opponents as "faltering and...darkened" individuals. Another writer compared Sydney Rigdon with Cain denouncing him as a false prophet or "Kind of god" that would trouble none but "the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Lyrians, etc...." Another Young loyalist collectively condemned all Mormon rivals as "false Preachers" or "the daring Sons of Pharaoh, Cain and Judas." Those who had departed from the true faith in the past had "deteriorated" and become "an inferior race of beings." In perhaps the most famous condemnation of dissident Mormons written during this period, Apostle Orson Hyde not only specifically rejected the rival claims of Sydney Rigdon, who was compared with the devil, but also issued a warning to those Saints who were "halting" or unsure as to who had "the right to govern" the church. Such doubting individuals, declared Hyde, should learn a lesson from "the accursed lineage of Canaan...the negro or African race." According to Hyde the blacks were suffering from the consequences of a dark skin because of their reluctance to determine between the forces of good and evil during a premortal war in Heaven.

An attempt by Brigham Young and his followers to assert their own racial identification also hurt the black man's Mormon status. This Mormon effort to find and identify their exact racial origins was part of a larger undertaking by these "Brighamite Mormons" to bolster their claims to Latter-day Saint authority. In pursuit of this goal, these Mormons established a literal identification with the "Seed of Abraham." Although a literal Abrahamic relationship had been postulated for Joseph
Smith and the "Lamanites," or contemporary American Indian, through the pages of the *Book of Mormon*, this ethnic racial claim had not been promoted for other church leaders or the general church membership during the 1830's. By the late 1840's this changed as Brigham Young and the Twelve became sensitive about questions involving proper lineage and church authority. They were aware of the efforts by Sydney Rigdon, Lyman Wight and others to protect and "reserve" Latter-day Saint authority for the lineage of Joseph Smith, an acknowledged descendant of the "Seed of Abraham."

At the same time these "Brighamites" were also concerned about the appeal of James J. Strang who claimed powers of supernatural revelation reminiscent of those earlier asserted by Joseph Smith. Young who was different in his approach to religion than either Strang or Smith did not tend to assert supernatural powers as a prophet, seer, and revelator.50 Young and his followers, therefore, emphasized the existence of a literal link between themselves and the chosen lineage of Abraham in an effort to build up their claims to Mormon authority, while at the same time discounting the rival Wight-Rigdon "literal lineage" claims and the supernatural arguments of Strang.

In a further attempt to bolster their alleged right to Mormon authority, Brigham Young and his followers proclaimed Abrahamic descent as an essential prerequisite for priesthood authority. Therefore,

the honors and power of the priesthood are not obtained, by money or craft. They are handed down by lineage from father to son, according to the order of the Son of God.51

Throughout the late 1840's Mormon leaders described the Saints as the pure and unmixed "Seed of Abraham" or "Ephraim" asserting their right to the priesthood by virtue of this "royal lineage."52 Brigham Young,
in advancing his own rights to the mantle of Joseph Smith, declared that he, like the slain Mormon prophet, was "entitled to the Priesthood according to lineage and blood." Likewise, Young believed that members of the Council of Twelve Apostles and "many others" in the church were also entitled to the "Keys and powers" of priesthood authority by virtue of their "lineage & blood." 53

The efforts of Brigham Young and his followers to assert their literal descent from the "Seed of Abraham" and link it to church membership and priesthood authority could not help but have a negative effect on the status of the black man within Mormonism. The blacks, unlike the Saints, could not trace their lineage back to the "chosen seed" of Abraham because, according to Mormon belief, they were direct descendants of Ham, the accursed son of Noah. By making Abrahamic lineage a prerequisite for the Mormon priesthood, the Saints weakened all actual and potential black claims to such power and authority. By drawing parallels between rival claimants to Mormon authority and Biblical counterfigures, the Saints further accentuated the negative aspects of blackness or a dark skin.

In addition to changing Latter-day Saint racial perceptions resulting from Mormon conflicts with their anti-church neighbors and internal struggles with Latter-day Saint rivals, a number of general trends both within and outside of the church also adversely affected the black man's place within Mormonism. One such trend was a continuing keen interest by the Saints in alleged black Biblical counterfigures. This interest, to some extent, was stimulated by the publication of Joseph Smith's Book of Abraham in 1842 which made available for the first time to the general church population. This work, containing a detailed account of the supposed activities of the black man's alleged Biblical ancestors—Cain,
the people of Cainan (or Canaan) as well as the idolatrous Egyptians, was initially publicized in various church periodicals.  
Mormon interest in black Biblical counterfigures was further stimulated by the "discovery" of and publicity given to the so-called Kinderhook Plates. Some non-Mormons found these plates containing strange writings along with a human skeleton near Kinderhook, Illinois. They were subsequently taken to Joseph Smith in the hopes that he could utilize his reputed powers as a translator to decipher the meaning of their unique characters. According to Smith, these plates contained the history of the person[skeleton] with whom they were found. He was a descendant of Ham, through the loins of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, and that he received his kingdom from the Ruler of heaven and earth.

Apostle Orson Pratt, who was also interested in matters of theology and doctrine, elaborated on Smith's findings by suggesting a literal link between the Old Testament descendants of Ham and the Jaredites, a people described in the Book of Mormon. According to Pratt, the Kinderhook Plates were "filled with engravings in Egyptian language and contain the genealogy of one of the ancient Jaredites back to Ham the son of Noah." Although both Mormons and non-Mormons extensively publicized the discovery of the plates and their physical appearance, through published facsimile illustrations, theories concerned with the writing on the plates and their racial origins, like those suggested by Smith and Pratt, were not similarly publicized. Despite this, the discovery of, and publicity given to the Kinderhook Plates, coupled with the publication of the Book of Abraham, indicates a continuing and lively Mormon interest in black Biblical counterfigures which may have helped stimulate Latter-day Saint concern, albeit on a subtle level, over the
status and the role of the contemporary black man in the church.

Mormon millennialistic tendencies also undermined the black man's position within the Latter-day Saint movement. The Saints reflected this millennialism, as they had done from the earliest days of Mormonism, through their lively interest in black, Biblical counterfigures. In addition, a group's millennialistic interest in such counterfigures intensifies during times of "social disorientation." The period 1839-52 was certainly a time of acute social disorientation for the Saints. After 1839, the Saints attempted to recover from the jarring effects of their Missouri persecutions. They had no sooner settled in Illinois before they were caught up in the Mormon-non-Mormon hostilities in that state, culminating in the assassination of Joseph Smith in 1844. This was promptly followed by the forced Mormon exodus to the Great Basin. The various divisions that emerged within Mormonism in the wake of Smith's death contributed to a Latter-day Saint "identity crisis" in which the Saints became increasingly concerned about just who and what they were, as well as who and what they were not. This situation facilitated the Mormon construction of, and emphasis on, eschatological enemies. An increased Mormon awareness of such counterfigures dovetailed with shifting Latter-day Saint racial perceptions, as discussed above. It was, therefore, easier for the Saints to draw negative parallels with the contemporary black man and view him in a less favorable light.

The black man's position within Mormonism was probably also diminished by the racial anxieties arising out of one particular aspect of this Latter-day Saint social disorientation—the Mormon migration to and settlement in the wild and uncivilized areas of the Great Basin. The Saints, like other Americans who had migrated westward, experienced anxieties
over the uncivilized influences of the frontier. As a result, the Saints asserted their own white racial superiority in order to assure themselves, and others, that they would not lapse into a barbarian state like that symbolized by the frontier.\textsuperscript{62} Mormon apprehension about possible cultural degeneration on the frontier manifested itself in a speech given by Brigham Young during the Mormon migration west. The Latter-day Saint leader chastised some misbehaving Saints in the following manner.

Here are the Elders of Israel who have got the Priesthood, who have got to preach the gospel, who have to gather the nations of the earth, who have to build up the Kingdom, so that the nations can come to it; they will stoop to dance as niggers; [I don't mean this as speaking disrespectfully \textsuperscript{sic} of our colored friends amongst us by any means] they will hoe down all, turn summersets, dance on their knees, and haw, haw, out loud; they will play cards, they will play checkers and dominoes; they will use profane language; they will swear.\textsuperscript{63}

Another Mormon apostle remarked that it "had made him shudder when he had seen the Elders of Israel descend to the lowest and dirtiest things imaginable—the last end of everything." One of the offending elders confessed his shortcomings, admitting that, "He knew his mind had become darkened."\textsuperscript{64} It is interesting to note that the misbehaving "Elders of Israel" were compared with the black man rather than the Indian, whose presence and influence was more acutely felt by the westward migrating Saints.

Latter-day Saint acceptance of "herrenvolk" or white democracy further undermined the black man's status within Mormonism. According to this philosophy prevalent in American society during the middle third of the nineteenth century, political and social rights were to be extended to virtually all whites, at least to all adult males, while at the same time being withheld from various non-white racial groups. "Herrenvolk
democracy," it has been theorized, was especially prevalent among certain deprived, "socially disoriented" groups. Thus, it is possible that the Latter-day Saints, who were certainly a deprived, socially disoriented group, may have been influenced by this philosophy in extending to all free adult males certain political privileges—the right to vote, hold public office, and belong to the militia—while at the same time denying these same rights to various non-whites through their Nauvoo Charter and territorial laws. It is possible, moreover, that the Saints in extending proscriptions on the black man from the secular to the ecclesiastical realm, through black priesthood denial, were attempting to prove that they were "truer" adherents to "herrenvölk" democracy than Americans in general. Whatever the motive, such an extension was logical from a Mormon point of view because many Latter-day Saint church officials also held government positions, often corresponding in rank and responsibility with their ecclesiastical or priesthood offices. The Saints, as previously suggested, tended to interrelate or "blur over" secular and ecclesiastical matters and therefore saw priesthood holding in the same light as the franchise, a privilege open to virtually all adult white male members of the church, but closed to the black man.

While it is evident that a number of crucial trends and developments encouraged a deteriorating position for the black man within Mormonism, the Saints apparently did not implement their historic and fateful practice of black priesthood denial until February 1849. Before that date, it appears that church officials recognized and upheld the status of Mormonism's few black priesthood holders. Elijah Abel, Mormonism's first known black priesthood holder, was apparently not limited in his role or
activities during the period before February 1849. After following the Saints from Kirtland to Nauvoo, Abel became the town mortician and was "intimately acquainted" with Joseph Smith and even lived "in the home" of the Mormon prophet. Following the assassination of Smith and the emergence of Brigham Young as the leader of the church at Nauvoo, church leaders continued to recognize Abel's credentials as a Mormon priesthood holder. On one occasion, Abel emerged as a defender of Brigham Young and the Twelve Apostles. At an assembled conference of the church in Cincinnati, "Elder Elijah Able" (sic) was instrumental in securing the expulsion "from the church" of several individuals who spoke "disrespectfully of the heads of the church." Church leaders also noted the activities of at least one other Latter-day Saint "colored Elder," Walker Lewis, during this period. Lewis, a barber in Lowell, Massachusetts, was ordained by William Smith, a younger brother to the Mormon prophet. The various Mormon apostles visiting Lowell in 1844-45 did not question or even consider extraordinary the priesthood status of Lewis. One apostle merely observed that "a Coloured Brother who was an Elder," presumably Lewis, manifested his support for the established church leadership during this time of great internal division within Mormonism.

It appears, therefore, that the priesthood credentials of Elijah Abel and probably Walker Lewis were still recognized by Latter-day Saint officials as late as 1845.

During the period 1845-49, however, several incidents involving blacks apparently caused the church to move toward the adoption of black priesthood denial. The first of these involved William McCary, a half-breed Indian-black man, referred to variously as the "Indian," "Laman-
ite," or "Nigger Prophet.\textsuperscript{72} The accounts describing McCary's activities, often vague and conflicting, make it difficult to determine his exact relationship to, or impact on, the Latter-day Saint movement. In 1846, a "colored man" living in St. Louis, presumably McCary, traveled to Nauvoo to "gull the people" of the Mormon community. When he arrived there dressed "in the garb of, and professing to be an Indian Chief...a great parade" was allegedly made over him.\textsuperscript{73} Later McCary, according to other sources, was "baptized and ordained" and then "married...to a white sister" by Apostle Orson Hyde, in charge at Nauvoo.\textsuperscript{74} Hyde allegedly sent this "Indian", who called himself a "Lamanite Prophet," out to deceive the non-Mormon Gentiles and "destroy" those Mormon churches which Brigham Young and the Twelve could not control.\textsuperscript{75}

Later that same year, McCary shifted his base of operation to Cincinnati, Ohio. A local newspaper described the exploits of "a big, burley, half Indian, half Negro, formerly a Mormon who built up a religious following of some sixty members "solemnly enjoined to secrecy" concerning their rites and practices. McCary "proclaimed himself Jesus Christ" showing his disciples "the scars of wounds in his hands and limbs received on the cross" and performed "miracles with a golden rod."\textsuperscript{76} McCary's stay in Cincinnati was short-lived because by February 1847, a Cincinnati follower of James J. Strang noted that "The black Indian has blown out and all of his followers are ashamed."\textsuperscript{77}

McCary then shifted his activities west to Winter Quarters, Iowa where the main body of Saints, under the leadership of Brigham Young, were temporarily encamped. The Mormon leader, following a meeting with McCary in early 1847, seemed to feel that the black-Indian might be "useful" to the Saints. It is not clear how Young planned to utilize McCary's
services. By late March 1847, however, McCary fell from Mormon favor. It is not clear what he had done to offend Brigham Young, but at a "meeting of the twelve and others" summoned to consider this matter

William McCary [sic] made a rambling statement, claiming to be Adam, the ancient of days, and exhibiting himself in Indian costume; he also claimed to have an odd rib which he had discovered in his wife. He played on his thirty six cent flute, being a natural musician and gave several illustrations of his ability as a mimic.

Then "the cooled [sic] man...showed his body to the company to see if he had a rib gone." According to another observer McCary also demonstrated his abilities as a ventriloquist. He tried to pass himself off as the ancient Apostle Thomas by throwing his voice and claiming that "God spoke unto him and called him Thomas." Following this March 1847 meeting with church leaders, McCary was expelled from the Mormon camp at Winter Quarters. Subsequently, Apostle Orson Hyde preached a sermon "against his doctrine." This was not the end of McCary's Mormon involvement, however. According to one account, McCary associated himself with Charles B. Thompson, the leader of a minor Mormon schismatic sect based in St. Louis. Another witness reported that McCary traveled "South to his own tribe." Other observers suggested that McCary remained or returned to the area around Winter Quarters and proceeded to set up his own rival Mormon group in opposition to the authority of Brigham Young. In doing this, it appears, that the black Indian drew a number of followers away from Brigham Young and the Twelve by the teaching and practice of his own form of plural marriage or polygamy. McCary had a number of women

...sealed to him in his way which was as follows, he had a house in which this ordinance was preformed his wife... was in the room at the time of the performance no others
was admitted the form of sealing was for the women to go to bed with him in the daytime as I am informed 3 different times by which they were sealed to the fullest extent. [sic]

McCary's activities and this "Sealing Ordinance" caused a negative reaction among those Latter-day Saints in the surrounding community not involved with his sect—particularly the relatives of McCary's female disciples. One irate Mormon wanted "to shoot" McCary for trying "to kiss his girls." But McCary, who sensed the impending storm caused by the disclosure of his unorthodox practices, "made his way to Missouri on a fast trot." 85

During 1847, about the same time that Brigham Young and others were dealing with William McCary and his bizarre behavior, Young received a letter from William L. Appleby, a church official in the Eastern United States, asking if Walker Lewis, the black elder from Lowell, Massachusetts, had the right to hold the priesthood.

Now dear Br. [Young] I wish to know if this is the order of God or tolerated in this church, i.e. to ordain Negroes to the Priesthood... If it is I desire to know it as I have yet got to learn it. 86

Appleby's references to Walker Lewis and his standing within the church represent the first time that the black man's priesthood status was questioned by any church official. The willingness of Appleby to question the status of Lewis and black Mormons in general, stands in sharp contrast to Apostle Wilford Woodruff's earlier simple description of "a Coloured Brother who was an Elder" in Lowell relayed to Brigham Young in December 1844. The Latter-day Saints, therefore, became much more concerned about the role and the status of the black man within Mormonism in the two and a half year period from late 1844 to mid 1847. This concern was possibly prompted by changing Latter-day Saint racial perceptions, as discussed above, or on a more immediate level by McCary's
bizarre activities.

However, one should not overstate the historical significance of Appleby's observations. Appleby's tendency to question black priesthood ordination could have resulted more from his own personal interpretation of church doctrine than from any church-wide practice. Aside from black priesthood ordination, moreover, Appleby expressed in this same correspondence as much, if not more concern about the question of "amalgamation" or racial intermixture. This problem bothered Appleby because Lewis' son was "married to a white girl." Despite Appleby's direct appeal, Brigham Young did not give a written reply on the immediate issue of Walker Lewis' priesthood standing. As for the general question of the black man's priesthood status, it appears that Brigham Young did not act on this issue in 1847 or even during 1848.

A third set of developments involving Mormon-black contacts during the crucial years 1846-49 were of greater immediate importance in prompting this historic 1849 decision to exclude the black man from the priesthood. Latter-day Saint leaders after moving to the Great Basin found themselves in contact with more blacks—both slave and free—than had been the case before. A number of black slaves, as previously indicated, were brought into the Great Basin during the period 1847-49. In fact, the bulk of Utah's black slave population entered the Great Basin during the summer and fall of 1848. The sudden appearance of this relatively large number of blacks probably encouraged church leaders to resolve the issues relative to the ecclesiastical and secular status of these newly arrived blacks and the black man in general. The first of these issues—the black man's ecclesiastical status—was resolved in February 1849 when the First Presidency of the Church and the Council of Twelve Apostles
met as a "complete" body for the first time since Joseph Smith's death. This church agency then implemented the fateful practice of priesthood denial for the black man. These same leaders, however, were unable to deal with the legal issues surrounding the black man's secular status—both slave and free—until after Utah had been organized into a territory and a territorial legislature elected. This legislature met for the first time in 1851-2 and proceeded to enact those laws, previously discussed, which legalized slavery and limited the black man's political and civil rights. This action in 1852, by Utah's Mormon-dominated territorial government, complemented the anti-black action taken by the church, three years earlier, making the subordinate status of the black man within the Mormon community complete.

The period 1839-52, was, therefore, a crucial and fateful time for the black man within Mormonism. It is true that the dominant anti-slavery position assumed by church leaders in the years 1839-46 seemed to augur well for the black man, or at least the black slave. But this mood was short-lived, because by 1852, the church had moved to a more tolerant attitude with regard to the Peculiar Institution. A number of Saints brought their black slaves to the Great Basin and, by 1852, slavery was legally recognized in the territory of Utah. The position of the black man within Mormonism also deteriorated in terms of general Latter-day attitudes and practices. By 1852 the black man was a "second class" citizen in the secular Mormon community, but more importantly occupied a subordinate status within the Mormon church.

The anti-black developments of this fateful thirteen year period were of monumental significance. While it is true that slavery would be abolished and token recognition given to the black man's political
and civil right, his subordinate status within the church would remain intact. The durability of and even the implementation of this practice seems surprising when one looks at each of the various factors contributing to black priesthood denial separately. When these developments are considered in this way, it appears that black priesthood denial evolved in a casual, almost off-handed manner, simply as the by-product of other more important Latter-day Saint trends. Admittedly, this was probably the case. However, when these factors are considered collectively, it appears that they involved enough critical aspects of Mormon practice and theology to initiate black priesthood denial and assure its perpetuation right down to the present.

The establishment of a subordinate place for the black man within Mormonism during the years 1839-52 was the most crucial event affecting the black man during Mormonism's first fifty years. But non-Mormons as well as most Latter-day Saints were virtually unaware of this monumental development before 1852. It was not until the thirteen year period after 1852 that the Saints publicized the black man's subordinate status within Mormonism. This later Mormon effort, which not only informed those unaware of Mormonism's anti-black tendencies, but also reinforced the legitimacy of these practices and attitudes in the Mormon mind, is discussed in chapter 8. Also during the years 1852-65, Mormon pro-slavery rhetoric represented the dominant Latter-day Saint attitude toward the Peculiar Institution. The use of Mormon pro-slavery rhetoric which gave added strength and legitimacy to Mormonism's anti-black tendencies is discussed in the following chapter.

2. Although as noted in Chapter 3, such a possibility was hinted at during the 1830's.


4. Times and Seasons, April 1, 1845.

5. The Book of Abraham, while not directly concerned with the transgressions of blacks during this "pre-existence," hinted at future mortal gradations, including the establishment of the Seed of Abraham as the "chosen" seed. "Now the Lord had shewn unto me, Abraham, the intelligences that were organized before the world was; and among all these there were many of the noble and great ones." In this account, "God saw these souls that were good and...he said, these I will make my rulers...Abraham, thou art one of them; thou was chosen before thou was born." See Pearl of Great Price, Abraham, 3:22-23.


7. Ibid.


11. For Mormon universalistic rhetoric which looked forward to the gathering of blacks, along with other peoples to Nauvoo see Times and Seasons, October, 1840, May 15, 1843, November 1, 1843, January 1, 15, 1844.

12. The Saints, moreover, probably couldn't afford to post bond for very many blacks in light of their difficult economic situation in the wake of their loss of property and expulsion from Missouri in 1838-9.

13. As indicated in "An Act to Incorporate the City of Nauvoo," as reprinted in Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church, Vol. IV, pp. 239-44.

15 See "Constitution of the State of Deseret," Article 2, Section 5; Article 5, Section 10; Article 6, Section 1, Article 6, Section 1; "An Act to Establish a Territorial Government for Utah," Section 5; Chapter 35, 47. Also see ordinances to incorporate Salt Lake City, Ogden, and other Utah cities. All reprinted in Acts, Resolutions and Memorials of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah (Salt Lake City, 1855).


17 "History of Brigham Young," M.S., 1852, 2, as reprinted in Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Utah 1840-1886 (San Francisco, 1889), 476.

18 A group of Mormons in Missouri, reacting to the persecutions that they had suffered, organized a secret, extra-legal group, the Danites. For a discussion of the Danites see Leland H. Gentry, "The Danite Band of 1838," B.Y.U. Studies, XIV (Summer, 1974), 421-50.

19 Times and Seasons, September 1840; The Wasp, May 14, 1842.

20 Times and Seasons, October 1840.

21 Ibid., September, October, November 1840. Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, August 1843. The Wasp, September 17, 1842.

22 Times and Seasons, July 1, 1841.


24 The Nauvoo Neighbor, August 30, 1843.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid., September 13, 20, 1843.

27 According to the Biblical genealogy and origins of nations accepted by nineteenth century Biblical literalists (including the Latter-day Saints), the inhabitants of ancient Carthage had come from Tyre and Sidon. The inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon, in turn, were believed to be the literal descendants of Ham who was looked upon as the father of all black or dark skinned peoples. Hence it was all too easy for the Mormon mind to draw parallels between the "black" ancient Carthaginians and the residents of Carthage, Illinois who were engaged in "black" or dark deeds. In a
more general sense, all areas occupied by real or supposed enemies of the Saints were collectively designated "the land of Ham." See "Journal History," May 26, 1844; Latter-day Saint Millennial Star, July 1841.

28 According to The Nauvoo Neighbor, September 13, 1843, the proceedings of the "Nigger meeting" were as follows:
I say Sambo;—says Jim, a very interesting Nigger; I says Sambo, and all ob you jemmen ob color;—dis Nigger mobs dat Massa Leopoldi Agustuni Washington, my uncles nephew, be de presiden ob dese Nited States; what says all ob ye niggers and massa president hal hal hal.

Second de motion of de former jemmen—says Ne Massa President says Sambo, put it to de meetan.

All ob you jemmen ob color who faber Leopoldi Augustuni Washington, signify it by saying aye. Carried all but one. —jemmen put dat one dam nigger out for not voting foe de president of de Nited States, when all ob dese jemmen voted in de firmative.

The Prophet, May 10, 1845.

30 The Nauvoo Neighbor, March 26, 1845. Although these remarks were not written by a Mormon but a sympathetic non-member, the editor of the Neighbor felt that they were important enough to receive prominent notice in his publication and to be reprinted in the New York-based The Prophet, April 26, 1845.

31 The Nauvoo Neighbor, August 7, 1844. Speaking in more general terms, another church writer warned that "the vengeance of God will haunt the whole gang of assassins and their offspring and abettors." Times and Seasons, July 15, 1844.


33 Niles Weekly Register, September 14, 1833. In 1838 the incident which allegedly precipitated the violence between the Saints and their non-Mormon Missouri neighbors was the attempt by these Missourians to prevent the Saints from voting with the excuse that they had no more right to vote than the "niggers." John D. Lee, Mormonism Unveiled, (St. Louis, 1877), 58-60, as quoted in Paws Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 225.

34 Times and Seasons, February, 1840. Smith went on to note that the Saints wouldn't have deserved such treatment even if they "had been Mahomedans, [sic] Hottentots, or Pagans."

35 The Prophet, November 23, 1844. It is interesting to note that
Josiah Quincy in recalling his visit to Nauvoo in April, 1844 took note of the work being done on the Mormon temple there. One workman at the temple site, according to Quincy, was "laboring on a huge sun chiselled from solid stone, "the countenance was of the negro type...surrounded by the conventional rays." See his Figures of the Past. 376-400.

36. Times and Seasons, July 15, 1845, November 1, 1845; Almon W. Babbitt to Brigham Young, July 1, 1850, Almon W. Babbitt Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department.

37. Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church, Vol. III, p. 294; Times and Seasons, October 1840; Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, August 1843. A spiritual identification with such people had been asserted during the 1830's. This was suggested in the patriarchal blessings given to Apostle Wilford Woodruff and Erastus Snow during the 1830's. See Wilford Woodruff, "Journal", April 25, 1837, and Erastus Snow, "Journal," December 3, 1837, Woodruff and Snow Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department. Also see Doctrine and Covenants 64:136; Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate, February 1835, July 1837.

38. Times and Seasons, January, 1840.


40. Times and Seasons, October 1840; Parley P. Pratt to Elias Smith, February 18, 1845, Parley P. Pratt Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department.

41. The designation of Winter Quarters as the "Camp of Israel" could convey a literal as well as a spiritual racial identification between the Saints and the Children of Israel.

42. Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, July 1841, August 1843; Times and Seasons, September 1, 1842, July 1, 1844.

43. The actions and activities of Wight as a schismatic Mormon leader were discussed in a previous section.

44. For the most recent account about Rigdon see F. Mark McKierman, The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness, Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer, 1793-1876 (Lawrence, Kansas, 1972).

45. Milo M. Quaife, The Kingdom of Saint James: A Narrative of the Mormons (New Haven, 1930) and O.W. Riegel, Crown of Glory: The Life of James J. Strang: Moses of the Mormons (New Haven, 1935). For an overview of the various schismatic Mormon groups who opposed the claims of Brigham Young and the Twelve see Dale L. Morgan, "A Bibliography of the

46"Journal History," October 6, 1844.

47Times and Seasons, November 15, 1844. James J. Strang was identified with Judas Iscariot and Lucifer, see Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, November 15, 1846.

48Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, November 1, 15, 1847.

49Hyde, Speech Delivered Before the High Priests Quorum in Nauvoo, April 27, 1845. According to at least one account, Orson Hyde, in the wake of his own brief "apostasy" from the church in 1838-39, experienced a "vision" in which it was revealed that the "curse of Cain" would come upon him and his posterity if Hyde did not repent and "make immediate restitution to the quorum of the Twelve." See Allen Joseph Stout, "Journal," 9, as described in Marvin S. Hill, "A Historical Study of the Life of Orson Hyde," 40. Also see Gunnison, The Mormons, 51.

50The only revelation of Brigham Young canonized as "inspired scripture" through its inclusion in the Doctrine and Covenants was "The Word and Will of the Lord," January 14, 1847. This revelation dealt largely with practical matters of Mormon migration and habits of behavior among the Saints.

51Times and Seasons, November 15, 1844.

52Willard Richards, "Discourse given at a meeting of the Young and Richards families," January 8, 1845; Wilford Woodruff, "Journal," May 3, 1846.

53As recorded in Woodruff's "Journal," February 16, 1847.

54Times and Seasons, March and April, 1842; Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, July and August, 1842. Although as discussed in chapter 3, this work was compiled during the 1830's, and had an impact on, and reflected developing Mormon racial attitudes at that time.


56Ibid., 372.
The Jaredites and the speculation over their alleged racial origins were discussed in Chapter I.

Orson Pratt to John Van Cott, May 7, 1843, Orson Pratt Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department.

See Times and Seasons, May 1, 1843; The Nauvoo Neighbor, May 3, 1843; The Prophet, February 15, 1843, and the Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, September 1, 1850. The Kinderhook Plates were also given extensive publicity through the pages of non-Mormon publications during 1843 including the Quincy (Illinois) Whig and the Sangamo Journal (Springfield, Ill.).


It has also been suggested that millenialists in "building up" such enemies, assign the most unfavorable positions or status to that group which is considered to be an "out group" by the society in which that millenialism is active. Like the American society of which they were a part, the Saints probably perceived the black man as the living embodiment of everything that they, as white men, must never become. Jordan, White Over Black, 110.

Ibid., 143-4.

Heber C. Kimball, "Journal," May 29, 1847, Heber C. Kimball Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department. This incident was also noted by the "Journal History," May 29, 1847, which drew a harsher analogy between the black man and the delinquent Elders: "They will stoop and dance like nigers. I don't mean this debasing the nigers by any means." This account was corroborated by the observations of Howard R. Egan, Pioneering the West (Richmond, Utah, 1917), 57; Wilford Woodruff in his "Journal," May 29, 1847, had Brigham Young denouncing the elders for "Nigaring & Hobing down all..." Italics in original.

Egan, Pioneering the West, 58-61.


In addition, the Saints, like other "disoriented" groups in 19th century America, also tended to view society and social divisions in terms of "natural" distinctions of race rather than "artificial" class distinctions.

Kate B. Carter, The Negro Pioneer (Salt Lake City, 1965), 15; Jenson, Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia, 577. It is some-
what unclear what Carter meant by "lived in the home" of Joseph Smith. It seems unlikely that Abel resided with the Smith family itself. Probably Abel lived in the Nauvoo House, a hotel guest-house run by the Smith family. In addition, Isaac Lewis Manning and his sister Jane Manning James were described as "servants" of Joseph Smith who both "lived for many years in the household of Joseph Smith." See Carter, 9-13.

"Journal History," June 1, 1845. The spellings "Abel" and "Able" were used interchangeably throughout this period. Such differences in spelling has caused certain defenders of the present practice of priesthood denial to claim that there were two Elijah Abels (or Ables) in the church at Nauvoo during the 1840's--one white and the other black--spelling their names differently. See Joseph Fielding Smith to Mrs. Floren S. Preece, January 18, 1855, S. George Ellsworth Papers, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

William L. Appleby to Brigham Young, June 2, 1847; also noted in William L. Appleby, "Journal," May 19, 1847, William L. Appleby Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department. Through an error committed by the compilers of the "Journal History", the impression that Walker Lewis was a member of the Mormon branch at Batavia, New York was created. See "Journal History," June 2, 1847. Such a false impression was obtained because Appleby's letter describing Walker Lewis was mailed to Brigham Young from Batavia, New York. However, the contents of both this letter and Appleby's "Journal" show Lewis to be a resident of, and member of the church at Lowell, Massachusetts.

See Wilford Woodruff to Brigham Young, November 16, 1844. Woodruff in his..."Journal" during late 1844 and early 1845 made note of his numerous visits to Lowell and the areas around Lowell, Woodruff Papers. Both Apostles Brigham Young and Ezra Taft Benson visited these same areas during 1844-45 and reported nothing unusual in the ethnic or racial qualities of Mormon priesthood holders.

Woodruff to Young, November 16, 1844. According to Ezra Taft Benson to Brigham Young, January 22, 1845, Benson Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department, the particular difficulties in the Lowell Branch came about as a result of church finances and the collection of funds.

"McCary's name was spelled in a number of different ways: "McCary," "McCairey," "McCgary," "McCary" as well as "McGary." In one source, he was referred to as "Wm. Chubby," Juanita Brooks, ed., On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hoesa Stout (Salt Lake City, 1966), entry for March 8, 1848. In The True Latter Day Saints Herald (Cincinnati, Ohio), March 1861, he was referred to as "Mr. Williams the Imposter." For uniformity and simplicity of spelling I will refer to him as William McCary.

The True Latter Day Saints Herald, March, 1861.
74 Ibid.; Voree Herald, October 1846. One non-Mormon account took note that Orson Hyde on another occasion had recognized or at least con-
donied the relationship between a Mormon elder and an Indian squaw who was recognized as a "spiritual wife." N.W. Green, Mormonism (Hartford, Connecticut, 1870), 119-20.

75 Voree Herald, October 1846; The True Latter Day Saints Herald, March 1861.

76 The Gazette (St. Joseph, Missouri), December 11, 1846, as recopied from the Cincinnati Commercial. In noting that "more than half" of McCary's followers were women "enjoined to secrecy" this source seemed to hint that plural marriage or polygamy was part of the rites and practices.

77 Zion's Revelle (Voree, Wisconsin), February 25, 1847.

78 John D. Lee, "Journal," February 27, 1847, John D. Lee Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department. Young possibly had one or more of the following uses for McCary's talents: (1) To dupe or mislead his Mormon rivals (2) To be an interpreter among the Indians as the Saints travelled west (3) To entertain the Saints on their westward trek with his talents as a mimic and ventriloquist.

79 "Manuscript History of the Church," March 26, 1847. A brief mention of the confrontation between McCary and church leaders was also contained in Willard Richards, "Journal," March 26, 1847, Willard Richards Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department.


82 According to The True Latter Day Saints Herald, March 1861, Thompson was under the tuition of McCary and "instructed in the doctrine of transmigration, which he afterwards connected with his Panecy doctrine." In examining Thompson's movements, I have not come across any additional evidence conclusively linking William McCary to that movement. However, according to an article on Thompson by C.R. Marks, "Monona County, Iowa, Mormons," Annals of Iowa (April 1906), 337, 341, many of this Mormon leader's religious writings were against slavery. In addition, Thompson commanded his followers to actively fight against slavery. Thompson, like his Mormon rivals in Utah, was interested in the origins of black and mixed races. Such an interest was manifested through his writing and publication of The Nachashlegian (St. Louis, 1860).


Appleby to Young, June 2, 1847, Appleby Papers.

It appears that any doubts Appleby had at the time he wrote Young were removed by the time he recorded the account of his confrontation with Lewis in his "Journal" under the date May 19, 1847. Appleby acknowledged that the ordination of Lewis was "contrary though to the order of the Church on the Law of the Priesthood, as the Descendants of Ham are not entitled to that privilege." There are indications, however, that this entry along with the bulk of his so-called "Journal" were not written until the mid-1850's, a time when priesthood denial for the black man was well-known by people both within and outside the church.

Appleby to Young, June 2, 1847.

The lack of such a reply can probably be expained by the fact that Appleby had the opportunity of conferring with Young in person at Winter Quarters during the fall of 1847, following the latters return from the Great Basin with the first pioneer company.

A personal conclusion, tentatively based on my issue-by-issue and page by page examination of all the periodicals published by those Saints loyal to Brigham Young during this period, plus my extensive examination of the correspondence and journals of Brigham Young and those church leaders close to him during this period as contained and available in the L.D.S. Church Historical Department in Salt Lake City.

From the tentative compilations derived from a number of sources, it appears that there were only about twenty blacks living in Nauvoo during the Mormon sojourn there from 1839-46 in contrast to the 100-120 blacks who arrived in the Great Basin during the first three years, 1847-50. See Appendix C, especially Tables II and III.

Ibid., Table III.
Chapter VII

PRO-SLAVERY RHETORIC AND MORMONISM'S DIVIDED MIND 1852-65

During the thirteen years from 1852 to 1865 the Latter-day Saints expressed strong, almost enthusiastic rhetorical support for slavery. At the same time, however, while this pro-slavery rhetoric represented the most prominent Mormon attitude toward the Peculiar Institution, it was not the only one. The Mormon mind was divided on this crucial issue. One side of Mormonism continued to oppose slavery, especially as an institution for the Latter-day Saint community. Another side of Mormon thinking favored a policy of neutral non-involvement as it related to all aspects of the slave question. The Saints, therefore, as had been the case during the six year period before 1852, continued to express divided attitudes toward slavery.

In contrast to any earlier period in Mormon history, however, Mormon pro-slavery attitudes assumed their clearest, most prominent form during the period 1852-65. Brigham Young led the way in pledging Mormon support for the Peculiar Institution. Before an assembled gathering of Latter-day Saints, the church president explained that the black man or:

The seed of Ham, which is the seed of Cain descending through Ham, will, according to the curse put upon him, serve his bretheren, and be a "servant of servants" to his fellow-creatures, until God removes the curse; and no power can hinder it. These are my views upon slavery.¹

Young supported slavery at other times, both in his capacity as president of the church, and as Utah's Territorial Governor, an office he held
from 1851 to 1857. During the Civil War Young continued to support
the servile state of the black man, insisting that the black man would
"continue to be the servant of servants, as the Lord had decreed, until
the curse is removed." Even as late as 1865, according to at least
two observers, the Mormon president defended slavery as a "divine insti-
tution." Furthermore, Young conveyed the impression that his pro-slavery
position reflected not merely his own views, but represented the feelings
and beliefs of church members in general. Speaking for the church, Young
proclaimed, "the Negro [to be] damned . . . and [destined] to serve his
master till God choses to remove the curse . . . these are my viewsa
and, consequently the views of all the Saints on abolitionism." On
another occasion, Young, when asked by the anti-slavery advocate Horace
Greeley "What is the position of your Church with respect to slavery?"
replied in his typically unabashed manner, "We consider it of divine
institution."b

The pro-slavery views of Brigham Young were echoed by other church
spokesmen giving substance to the contention that the Mormon leader's
statements reflected the feelings of most Latter-day Saints. One Mormon
apostle declared the black man's "curse of servitude" the "order of God."c
In the wake of the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation, another
Latter-day Saint official accused the "Abolitionists of the North" of
stealing the "niggers," even though they were "well off and happy" in
their state of involuntary servitude.d

Mormon support for the Peculiar Institution was also expressed
through church publications. The Deseret News, which emerged as the
principal church publication during this period, assumed a pro-slavery
position. A News editorial justified slavery as "a necessary" existence.
This same publication condemned the Emancipation Proclamation for encouraging the "universal confiscation of the private property of non-combatants," declaring that it would bring "no advantage to the negro race." Both the British-based Millennial Star and The Seer, edited by Apostle Orson Pratt in Washington D.C., defended the right of southerners to hold slaves. The Western Standard, a church periodical issued from San Francisco, justified slavery as a "domestic institution . . . fully protected by the acknowledged doctrine of states rights" while the Mormon owned St. Louis Luminary proclaimed all blacks "doomed to slavery" due to the "curse of Ham," The Mormon, edited by Apostle John Taylor in New York City, went so far as to indicate its preference for southern slavery over northern "soup kitchens" as a viable means for handling poverty and the poor.

Several factors apparently motivated the increased expression of Mormon pro-slavery rhetoric. To some extent, the continuing existence of black slavery among the Utah-based Saints throughout most of this period encouraged pro-slavery statements. In contrast to earlier efforts to cover-up or at least play-down black slavery in Utah, Brigham Young readily acknowledged its presence even to the anti-slavery zealot Horace Greeley. The church itself was, in fact, a party to such slaveholding. In 1857, during the excitement and fervor of the so-called "Mormon Reformation, a time when Latter-day Saints were giving material possessions to the church", one devout Mormon slaveholder "consecrated and deeded to the church" an "African servant girl" valued at one thousand dollars. On another occasion, Brigham Young addressed himself to the hypothetical question of slavery and future Utah statehood.

If Utah was admitted into the Union as a sovereign state and
we chose to introduce slavery here, it is not their [the Federal Government's] business to meddle with it... 17

During the early years of the Civil War, certain Saints expressed their belief that black slave labor might play a significant role in Utah's future economic development. Black slavery, reasoned one church man, could perhaps be utilized in the cotton settlements of southern Utah, a region peopled "mostly" by Latter-day Saint converts from the South who "were in the habit of raising cotton by negro labor." 18 Possibly aware of this potential, Brigham Young emphasized the need for responsible and humane treatment of black slaves, recommending that "negroes should be used like human beings" and "not be abused ... worse than dumb brutes." 19

The existence of black slavery among the Saints and its significance was also noted by newspapers and individuals outside of Utah. The "number" of black slaves in Utah, observed a Chicago newspaper, was "by no means small." 20 In another account, a Latter-day Saint elder tried to entice a non-Mormon female into Mormon polygamy by promising her a number of black slaves to do her "bidding." 21 Utah's slavery particularly alarmed various anti-slavery advocates. Theodore Parker pronounced Utah a "slave territory," while the rival Mormon leader James J. Strang, himself an avowed opponent of the Peculiar Institution, believed that "Slavery has finally fixed itself upon Utah as a domestick [sic] institution." 22 Horace Greeley went so far as to call for the complete abolition of Mormon slavery as a precondition for Utah statehood. 23

A broader Latter-day Saint self-image as slaveholders also promoted Mormon pro-slavery rhetoric. Utah's territorial slave statutes, as previously indicated, not only provided for black, but also Indian slavery. In fact, there were four times as many Indian as black slaves. 24 Further-
more, the Saints were not content to limit slavery to accepted non-white groups, but had the chilling (pre-Hitler) vision of making servants of people whom they considered less civilized than themselves. Apostle Parley P. Pratt envisioned a new world order, or Kingdom of God, dominated by the Saints, where the "heathen nations" would be "exalted to the privilege of serving the Saints of the Most High." These "heathen peoples" would be the "ploughmen . . . vinedressers, . . . gardeners, builders, etc." 25

Some Latter-day Saints looked to factors other than race or "civilization" as a criteria for future servitude. Brigham Young suggested that Mormon servants would include "former" Latter-day Saints or "so-called Mormons" who had refused to accompany him and his followers to Utah. These individuals would only be "far enough advanced to black the shoes of the faithful, dig trenches, hew wood, and draw water, and perform such other labors required of them..." 26 Another Mormon apostle spoke in more general terms of the "fainthearted and wicked" who would be given "the privilege of becoming, in a future day, the servants of those who maintained their integrity." 27

While the continued existence of slavery in Utah, along with a broader Mormon self-image as slaveholders contributed to Mormon pro-slavery rhetoric, the most important reason for its prominent expression stems from Mormonism's own Peculiar Institution—polygamy. Following public Mormon acknowledgement in 1852 of polygamy's existence among the Saints, it, like slavery, became a national political issue, generating controversy and even the threat of armed conflict during the decade of the 1850's. 28 The Saints viewed polygamy in their territory of Utah in much the same way as the South looked upon slavery in all the territories—
a domestic institution to be regulated by those individuals directly involved in its operation, and not by crusading reformers or the central government. One Mormon apostle upheld the independent right of a community to handle its own "Domestic Institutions" whether they be slavery or polygamy, proclaiming that the Saints stood "with THE SOUTH" as opponents of centralization. 29 Apostle Orson Pratt condemned anti-slave and anti-polygamy "State laws of the North" as having "nothing to do with the domestic relations" of the South or Utah. 30

As slavery and polygamy were linked by friend and foe alike during the turbulent decade of the 1850's, the Saints and southerners found themselves on the same side of various national issues. Both the South and Utah Mormons reacted enthusiastically to the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. 31 This Act, according to Latter-day Saint spokesmen, upheld the true doctrine of popular sovereignty which they hoped would benefit the polygamous Mormons in Utah as well as potential southern slaveholders in Kansas. 32 Mormon sympathy for the southern position in Kansas continued even when the principle of popular sovereignty seemed to work against the South. The Mormon press attacked the increasingly dominant Kansas free state advocates as "nigger worshippers" attempting to "abolitionize" that territory. 33

Two years later both the polygamous Saints and slaveholding southerners found themselves again on the same side in condemning the hostile activities of the newly-formed Republican Party. The Republicans, who emerged in the mid-1850's as a major political force, became known not only for their well-publicized attacks on black slavery in the territories, but also for denouncing Mormon polygamy in Utah. By 1856 the Republicans linked slavery and polygamy as the "twin relics of barbarism."

The
Mormons in response condemned the "Black Republicans" or "Slave Lover Ticket," in language not unlike that used by the South, as a vehicle for "disunion and treason." The Republicans, explained Apostle John Taylor, "always encroached upon the South." In addition to their common dislike of the Republican Party, the polygamous Mormons and slaveholding southerners became united in their common distrust of a prominent Democratic politician—Stephen A. Douglas. The South by 1857 became disillusioned with Douglas because his concept of "popular sovereignty" did not seem to be working to their advantage in Kansas. As for the Saints, they condemned the Illinois Senator because of his attacks on them. Douglas who had earlier sympathized with the Mormons, suddenly turned against them in 1857, attacking Mormon polygamy as a "loathsome ulcer" which had to be cut from the American body politic. This could be accomplished, Douglas said, by disfranchising the Saints and disorganizing Utah as a territory. This would make the polygamous Saints subject to direct federal supervision. In answer to charges that his anti-Mormon plan went against the basic principle of popular sovereignty, the Illinois Democrat maintained that the problem of Mormon polygamy was unique and in no way related to the issues of slavery and popular sovereignty. However, a number of writers both Mormon and non-Mormon disagreed. Latter-day Saint spokesmen attempting to play up the relationship between polygamy and slavery, suggested that if Douglas' anti-polygamy proposals were carried out, the institution of southern black slavery would be directly threatened. By disestablishing the territory of Utah and disfranchising the polygamous Saints, a dangerous precedent would be established which could lead to similar actions in those territories with slavery and might eventually even "reach slavery in the slave states."
Certain Latter-day Saint periodicals sympathized and identified with the South on other important issues during the 1850's. Both the Mormon polygamist and southern slaveholder applauded the Dred Scott decision. This monumental case questioned the ability of Congress to pass any law restricting southern slaveholders from taking their chattel into any United States territory. Some church spokesmen found this decision relevant for the polygamous Saints because:

"Congress has no power over the question of Slavery in the Territories and of course none over the question of polygamy. Those "twin relics of barbarism" can now flourish wherever the people will it in any of the Territories of the United States, and Uncle Sam can attend to his own business without troubling himself any further about them." 39

The Deseret News supported southern attempts to reopen the international slave trade during the late 1850's even though this issue had no immediate relevance for the Saints. The resumption of this trade, noted the News, would reduce miscegenation between white slaveholders and their black slaves, and at the same time give Africans the benefits of civilization. 40

In summary, the interrelationships and parallels between Mormon polygamy and southern slavery became so great in the Mormon mind, that the Saints looked upon any attack on southern slavery as a real or at least potential attack on polygamy. As slavery came more and more under attack during this period, the Saints lashed out in its defense. Mormon pro-slavery rhetoric represented on a subtle, but very real level, a Latter-day Saint effort not simply to defend slavery but more important, to protect Mormon polygamy from any and all attacks.

Although Mormon pro-slavery rhetoric was dominant throughout the period 1852-65 for the reasons discussed above, there was another, less publicized side of Mormonism's divided mind. In their private correspondence, and among themselves, various Saints, including even Brigham
Young, were able to dissociate the South's Peculiar Institution from polygamy in expressing their dislike for slavery both as an institution in Utah and within American society at large.

Despite the presence of black slaves in Utah throughout most of this period, various Saints continued to characterize this Mormon territory as an arena for free labor. This was particularly true during Mormon efforts to secure statehood. Brigham Young tried to promote the idea that Utah was not "slave country."41 He did not want "Slavery entailed upon our young, vigorous, and thriving Territory,"42 "[N]either our climate, soil, productions, nor minds of the people," the Mormon president continued, "are congenial to African Slavery."43 The Utah-based Saints had no "very decided propensity in favor of slavery" because, according to Brigham Young, any large-scale slavery in the territory "would prove useless and unprofitable" and work against the basic Mormon goal of "great moral and social reform."44 Young, therefore, wanted Utah admitted to the Union as a "free state."45 Echoing the sentiments of Young, other Latter-day Saint spokesmen indicated their limited support for slavery during Utah's quest for statehood.46 Although some Mormon leaders, meeting in a convention to draw up a proposed state constitution for Utah, considered a provision to make slavery constitutional, it was dropped when "few delegates" could be found favoring it.47 Likewise, Apostle John Taylor, who had traveled east to promote Mormon statehood, assured northerners that "Utah shall not be admitted as a slave state."48

Various Saints also attacked slavery in more general terms. Brigham Young, through his private exchanges, expressed his opinion that it was "repugnant" and "only productive of evil."49 Young, in contrast to his public pro-slavery statements, also expressed his dislike for
slavery in the South. While reading Hinton Rowen Helper's anti-slavery account—*The Impending Crisis of the South*, the Mormon president advanced his view that slavery had been "the ruin of the South" even though this region had "a beautiful climate and rich soil." Young believed that if southerners "would abolish slavery, and institute free labor they would be much richer than they are." The Saints also condemned slavery in other quarters. Apostle Parley P. Pratt denounced the Catholic Church because it held "slaves and souls of men." Another Saint attacked the British for attempting to reinstate slavery in a new form in the West Indies through the importation of Chinese laborers, while the *Millennial Star* condemned "slaveholders" in general.

The expression of Mormon pro-slavery rhetoric, along with less visible Latter-day dislike for slavery dramatizes Mormonism's divided attitude toward the Peculiar Institution evident throughout this period. To make things more confusing, the same church spokesmen often projected their dual attitudes toward slavery and the protagonists in the deepening North-South conflict within the same sermons. Thus, Brigham Young maintained on the one hand that he was "no abolitionist," labeling all anti-slavery advocates as "rank, rabid, ... black-hearted" men attempting to set "the whole national fabric on fire." On the other hand, Young said that he was not a "pro-slavery man" declaring, "I hate some of their principles and especially some of their conduct, as I do the gates of Hell." Apostle John Taylor expressed a similar ambivalent, neutral attitude in a more dramatic fashion. Taylor explained that if he had been called upon to help solve the civil strife ripping the nation apart, he would have impartially hung up a number of Southern fire-eaters on one end of a rope, and a lot of rabid Abolitionists on the other.
end as enemies and traitors to their country. 56

Other church spokesmen condemned "the pride and obstinacy of both parties," while labeling the Saints as "neither Abolitionist nor pro-Slavery men." 57

William H. Hooper, Utah's territorial delegate in Washington, D.C., dissociated the Mormons from the "ultral views" of both the North and South. 58

A Mormon desire to stay neutral and detached from the increasingly acute North-South conflict encouraged Latter-day Saint ambivalence toward slavery. This desire to maintain an aloof, non-committal position on slavery was reflected through the omission of all references to this topic in the proposed constitutions for Utah Statehood. These documents, submitted to Congress throughout this period, avoided any mention of slavery even though in at least one Constitutional Convention this subject had been debated in a "prolonged and animated" manner. 59 Delegate William H. Hooper expressed this same attitude during his efforts to secure congressional approval for this document. According to Hooper, the members of Congress, both northerners and southerners, could interpret the absence of any reference to slavery in the proposed Constitution in whatever way they wished and thereby "fully understand where we stand." 60

The Mormon need to remain neutral and detached from the issue of slavery and North-South hostilities became especially crucial after the South seceded from the Union and Civil War broke out in 1861. In the wake of these critical developments, the Saints found themselves walking a tightrope. From an ideological point of view, the Saints were closer to the southern or Confederate position. The Mormons, however, were also sensitive to the realities of their geographic position. Utah was closer to the centers of Unionist or northern military strength than to those of the South. The Saints therefore decided to keep Utah within the Union.
They dispatched a telegram east emphasizing that the Mormon territory had "not seceded, but is firm for the Constitution." William H. Hooper was "exceedingly careful" to project the Mormons' pro-Unionist sympathies in Congress while simultaneously pushing for Utah statehood. The Mountainaineer, a Salt Lake-based Mormon periodical, stated early in the conflict that the Saints would not participate on "either side." It appears that the Saints, through their continued use of pro-slavery rhetoric during the war years, were informing the central government that despite their willingness to stay in the Union, they had no intention of actively participating in this conflict, especially as it evolved more and more into an anti-slavery crusade.

Mormon millennialism probably further accentuated Mormonism's divided mind toward slavery. Mormon millennialistic expectations intensified and reached a peak during the 1850's and early 1860's in the face of increased sectional friction and Civil War. Reflecting the hopeful, optimistic side of Mormonism's divided mind, one Mormon apostle looked forward to the elimination of both pro and anti-slavery elements as part of a cleansing action which would pave the way for ultimate Mormon control of the earth through the millennium and the Second Coming. When secession and civil war seemed inevitable, Delegate William H. Hooper felt that "Utah's star" was "in the ascendency" predicting that the Saint's "Mountain Home" would serve as "an asylum for the honest from among all nations." The outbreak of civil war in 1861 was greeted by the Deseret News as a "heaven ordained opportunity" to strike a "decisive blow at the root of existing evils... the noxious fruits of nullification, disunion, and slavery agitation."

At the same time, however, Mormon fears about the apocalyptic violence
and destruction that would precede the millennium reflected the pessimistic side of Mormonism's divided attitude toward slavery. The Saints harbored acute anxieties over the destructive potential of slavery and possible slave rebellion. One Mormon apostle warned that the "slavery question... may prove a firebrand that will light the funeral pile of national integrity and constitutional liberty." The Mormon response to John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry reflected deep Latter-day Saint concern about the apocalyptic consequences of slave rebellions. Brown's attempt to "overthrow slavery" in the words of one Mormon apostle had "engendered feelings of hatred" between the North and the South which would never "be allayed." Several Mormon's linked John Brown's raid to Joseph Smith's millennialistic-apocalyptic 1832 prophecy that "after many days the slaves shall rise up against their masters" triggering widespread bloodshed and disorder. One Mormon while observing that neither Brown's "negro insurrection or any past negro insurrection" was "the rising of the slaves against their masters" foretold in Smith's prophecy, nevertheless maintained that

We look upon this negro insurrection as a type and foreshadowing of something to come; and in the meantime it may be considered as more than probable that this insurrection will greatly aggravate the cankering difficulties between the Northern and Southern States of the Union.

There was every prospect, predicted another gloomy Mormon observer, that the slaves would rise en masse "executing a horrid massacre upon their masters' wives and children." Ultimately civil war would rage with such fury, and such dreadful slaughter of life, and numerous fiendish horrors, as to form a spectacle more fearful and hell-like than has ever been seen in the experience of mankind.

A number of Mormons also expressed apocalyptic anxieties relative to the black slave during the Civil War. In 1861 Brigham Young expressed his
fear that

The Abolitionist would set free the negroes at the expense of the lives of their masters; they would let the negroes loose to massacre every white person.74

The enactment of the Emancipation Proclamation caused further Mormon anxieties. The Deseret News predicted "upheavings among the dark myriads of the sons of Canaan" and retributions by "incensed blacks" for past wrongs which would "convulse the land of their bondage and exoe-creation from its center to its circumference."75 The Saints anticipated "all the indescribable horrors of a servile insurrection."76 The future, reported the Millennial Star, appeared to be "as black as Erebus." America, once "the pride and boast of the world," was about to "sink into the darkest, blackest shades of oblivion."77 There didn't appear to be much the Mormons could do to reverse this gloomy prognosis. After all, the Saints expected the Emancipation Proclamation to "bring about a literal fulfillment of certain predictions of the prophets, recorded in the 'scriptures of truth,' concerning events that would transpire in the 'latter days.'"78 The black slaves incited by this proclamation would fulfill Mormon prophecy and "after many days . . . rise up against their masters."79

Mormon fears about the black slave and his relationship to Mormon prophecy intensified in the wake of Abraham Lincoln's decision to utilize the "brawny arms" of the "Hamites . . . in squelching the imperiousness of their masters" through black conscription.80 The Saints considered the use of these black soldiers through "the marshalling . . . of 100,000 slaves" consistent with Mormon prophecy.81 Although "that portion of the 1832 prophecy referring to the slaves" had been literally fulfilled, the Mormons anticipated "a much more general and terrible accomplishment of the whole in the future."82 Even the formal termination of sectional
warfare in 1865 didn't allay Mormon fears concerning the dreaded future role of the black man:

Already have slaves risen against their masters, but we, like our predecessors, look for a far more general rising of the blood-thirsty African against their masters, and woe, woe unto the whites who may be so unfortunate as to fall into their pitiless hands, for, from experience we know the negro is a stranger to mercy when fully aroused, and the course that is being pursued throughout the entire Union will shortly transform the now seemingly tame and almost imbecile black, into a perfect demon.83

The Mormon use of pro-slavery rhetoric, therefore, reflected a basic Mormon fear or pessimism concerning the immediate future. Through their pro-slavery statements, the Saints expressed their hope that slavery would withstand the impending apocalypse. Thus, slavery would survive as a means of social control over America's black population. Mormon hopes for slavery's survival acted as a foil against Mormon fears and anxieties about its possible destruction and the subsequent unleashing of an aroused black slave population. The Saints wanted to remain as detached as possible from this process while it was taking place, allowing all of the protagonists—both pro and anti-slave and possibly even the black slaves to be destroyed. After this violent conflict was over, the Saints could move in and take over the world in anticipation of the glorious millennium and Second Coming.

Mormon pro-slavery rhetoric within a somewhat ambivalent framework represented the dominant Latter-day Saint view toward the Peculiar Institution during the years 1852-65. The emergence of these pro-slavery tendencies was significant for several reasons. First, a Mormon willingness to utilize pro-slavery rhetoric within the context of church efforts to defend polygamy, represents not so much Mormon support for black slavery as a fundamental Latter-day Saint desire to defend their own "Peculiar
"Secondly, the Mormon use of pro-slavery rhetoric at a time of high millennialistic expectations indicates the depth of Mormon fears and anxieties about the immediate apocalyptic destruction which would proceed the glorious millennium. Finally, this pro-slavery rhetoric helped to promote, and was part of a larger Mormon effort to publicize the black man's subordinate status during the years 1852-65, a development discussed in the following chapter."
1. Journal of Discourses, 2, Brigham Young, February 18, 1855.


3. Journal of Discourses, 10, Brigham Young, October 6, 1863. He also went on to explain that "the cause of human improvement is not in the least advanced by this dreadful war." Also see Journal of Discourses, 10, Brigham Young, June 14, 1863.


5. New York Herald, May 4, 1855, as reprinted in Hirshson, The Lion of the Lord, 256.

6. Horace Greeley, Overland Journey From New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859, ed. by Charles T. Duncan (New York, 1964), 179. Also during this period, Young attempted to reinterpret past Latter-day Saint history within the context of this pro-slavery position. Young recounted the Mormon-Missouri difficulties of the 1830's in the following manner. "In our first settlement in Missouri, it was said by our enemies that we intended to tamper with the slaves, not that we had any idea of the kind, for such a thing never entered our minds. We knew that the children of Ham were to be the 'servant of servants,' and no power under heaven could hinder it, so long as the Lord should permit them to waver under the curse, and those were known to be our religious views concerning them." (Italics in original). See Journal of Discourses, 2, Brigham Young, February 18, 1855. Also Deseret News, March 1, 1855.


8. It is not clear who actually made this statement. The Daily Union Vedette (Salt Lake City), November 30, 1865, in quoting the New York Tribune of November 10, 1865, attributes it to David O. Calder, a personal secretary to Brigham Young, while Stanley P. Hirshson in The Lion of the Lord, 267, quoting the same source for the same date attributes this remark to Apostle Heber C. Kimball. In addition, another non-Mormon alleged that the Saints felt that "slavery ought never to have been abolished and nothing should have been done as it has been for the last twenty-five years." J.H. Beadle, Life in Utah (Philadelphia, Penn., 1870), 310.


10. Ibid, June 1, 1859.
11. Ibid., October 22, 1862.


13. *Western Standard* (San Francisco), September 20, 1856; *St. Louis Luminaries*, March 24, 1855.


20. As reprinted in the *St. Louis Luminaries*, February 24, 1855.


22. As noted by *The Mormon*, November 17, 1855 and *Voree Herald*, May 22, 1856. It should be noted that Strang was under the impression that slavery was not present within the territory prior to the mid-1850's.

23. From the *New York Tribune* as reprinted in *The Mormon*, January 10, 1857. Expressing this same concern, the *Salem Observer* noted that since cotton could be grown in Utah, slavery could exist there. As reprinted in *The Mormon*, December 15, 1855.

24. *The Mormon*, February 28, 1857. N.W. Green in *Mormonism*, 270 observed that "Indian girls and boys . . . purchased and trained as servants" by the Saints were "as much a recognized item of property there as the negro slaves of Louisiana or Kentucky."

25. Farley P. Pratt, *Key to the Science of Theology* (Liverpool, England, 1855), 134. Although Pratt suggested that these services would be performed in an environment free from "tyranny [and] oppression," the ownership of the land and real estate along with the powers as "Kings, governors, and judges of the earth" would be restricted to the Saints.

27. *Ibid.*, 6, Erastus Snow, November 29, 1857. Such Latter-day Saint slave plans were well publicized. Various non-Mormon writers expressed their view, that if the Saints had their way "all 'Gentiles' non-Mormons" were to become "servants of the 'Saints' . . . and serve the 'Saints' in whatever menial capacity the latter may direct." Other non-Mormons quoted Brigham Young as declaring that at some future date even "the President of the United States" would "black" the Mormon leader's boots. See N.W. Green, *Mormonism*, 157, 216; Mrs. T.B. (Fanny) Stenhouse, *Tell It All* (Hartford, Connecticut, 1874), 257-8; Beadle, *Life in Utah*, 168.


32. *New York Daily News*, April 26, 1855, as reprinted in *The Mormon*, May 5, 1855. This Latter-day Saint desire was also expressed by John Taylor to Brigham Young, September 16, 1855, John Taylor Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department and Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, February 24, 1855.

33. *The Mormon*, June 27, 1857; St. Louis Luminary, June 9, 1855.


40. Deseret News, April 13, 1859, June 1, 1859, July 13, 1859.


42. Young to Taylor, September 8, 1855, Young Papers.

43. Young to Kane, April 14, 1856, Young Papers.

44. Greeley, An Overland Journey, 180. Young to Taylor, September 8, 1855. In his discussions with Greeley, the Mormon leader expanded on his views concerning the limited economic feasibility of slavery for himself or among the Saints in general. "I regard it as a curse to the masters. I myself hire many laborers and pay them fair wages; I could not afford to own them. I can do better than subject myself to an obligation to feed and clothe their families, to provide and care for them in sickness and health. Utah is not adapted to slave labor.

45. Young to Taylor, September 8, 1855, March 1, 1856; Young to Willard Richards, April 1, 1856; Young to Bernhisel, January 6, 1858, Young Papers.

46. William H. Hooper to Brigham Young, December 4, 1861, William H. Hooper Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department; John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, February 19, 1863, Bernhisel Papers; The Mormon, December 15, 1855.

47. New York Daily Times, March 31, 1856 as reprinted in The Mormon, June 14, 1856.

48. Taylor to Young, January 18, 1856, Taylor Papers.

49. Young to Taylor, September 8, 1855, Young Papers.

50. Brigham Young's "Office Journal," May 4, 6, 7, December 26, 1860, Young Papers. Mormon interest in Helper's work is probabliy not too surprising. According to George Fredrickson in The Black Image in the White Mind, 68, 133, the writings of Helper were attractive to lower middle class Americans who were inclined toward free soil sentiments.


52. Parley P. Pratt, "Repent! Ye People of California," January 1852,
reprinted in Parker Pratt Robison, *Writings of Parley Parker Pratt* (Salt Lake City, 1952), 153.


54. *Journal of Discourses*, 10, Brigham Young, March 8, 1863. Also see his discourse of October 6, 1863 in this same work along with the *Deseret News*, September 17, 1856.


56. *Deseret News*, March 29, 1865. In slightly less militant language *The Mountaineer*, May 25, 1861 reflected this same impartial position. "It would be hard to say that all the extreme vindictive abolitionist at the North, and the leaders of the present insurrectionary movements in the South should be penitentiariad or ignominiously executed. Yet who would question the justice of the act?"

57. *Western Standard*, August 30, 1856, September 20, 1856; *St. Louis Luminary*, May 26, 1855.

58. Hooper to Young, December 4, 25, 1860, May 6, 1861, Hooper Papers.


60. Hooper to Young, December 4, 1861, Hooper Papers. Italics in original.


64. For a comprehensive treatment of the relationship between the Civil War and Mormon millennialism see Klaus J. Hanson, *Quest for Empire* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1961), 17, 167; Boyd L. Eddins, "The Mormons and the Civil War" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1966).

66. Hooper to Young, November 23, 1860, Hooper Papers.

67. Deseret News, June 5, 1861. Some of the Saints anticipated the destruction of the "black race" or at least the death of many slaves. According to Brigham Young, the Civil War would not only fail to free the black slave but "may kill ... the black race ... by thousands and tens of thousands." Journal of Discourses, 10, Brigham Young, October 6, 1863. Also see his discourse of June 14, 1863 in this same volume.


69. It is interesting that the initial report of Brown's raid was reported under the category of "nothing of special interest" or merely another escapade of "Ossawattamie Brown"; The Mountaineer, December 24, 1859; Deseret News, November 30, 1859, December 7, 1859.


71. This "Revelation and Prophecy on War" was originally published in the Pearl of Great Price.

72. Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, November 12, 1859.

73. Ibid., January 28, 1860.

74. Journal of Discourses, 9, Brigham Young, July 28, 1861.


76. Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, February 14, 1863.

77. Ibid., January 31, 1863.


79. Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, February 14, 1863.


81. Deseret News, February 4, 1863; Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, October 1, 1864. As had been the case in the past, Mormon spokesmen used the terms "slave" and "Negro" interchangeably when describing the fulfillment of this portion of the 1832 Prophecy. The Millennial Star,
March 25, 1865, suggested a connection between the use of these two terms. It said that "upwards of 200,000 negroes—formerly slaves—engaged in its military service"; which showed that "many of the slaves formerly belonging to the southern states have been 'marshalled and disciplined for war.'"

82. *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, March 25, 1865. The Star on another occasion, August 22, 1863, warned that the South might be forced to follow in the footsteps of the North and adopt the "dreadful alternative" of black conscription.

Chapter VIII

THE SAINTS PUBLICIZE THE BLACK MAN’S INFERIOR STATUS 1852-65

Although Latter-day Saint leaders established a subordinate status for the black man during the period 1839-52 in both the ecclesiastical and secular realms, it was not until the thirteen year period after 1852 that church spokesmen gave full publicity to their earlier anti-black actions. For the first time a large number of individuals both within and outside of the church became fully aware of the black man’s inferior position within Mormonism. This publicity helped to bolster Latter-day Saint efforts to perpetuate the black man’s subordinate Mormon status into the indefinite future.

Brigham Young, both in church sermons and through the printed word, now publicized his earlier, less public statements that blacks, as the "descendants of Cain" or "children of Ham," were not "entitled to the Priesthood." This denial or "curse," maintained Young, would remain on the black until "All the other families [races] of the earth have received the ordinances" or "blessings" of the "true Gospel." Echoing the public views of the Mormon president, another Mormon leader, through a public discourse, explained that the blacks

in consequence of their corruptions, their murders, their wickedness, or the wickedness of their fathers, priesthood was taken from them, and the curse that was upon them was decreed should descend upon their posterity after them, it was decreed that they should not bear rule sic .

The black man’s inferior Mormon status was extensively discussed in the church press throughout this period. The Desert News, the voice of
the Utah-based Saints, led the way through an editorial addressed "To the Saints." The blacks, according to the News, were "cursed ... with a skin of blackness" which they "cannot cast off ... once and immediately." Although blacks could "be baptised and receive the spirit of God" they could not "receive a fullness of the priesthood." The Seer, edited by Apostle Orson Pratt, also publicized the black man's subordinate position within Mormonism. Expanding on Orson Hyde's 1845 pre-existent theory that the black man's current liabilities resulted from unrighteous behavior during a premortal existence, Pratt, for the first time, linked the black man's pre-existent behavior to priesthood denial:

Some [pre-existent] spirits take bodies in the lineage of the chosen seed, through whom the Priesthood is transferred, others receive bodies among the African negroes, or in the lineage of Canaan, whose descendants were cursed, pertaining to the priesthood.  

In the New York based Mormon an editorial referred to the Book of Abraham in discussing the "nega's deformity" of blackness and his "bondage." Alluding to the pre-existent theories previously presented by Apostles Hyde and Pratt, The Mormon noted that the "spirits" of blacks were obliged "to take bodies or tabernacles cursed with bondage and blackness." It added that "Ham and all [of] his descendants were cursed as pertaining to ... the Priesthood." The St. Louis Luminary and the San Francisco-based Western Standard also publicized the prevailing Mormon view that the blacks could not "receive the Holy Priesthood and govern in the Kingdom of God."  

Non-Mormon writers also observed the black man's unfavorable position within the church. As early as 1852, Lieutenant J.W. Gunnison, who conducted a number of topographical surveys of the Great Basin for the U.S. Corp of Army Engineers, noted the black man's inferior status within Mor-
monism. The New York Tribune observed that the Mormon "religion includes the idea that . . . the Africans are an inferior race of beings." According to Richard Burton, the famous British world traveller and adventurer, the black man was "not admitted to the Communion of the Saints." Several factors influenced this public Mormon assertion of the black man's inferior position. To some extent Latter-day Saint rhetorical support for slavery, which, as discussed above, reached its peak during this same period, contributed to the general tendency to publicize the black man's subordinate status. Brigham Young on numerous occasions emphasized the connections between the black man's inferior status within Mormonism and his position as a "servant of servants" to his brethren. In the words of one Mormon apostle the blacks were not only prohibited from receiving the "Holy Priesthood" or governing in "the Kingdom of God, but must be servants to their brethren." The Mormon also saw a connection between involuntary black servitude and the black man's inferior position within the church. Emphasizing the durability of this link, another apostle explained:

> When God has decreed a certain way for men to be in servitude, and has designed they shall hold that position, it is worse than useless for any man or set of men, to undertake to put them in a position to rule.

Latter-day Saint treatment of the free blacks living in their midst also influenced church efforts to publicize the black man's inferior Mormon status. Throughout the 1850's the Saints enacted a large number of laws on both the territorial and local level discriminating against blacks and other non-whites. These laws limited to "free, adult white males" the right to vote, hold public office, and belong to the territorial militia. The various proposed state constitutions submitted by the Saints in 1856,
1860, and 1862 contained proscriptions on the rights of citizenship for blacks as well as other non-whites. In establishing such limitations, the Saints behaved like other white Americans during this period. Unlike most non-Mormon Americans, however, the Saints, as previously suggested, tended to blur over the distinctions between secular and ecclesiastical authority. In Utah the same individuals often held both secular and ecclesiastical offices on the same level. As for the blacks, they could not hold offices in either realm, a fact well known by Mormon and non-Mormon alike.

The black man in Utah also found himself differentiated and "stereotyped" in other ways. As in other parts of the United States, Utah blacks were frequently pictured as whimsical, childlike Sambos who took great delight in performing for white folk. At a Latter-day Saint "ward party" in Salt Lake City, "A solo dance was . . . performed by a 'genuine Ethiopian' in a style somewhat original and 'werry pecoollia'; on another occasion a Mormon settlement in southern Utah enjoyed the "theatrical entertainment" of an "Ethiopian band." Another theatrical performance, this one in Salt Lake City, presenting "Sambo's Opinion of the World," was lauded as "particularly good," eliciting "a rapturous encore." During the Civil War the local citizenry received enthusiastically the stage version of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" performed at the Salt Lake Theatre. This play which popularized the black stereotype, contained, according to the Deseret News, the following character sketches:

Uncle Tom was the praying, pious old colored individual represented in the book; Topsy was unquestionably a "shiftless, heathenish-looking" being; her playing drew forth repeated plaudits.

Latter-day Saint periodicals, moreover, carried numerous "Sambo" stories
and articles, often reprinted from non-Mormon sources, which undoubtedly helped to reinforce this black stereotype. Latter-day Saint spokesmen frequently utilized "Sambo" stories to convey a particular point or lesson, thus giving further credence to this black image.

While Mormon pro-slavery rhetoric, along with negative treatment of those blacks within the Latter-day Saint community, helped to promote Mormon efforts to publicize the black man's subordinate status, other factors were more important. One of these, a deliberate Mormon effort to defend polygamy from non-Mormon verbal attacks played a subtle but yet a very crucial role in causing the Saints to publicize the black man's inferior position. The public Latter-day Saint acknowledgement of polygamy as an essential Mormon practice after 1852 fostered an increase in anti-Mormon hostility on both a physical and verbal level. Certain non-Mormon critics drew analogies and parallels between the polygamous Latter-day Saints and the black man, in terms of the latter's sexual mores and practices. According to one sarcastic Mormon critic, Brigham Young in his practice of polygamy had a distinct advantage over the polygamous African King of Ashantee in that the African monarch was limited to "only" 5, 333 wives while the Mormon president could have an unlimited number. Two non-Mormon British publications alluded to the parallels between polygamy as practiced by the Saints and that promoted by the African Kaffirs and Zulus.

Other non-Mormon writers suggested a physical connection between the polygamous Saints and the black man. With the Saints clearly in mind, the vitriolic anti-Mormon Union Vedette observed that "the negro naturally inclines to polygamy." During the election campaign of 1856, some Republicans insinuated an intimate black-polygamous Mormon relation-
ship. As part of a pro-Republican parade in Indianapolis one wagon drawn by oxen contained "Brigham Young, with his six wives. . . . Brigham . . . was making himself as useful and interesting as possible among his white, black and piebald better-halves," while, at the same time, holding up a banner inscribed "Hurrah for the Kansas-Nebraska bill--it introduces Polygamy and Slavery." Writing from Utah, another non-Mormon newspaper reporter suggested that the Saints and blacks in that territory had close social contacts. He wrote that "Two Negro Balis" were
given this week, at which I am informed by eye witnesses, some ten or a dozen white women attended and danced with the negroes with perfect freedom and familiarity. White men were also "mixed in," and were dancing with the negro wenches. In fact, it presented the most disgusting of spectacles--negró men and women, and Mormon men and women, all dancing on terms of perfect equality. 

Other critics of the Utah Mormons saw a link between the polygamous Saints and the black man's alleged ancestor--Cain. Polygamy, they claimed, had originated in a "direct line from Cain" through the "accursed race." At least two rival Mormon groups, manifesting their opposition to the Utah Saints plural marital practices, also alluded to polygamy's "accursed" racial origins. An account published by one major non-polygamous Mormon sect reported that

The first polygamist that we have an account of was a descendant of Cain, whom God had cursed because he was a murderer. This descendant Lamech was also a murderer, showing that which has been verified in our day, that polygamy and murder are often twin crimes.

Non-Mormon critics suggested that polygamy made the Saints an "inferior" group in terms of their cultural and racial attributes. Polygamy, theorized one writer, "degrades all men to one miserable level of fanaticism and mental debasement." Since the female birthrate in "polygamic countries" exceeds that of males it was possible that "the male [Mormon] race
in a few generations would become extinct." It wasn't possible, he con-
cluded, for the Saints to "obtain the hardy bodies and sound minds of northern
Saxons from the worst practices of effemite [sic] Asiatics."33 Another
non-Mormon observer described the children of one polygamous family as
resembling "young savages . . . with faces unwashed, hair uncombed, and
feet" with "the color and consistence of huge toads."34

On a more scientific level, Dr. Roberts Barthelow, an assistant
surgeon attached to the United States Army force sent to Utah in 1857-58,
in a report "On the Effects and Tendencies of Mormon Polygamy in the Ter-
ritory of Utah," suggested that Mormon polygamy was already producing an
inferior race of people. According to Barthelow:

The yellow, sunken, cadaverous visage; the greenish-colored
eye; the thick, protuberant lips, the low forehead, the lank,
angular person, constitute an appearance so characteristic
of the new race, the production of polygamy, as to distin-
guish them at a glance.35

Barthelow theorized that if the polygamous Saints were solely dependent
on natural increase for their members, they "would eventually die out"
as a people and religion.36 C.G. Furshey and Samuel A. Cartwright, two
southerners interested in Barthelow's findings and the burgeoning science
of ethnology, tended to agree with the army surgeon's hypothesis.37
Forshey felt that the Mormons' Peculiar Institution was contrary to the
"nature and . . . instincts" of the "white race of man"; while Cartwright
agreed that "polygamy is too injurious to the mind and body to be tolerated
among a progressive and Christian people."38

Other hostile non-Mormons suggested that in the light of such racial
inferiority, the Mormons like the black man or Indian were incapable
of governing themselves. The Saints like a "savage tribe," in the words
of one national publication, lacked the "inherent capacity" for self-
government. One writer called for close controls over the Saints because
the American "Constitution does not recognize in all races the inherent
right of self-government." 39

The Saints reacted to these allegations of Mormon cultural and
racial inferiority in a vigorous, direct way. Apostle Heber C. Kimball,
who by the 1850's had emerged as one of Brigham Young's principal advisers,
and perhaps his closest friend, expressed concern about the Saint's treat-
ment as white men. 40 Responding to the claims of those non-Mormons who
"never thought for a moment [the Mormons] were white men and women,"
Kimball countered that, "the Saints were quite white." 41 The Latter-day
Saints Millennial Star summed up the feeling of most churchmen on this
question. When non-Mormons, explained the Star, address themselves to
the Saints they are not

talking to an inferior race a thousand years behind them
in science and intelligence; it is white men talking to
white men; it is equal assuming to dictate to equal; and
the "Mormons" will not willingly accept such instruction
till the supposed superiority is proved. 42

This same publication even went so far as to describe the Saints as
culturally and racially superior to their non-Mormon counterparts.

We are certain that "Mormon society" is as fair compared
with "English society," as is the face of the white man to
that of the swarthy son of Ethiopia. 43

In addition to proclaiming their status as white men in the face
of non-Mormon verbal assaults, the Saints also felt compelled to respond
to charges of a link between Mormon polygamy and the accursed seed of
Cain. The Saints countered such suggestions by emphasizing, more than
before, their alleged literal descent from the chosen biblical figures
of Abraham, Ephraim, and Joseph. By this time church spokesmen claimed that "most," or at least nine-tenths of all of the Saints were "Ephraimish" in their origin or the "pure seed of Ephraim." Some Saints even outlined various ways that such descent could be proven. Brigham Young, in addition, made an effort to link descent from the chosen seed of Abraham to their status as members of "the Anglo-Saxon race." The Saints also reacted against non-Mormon charges of a link between polygamy and amalgamation by declaring their opposition to any and all forms of black-white racial intermixture. Mormon observers travelling in the South condemned the "scenes of wickedness" represented by numerous "negro mistresses" and "blue-eyed . . . negro . . . children." Apostle John Taylor characterized this "amalgamation process" as "niggerism in the South." The Latter-day Saints proclaimed black-white racial intermixture to be against both secular and ecclesiastical laws. In 1852 the Utah Territorial Legislature, as part of its "Act in Relation to Service," prohibited "sexual or carnal intercourse" between white masters and their black slaves. For such a crime the offending white could be punished by the enforced forfeiture of "all claims of ownership" to the black servant, or servants involved, plus a $500 to $1,000 fine, and up to three years imprisonment. Moving to an ecclesiastical plane, the Deseret News maintained that racial intermixture was against the Lord's "righteous decree." This was so because slave masters in mingling "their seed with that of the negress" would be guilty of "transferring the curse of Cain to their own posterity." Speaking in more general terms, other church writers argued that it was against eternal law for "the polygamist and
monogamist" to engage in "adultry or promiscuous cohabitation," or "to intermarry with idolatrous nations." 51 Brigham Young, himself, was perhaps the most emphatic in his arguments against black-white racial intermixture:

Shall I tell you the law of God in regard to the African race? If the white man who belongs to the chosen seed mixes his blood with the seed of Cain, the penalty under the law of God, is death on the spot. This will always be so. 52

The Saints, in their efforts to defend themselves against charges of fostering black-white racial intermixture through polygamy, alleged that there was much less racial intermixture in their midst than among non-Mormon monogamists both in the North and South. The Saints described polygamy as an institution in which white men had white wives "honorably given them according to the law of God." The South, by contrast, followed a "little different course" or type of polygamy. White men often had "from one to twenty wives, and nineteen out of the twenty are BLACK." 53 Another Latter-day Saint also described "Southern Polygamy"--a system in which the white slave master might have from "one to twenty negro mistresses." In addition, he denounced the prevalence of a similar type of amalgamation throughout the North as well. Such evil practices, he claimed, did not exist among the polygamous Saints. 54

Besides defending polygamy as an institution for preserving white racial purity, the Saints also looked upon their peculiar institution as a means for perpetuating their status as a chosen people. According to Brigham Young and others the preservation of their white-Abrahamic racial status was imperative because of the existence of "more noble" or "more intelligent spirits" in the pre-mortal world. 55 It was the duty of certain Saints to practice polygamy so that all of these premortal
spirits would have the opportunity to come into this world through the "noble . . . just and righteous parentage" of the Saints. These "noble . . . intelligent spirits" could not be allowed to come through the "degraded parentage" of the Hottentots, the African negroes, the idolatrous Hindoos, or any other of the fallen nations that dwell upon the face of this earth."56

The Saints even defended polygamy as a vehicle to physically improve the Latter-day Saints as a distinct "race" or group. Polygamy, along with other "pure laws and practices," would, in the words of Apostle Parley P. Pratt, enable the Saints "to improve or regenerate the race."

The resulting "race" would be

more beautiful in form and feature, stronger, and more vigorous in constitution, happier in temperament and disposition, more intellectual, less vicious, and better prepared for long life and good days in their mortal sojourn.57

"Each succeeding generation," declared Pratt, would "still improve, till male and female may live and multiply for a hundred years upon the earth."58 Sharing this same optimism, Brigham Young believed that future generations of Saints would "rise up and be as great as any man that ever lived, and . . . far beyond . . . myself."59 Echoing this same belief, Apostle Heber C. Kimball explained that there were "little boys" among the Saints who would "live until they have the power to bring the dead back to life."60

In defending polygamy as an institution to facilitate racial improvement, the Saints also expressed their desire to "purge out" from their midst all those elements that were "filthy."61 Not only did Mormon efforts to limit racial amalgamation represent a concrete move in this direction, but so did their attempt to subtly discourage the migra-
tion and settlement of blacks—both slave and free in Utah. At the same
time, Brigham Young and other Saints felt that "impure elements" should
be "purged out," not only from the larger Mormon community, but from the
bodies of individual church members. This could be done, Young said,
through "the Holy Ghost" which could be poured upon an individual Saint
who was tainted with impure "Gentile blood." Such impurities would "actu-
ally" be cleaned "out of their veins" and be "replaced with the pure blood
of Abraham" which would be "made to circulate in them." Young believed
that the Holy Ghost could be used to "purge" impure "blood out" of the
bodies of various types of true believers, whether they had the "blood
of Judah" or "Ishmaelitish blood." At the same time, the Mormon presi-
dent implied that the black man could not be cleansed of his impure or
tainted blood. Any such effort would, of course, be impaired by the physi-
cal reality of the black man's dark skin which in Mormon eyes was emble-
matic of the blacks' "tainted" blood, as well as his accursed racial
origins. Therefore, a Mormon desire to defend polygamy against outside
attack played a subtle, but very important, role in prompting the Saints
to publicize the black man's subordinate position within Mormonism.

A Mormon reaction to the church's limited missionary success among
various dark-skinned peoples also played a crucial role in facilitating
Latter-day Saint anti-black publicity. Initially, however, the Saints
seemed anxious to preach the message of Mormonism throughout the world
and to all peoples. In turn, the Saints called upon all such peoples,
even those who were "not Christian, but who worship the various Gods of
India, China, Japan, or the Islands of the Pacific or Indian Oceans,"
to open their "ears" and "hearts" to "the apostles and elders of the church
of the Saints." By 1861 the Mormons proclaimed that

From Australia to Scandinavia, from Oceania to either India, through the length and breadth of the vast American continent in every nation of Europe, on Africa's wild and luxuriant land, and over the burning plains of Asia, even in Palestine--land of sacred historic rememberances indefatigable missionaries have carried the sound of the everlasting Gospel.

The Latter-day Saints, as they had done from the earliest days of Mormonism, continued to insist that their religion was for all peoples; "it mattered not what color or country, what nation or language, learned or unlearned, Hindoo, or anything else." It was expected that the "light" of Mormonism would "go forth" until it had penetrated "the darkest corners of the earth" and "searched out every creature under heaven." All men, "rich or poor, bond or free, noble or ignoble" of every religious background would, in the words of the Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, "embrace the Gospel and become associated with the Kingdom of God."

Such high expectations, however, were not fulfilled in terms of actual Mormon missionary results. It is true that Latter-day Saint missionaries in Great Britain and in Scandinavia were successful in attracting an impressive number of new converts and encouraging many of these to migrate to Mormonism's new Zion in the West. But Mormon missionary results in other parts of the world were less successful. The limited geographic-ethnic appeal of Mormonism can be illustrated by the negative results of Latter-day Saint efforts among three diverse groups of people--the inhabitants of Asia, particularly those on the Indian subcontinent, the South Africans, and finally the American Indians.

When the church first sent missionaries to Asia in 1852, expectations were high. This was particularly the case in India where one Saint declared that
amongst India's swarthy sons, the word of the Lord still runs and is glorified, that their dark countenances are rapidly being lit up with the intelligence of heaven as it is borne to their midst by those who have received authority from on high.71

Following the conversion of an Indian polygamist, one churchman expressed the hope that this convert would soon be able to "gather to Zion" with his "nine wives and forty children" where he could continue observing the "sacred ... custom of plural marriage." 72

Latter-day Saint missionaries, however, had limited success in converting the Asian Indian. As a result, the Saints viewed these reluctant east Asians in an increasingly unfavorable light. Frustrated missionaries described the unreceptive Indians as mental "slaves bound with superstitions strong cords" who deserved to remain "a nation of servants."73 The Saints, in looking for a concrete reason for the limited appeal of Mormonism in India, seized upon what they perceived as the Indian's "inferior" ethnic racial composition. Mormon mission reports theorized about the "little royal blood[of Abraham] to be found" among the Indians. Instead, the Saints looked upon the recalcitrant Indians as "descendants from the Priests of 'Elkanah!'"74 By the mid 1850's the church concluded that the time had not yet "come for the Gospel to [be] spread extensively" among the natives of India. 75 Shortly thereafter, the Saints terminated, for the time being, all missionary activities on the Indian subcontinent, leaving the "benighted" residents "to their dark and loathsome condition."76

Latter-day Saint missionaries experienced similar difficulties in other parts of Asia as well--Ceylon, Burma, and Hong Kong. As in India, the Saints blamed their minimal missionary success, not on themselves,
but on the hesitant Asians. The Saints characterized the Ceylonese as a "drunken and filthy" people while pitying the Burmese as a people "bound in the chains of superstition and ignorance." Writing from Hong Kong another frustrated missionary clinically analyzed the cause of his failure: "From what I can discover of the character of the Chinese, I do not believe that much of the blood of Israel is among them." He expressed his "firm belief" that the "Oriental nations will not receive the Gospel nor succumb to the Kingdom of God until they are obliged to do so . . .".

All this time the Saints also pushed missionary efforts in South Africa. Although the Mormons directed most of their proselytizing efforts toward these South Africans of British and Dutch descent, they made some effort to preach the message of Mormonism among certain non-European South Africans. Church missionaries hoped that South Africa's Malay-Mohammedan population would "receive the Gospel" even though they were racially "darker than the American Indian." These churchmen based their hope on a Mormon belief that these "pure blooded Malay's" were actually the "descendants of Abraham by his wife Hagar" and therefore receptive to the True Gospel.

The Mormons were less than successful in South Africa among both the dark-skinned Malays and white Europeans. Although church missionaries deliberately avoided contact with the black native Kaffir and Fingoe populations, because they had "too much of the blood of Cain in them for the Gospel to have much effect on their dark spirits," the Saints nevertheless pointed to the mere presence of this overwhelming black native population as an impediment to Mormon missionary success.
African world," explained one missionary, was "fast settling down in darken unbelief and hardness of heart"; while according to another Saint "darkness" already held "reign through this land of Ham." The Saints, therefore, as they had done in Asia, temporarily terminated their missionary efforts in South Africa, withdrawing with the "few scattered Saints ... anxious to take their departure of this Hottentot country." 

Latter-day Saint missionaries didn't fare much better among the American Indians. This was the case despite the special status accorded the Indian within Mormon theology. Through the Book of Mormon, as previously indicated, the Saints believed they had a special mission to carry the True Gospel to their red brothers. The Saints were initially optimistic about their probable success among the Native Americans. The Indians would figuratively become "enlightened" concerning the truth of Mormonism and at the same time literally shed their dark countenances and become a light skinned people. Brigham Young expected "hundreds and thousands" of Indians to

come and acknowledge the truth ... and ... begin to turn from their wickedness, forsake their folly and their loathsome degredation, wash themselves, and begin to live as men and women should, and to learn at the hands of the servants of God. They the Indians will go into the waters of baptism, confessing of their sins, and taking upon them the new and everlasting covenant, by thousands, and it will not pass away [sic] before they become a white and delight-some people.

The Saints assumed, moreover, that the Indians had a natural affinity for the "True Faith." This was because, as previously indicated, the Saints considered the Indians as the "seed of Israel" and "house of Joseph." Reflecting this view, one Mormon apostle believed that the Indians would "embrace the Gospel" because
they are the seed of Abraham, and God has promised to bless
the descendants of Abraham, and they will be saved with the
house of Israel, for the Lord has spoken it, and made those
promises unto them through their fathers.88

Despite such hopes and expectations, the Saints had only limited
success converting the red man to Mormonism. "Missionaries of different
orders," observed one Mormon apostle, have had "little or no success"
in laboring among the Indians.89 In analyzing the lack of missionary
success among native Americans, Apostle Parley P. Pratt called attention
to the Indians "disgusting deformity, ... dark features, ... filthy
habits, ... idleness, ... cruelty, ... nakedness, ... misery,
and ignorance."90 Another apostle sympathized with those Latter-day Saint
missionaries forced to "climb through all the filth, degradation, exposure,
and disease, vermin, [sic] and dirt" to preach the Gospel to "that degraded
race of the descendants of Israel."91 He theorized that "when the curse
of the Almighty comes upon a people," whether it be the Indian or the
black man, it would "certainly" take "the work of generations to remove
it."92 In the short run, the Saints could not "do a great deal for that
people" other than "pray for them and treat them kindly."93

Therefore, the lack of Mormon missionary success among various non-
European, dark-skinned peoples, contrasted with the ability of the church
to attract converts from the white Anglo-Scandinavian nations of Western
Europe, dramatizes the narrow, racial-ethnic base of Mormonism during the
years 1852-65.94 As a result, the Saints tended to look at skin color
and ethnic origin as the determining factor in an individual's probable
conversion to Mormonism. If this individual had a light skin and came
from Western Europe he was considered a more likely candidate for the
True Gospel than a darker-complexioned individual of non-European origins.
This fact aided the church in its efforts to publicize the limited potential of dark-skinned people, especially the black man.

Increased theological and organizational stratification, evident within the church during the 1850's and 1860's, also promoted Mormon efforts to publicize the black man's subordinate status. The racial-ethnic results of Latter-day Saint missionary efforts abroad aided this stratification and gave it an orientation based on race and nationality. Thus, despite continuing Latter-day Saint rhetoric that "all . . . tribes and classes" would ultimately be converted and gathered to Mormonism's Zion, the Saints expected such efforts to proceed in a gradual, structured manner consistent with the racial-ethnic realities of the Mormon missionary experience at that point in time. The Saints, explained Brigham Young, were currently concerned with converting and gathering the people of Northern and Western Europe, or the "children of Abraham" or "Ephraim." This ethnic group or "noble race" had received top priority because it possessed the "spirit of rule and dictation," and would thus provide leadership within the ever growing Kingdom of God.

At the opposite end of the Mormon ethnic-racial spectrum, in terms of priority, were the blacks or "Cain and his posterity." These individuals would be the last to be converted en masse and gathered to Zion "to share in the joys of the Kingdom of God." This would come about only after all the other children of Adam have had the privilege of receiving the Priesthood, and of coming into the Kingdom of God, and of being redeemed from the four quarters of the earth, and have received their resurrection from the dead...

Moreover, the "inferior" status of those blacks currently within the Mormon
community, in terms of priesthood denial, slavery, and even skin pigmen-
tation, would remain in force until all the other families or races of
the earth—brown, yellow, red, as well as white had received their "bless-
ings" or "ordinances of the house of the Lord."\(^9\) Therefore, even though
blacks could be baptised into the church and "enjoy many of the blessings
which attend obedience to the first principles of the Gospel," they were
destined to occupy a subordinate place within the Mormon Kingdom for an
indefinite period of time.\(^{100}\)

The Saints also discussed, in a structured manner, the probable con-
version and place within Mormonism of other ethnic-racial groups. Although
the Saints believed that the American Indian had been divinely cursed with
a dark skin and had "had the priesthood driven from his midst," the Saints
considered the Indian in a better position than the Jew as a probable
candidate for Mormon conversion.\(^{101}\) Even though the Mormons looked upon
the Jew, like the Indian, as descended from Abraham, the Jew, neverthe-
less, would be the "last" of this chosen lineage to "have the privilege
of receiving the New and Everlasting Covenant."\(^{102}\) Therefore, Young and
other church spokesmen believed that it was impractical to preach among
and try to convert the Jew to Mormonism. In fact, the Saints compared
the Jews limited capacity for Mormonism with that of the black man.
"Preaching would have no more effect" on the Jews, explained Young, than
it would "upon the color of the descendants of Cain." Young carried
this black-Jew analogy one step further:

It is all folly to suppose that there are Jews in this Church; they will not believe the Gospel at present; they are in
the same position as the Cainites. Blacks are, they cannot
come in until the rest of the human family come in and
receive their blessings, then they can have an opportunity.\(^{104}\)
The Jewish people, he predicted, would never "believe until Jesus comes again."105

The Saints also publicized a structured view of Heaven or the hereafter. Although practically every man and woman would be "crowned with glory and eternal life if faithful . . . the quantity," Brigham Young cautioned, would not be the same for all people.106 Thus, the highest degree of glory or "Celestial presence of God" would not be accorded to all individuals.107 There were various Mormon views as to the criteria which would determine this final reward. Some churchmen suggested that the practice of polygamy or at least participation in certain sacred ordinances through priesthood authority would be a determining factor.108 There would be, predicted Apostle Orson Pratt, two basic classes of spirits in the hereafter: those individuals who had been "sealed" and lived their mortal life under the church's celestial marriage plan, and those who didn't participate in this Holy ordinance. The latter group as a result were doomed to become "angels" or "ministering servants unto those who are worthy of obtaining a more exceedingly and eternal weight of glory."109 Hinting at other factors, possibly including race and/or ethnic origins, Young suggested that man's earthly "capacity" or status would also play a role.110 Although the "heathen" who lived up to his "best light and intelligence" would be "saved," predicted Young, this same "heathen" would not inherit the "Celestial Kingdom."111

Therefore, the Saints found themselves publicizing the black man's inferior status within Mormonism as church theology and organization became increasingly structured. Because of these hierarchical tendencies, the black man's subordinate Mormon status seemed assured. The
black man would not, and indeed, could not, be converted, as a race, to Mormonism until every other ethnic group, each in his turn, had had the opportunity to receive the True Gospel. Likewise, the right of the black man to receive the priesthood and participate in certain sacred ordinances, including polygamy and "celestial marriage," would not be granted until these same privileges had been extended to every other racial-ethnic group on the face of the earth. Finally, the black man's subordinate status in a stratified hereafter was assured by his "inferior" earthly ethnic origins and/or lack of participation in certain sacred ordinances (including polygamy).

While certain developments within the church—Mormon efforts to defend polygamy, the results of its missionary activity, and the increased stratification of theology and church organization—played a crucial role in prompting Mormon tendencies to publicize the black man's subordinate status, the presence of similar attitudes and practices within the larger American and Western European society further aided this process. Like the Saints, nineteenth century Americans in general tended to think of Anglo-Saxons as a chosen people. The British, like the Saints, believed in the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race and institutions. A widespread conviction held by Americans and northern Europeans that they had "innate racial" characteristics which made the True Faith "congenial to them," complemented parallel Mormon beliefs.

Mormon desire to maintain a pure race and anxieties over the adverse effects of racial intermixture paralleled those expressed by Americans and northern Europeans during this period. Like the Saints, English-speaking people in general expressed their strong preference for a homo-
geneous race untainted by racial intermixture in order to maintain and perpetuate a "pure white race." The Saints appeared to mirror a fear evident among Americans throughout their history that excessive racial intermixture would upset their mission or purpose to serve as a shining example for the whole world to follow. Such intermixture, certain people feared, could lead to the mongrelization of the Anglo-Saxon race and its subsequent demise.

Racial intermixture would be unacceptable at a time when both the Saints and the larger American society had come to accept the popular idea that the white and black races were fundamentally different. A Mormon tendency to look at the black man's alleged "liabilities"—e.g., black skin, servitude, and priesthood denial—as the product of his less than valiant behavior during a premortal existence fit in with a contemporary American belief that the white and black races had been created unequal.

The Saints, like Americans and Western Europeans in general, also looked to race as a means to play down or at least obscure class and ethnic differences which were becoming characteristic of the increasingly complex modern state or society by the mid-nineteenth century. Like the modern secular state, the Saints found that class and ethnic differences had become an increasingly important feature of their own community. Mormonism's organizational and theological structure, as previously discussed, had become more and more stratified and hierarchical during the 1850's and 1860's. At the same time the ethnic composition of the total Latter-day Saint community, like that of the larger American society, had assumed more of an international flavor than had been evident earlier,
with the immigration to Utah of large numbers of newly converted Saints from England, Scotland, and Scandinavia. The Saints, therefore, wished to play down or deemphasize national as well as hierarchical differences. One Mormon apostle admonished the Saints to avoid the "miserable contracted view" that the people of one nation are better than those of another.124 "Everything that is written," explained another churchman, demonstrates that "the whole spirit of the Gospel is at war with national distinctions, excepting [sic] in the case of the accursed seed" or black man.125

Like the Saints, spokesmen within various non-Mormon religious denominations, expressed their opposition to racial intermixture. At the same time, however, these churchmen publicized their desire for a racially homogeneous society in which all of mankind would be of the same race.126 Carrying this hope for racial purity one step further, a number of Americans were convinced, or at least hoped, that the black man along with other dark-skinned races, were destined to ultimate extinction.127 Mirroring such desires and expectations, the Saints believed that

In the latter dispensation—the dispensation of the fulness of times—they who are heirs to the Priesthood, out of every nation, are to be amalgamated. National distinctions, national prejudices, and the great variety of manners and customs growing out of these distinctions and prejudices are to be swallowed up and obliterated.128

Throughout the thirteen years 1852-65 the Latter-day Saints published the black man's subordinate status within Mormonism. This development was significant for several reasons. First, the important role played by polygamy in Mormon efforts to publicize the black man's unfavored status, further underscores the central place that this peculiar Mormon
institution assumed in all facets of Latter-day Saint activity throughout this period. Secondly, the influence of Mormonism's increasingly hierarchical tendencies on Latter-day Saint anti-black publicity, was significant in that it indicates that not only the Mormon Church but other religions and the larger secular society was becoming increasingly stratified and structured during this period. Next, the expression of Mormon anti-black attitudes within the context of the larger American and Western civilization was significant in that it showed that the Saints, despite their desire to reject or escape from the dominant non-Mormon society, could not divest themselves of its basic attitudes and prejudices. In addition, the impact of Mormonism's narrow, white-European ethnic orientation on anti-black attitudes was significant in that this Latter-day development paralleled similar ethnocentric tendencies within the larger American-European society. Finally, the publicity given the black man's unfavorable Mormon status was significant, in and of itself, in that it made it increasingly difficult for the Saints to view the black man in anything but an unfavorable light. This anti-black publicity, when coupled with a number of additional trends adversely affecting the status of the black man within Mormonism during the years 1865-80, as discussed in the following chapter, would ultimately make the black man's subordinate Mormon status permanent and practically irreversible.
As always it wasn't clear whether the "curse" of priesthood denial, referred to by Young, was to stand by itself or in combination with slavery and/or a black skin.

Journal of Discourses, 2, Brigham Young, December 3, 1854, February 18, 1855; Deseret News, March 1, 1855, October 26, 1859, October 15, 1862; Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, December 24, 1859.


Deseret News, April 3, 1852.

The Seer, April 1853.

The Mormon, September 12, 1857. It is interesting that the author of this article was William L. Appleby, who some ten years before had questioned Brigham Young concerning the ordination of blacks to the priesthood. The subject of black priesthood denial was even expressed in Mormon poetry when one Saint rhythmically proclaimed "without the Priesthood they're condemned to be." See The Mormon, May 26, 1855.

The St. Louis Luminary, March 24, 1855; The Western Standard, February 7, 1857.

Gunnison, The Mormons, 49, 51, 143.


Richard F. Burton, The City of the Saints (reprinted New York, 1963), 270. "Communion" in traditional terms usually means membership and/or participation in the sacraments of the church. Undoubtedly, Burton in using this term sensed the importance of priesthood membership as a necessary prerequisite for participation in various sacred ordinances expected of virtually all adult members in good standing.

Deseret News, March 1, 1855, October 26, 1859, December 26, 1859.

The St. Louis Luminary, March 24, 1855.

September 12, 1857.

Journal of Discourses, 3, George A. Smith, September 23, 1855. Non-Mormon observers also perceived of a relationship between Mormonism's

15. This was evident in various statewide statutes, as well as the statutes submitted for the chartering of various municipal communities throughout the territory. See Utah Legislature, Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah (Great Salt Lake City, 1855), passim.

16. Copies of the Constitution for the proposed State of Deseret were published in various Mormon and non-Mormon publications throughout the 1850's and 1860's.

17. As discussed in Leon F. Litwack, North of Slavery (Chicago, 1961); Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery.

18. See, for example, Fredrickson, The Black Image in the White Mind, 102-3.


20. The Daily Union Vedette, February 25, 1864. Italics in original. It is probable that "Sambo" was a white man made up for this role because he was described as an "inimitable negro delineator," The Daily Union Vedette, February 29, 1864.


22. Such stories were reprinted in all Latter-day Saint-sponsored periodicals throughout the period 1852-65.

23. For example one of the most popular stories was the "fable of the pig and the puppy" often related by Brigham and other church leaders. In this story a slow-witted black servant has been instructed to deliver a pig, but on his way to perform this task and without his knowledge some mischievous whites divert his attention and exchange the pig for a puppy. Upon arriving at the place of delivery the servant is chastized for bringing a puppy instead of the ordered pig. Baffled, the servant then proceeds to return to his master to try and find out what is going on but is once more stopped by the same prank-playing whites who then re-exchange the puppy for the original pig. Still too dull-minded to figure out what is happening to him, the black servant arrives back at his master's and tries to explain his earlier difficulty at arriving at the delivery point with a dog, but is berated by his disguised master for returning to his presence with the undelivered pig. See Deseret News, September 3, 1862, Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, August 21, 1852; Journal of Discourses, 8, Brigham Young, May 11, 1862.

25. London Weekly Dispatch, reprinted in the Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, September 21, 1861; Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, reprinted in Millennial Star, September 28, 1861. The latter source suggested that the polygamous marital practices of Kaffirs and Zulus were "probably derived from the days of Abraham himself, through their Arab Descent."


29. Kirk Anderson's Valley Tan (Salt Lake City), January 25, 1859; Sacramento Union as reprinted in The Union Vedette, December 18, 1863 and Daily Vedette, May 11, 1864.

30. This had been done as early as 1847 by those Mormons who acknowledged the Latter-day Saint leadership claims of James J. Strang. See Zion's Reveille, September 2, 1847.

31. The True Latter Day Saints' Herald, April 1860.


33. Ibid., 74-5, 79.

34. Ward, Female Life Among the Mormons, 82.


36. Ibid. This "extinction" of the Mormon "race" according to Barthelow would be facilitated "by the preponderance of female births," a relatively high "mortality in infantile life" and the "sexual cebility" and "genital weakness of the boys."

Cartwright who was noted for his polemic pro-slavery ethnic theories concluded, however, "that the facts adduced by Dr. Barthel- low and Professor Forshey, of the debasing influences of Mormonism on the physical structure and stamina of the inhabitants of Utah, are less strong than those which might be brought in proof of the debasing influence of abolitionism on the moral principles and character of... the Northern people. ..." This analysis of Barthelov's findings on the Mormons, was not Cartwright's first exposure to the Saints and their teachings. Less than a year earlier, the southern ethnologist had commented favorably about the racial theories of Charles B. Thompson, a former follower of Joseph Smith who following the death of the Mormon prophet had formed his own schismatic group in opposition to Brigham Young. Cartwright, who utilized Thompson's Biblical-ethnic theories in his efforts to prove the black man's inherent inferiority, described the former Mormon as "a Hebrew scholar of the first class." DeKay's Review, August 1860, 132.

National Intelligencer as reprinted in Kirk Anderson's Valley Tan, November 6, 1858.

Kimball, like so many of his Mormon counterparts in leadership positions, came from a New England background. He was born in June 1801 in Sheldon, Franklin County, Vermont. The Kimball family migrated from Vermont to Ontario County, New York in 1811, and a short time later moved once more to Stewart's Pond, New York. Kimball's father was at various times a farmer, blacksmith and a builder, but suffered from a number of financial reverses and by the time Heber was 19 he was thrown on his own resources. He then lived with his brother, learning the pottery trade, eventually buying his brother out. He prospered despite his lack of formal education and became a member of the State militia and the Free Masons. As for his religious activities, he associated with the Baptists, but by 1832 was exposed to Mormonism through his association with the Brigham Young family—a close association which he continued for the rest of Kimball's life. Following his conversion, Kimball sold his business and with the other Saints moved to Kirtland, Ohio. In 1835 he was appointed to the Council of Twelve Apostles, and engaged in extensive missionary activity in both the United States and Great Britain. Following the death of Smith and the migration west, Kimball became a member of the First Presidency of the church; a post which he held until his death in 1868. See Orson F. Whitney, Life of Heber C. Kimball (Salt Lake City, 1888). It is interesting to note that the current president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (as of 1975) is Spencer W. Kimball, a direct descendant of this early Mormon leader.

Journal of Discourses, 2, Heber C. Kimball, September 17, 1854. Apostle John Taylor discounted non-Mormon "claims" that statehood for the Saints "would at once turn the entire population of the Union into Arabs, Hottentots or some other kind of heathens." See The Mormon, July 19, 1856.


45. One Saint suggested that the chosen seed could be detected through the use of a set of oracles known as the Urim and Thummin, while another felt that it could be determined by the science of phrenology or the study of the shape of ones head. A third suggested that the chosen "Children of Abraham" could make themselves known by simply "doing the works of Abraham." See *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, June 20, 1857, July 16, 1862, July 1, 1863.

46. *Journal of Discourses*, 10, Brigham Young, May 31, 1863. Such a tendency became increasingly evident in the period after 1865. See *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, September 2, 9, October 14, 21, 1878.

47. *Deseret News*, July 16, 1856, August 26, 1857; *The Mountaineer*, May 5, 1860. They also expressed revulsion that slaveholders would go so far as to work their "own black children."

48. *Deseret News*, September 2, 1857. According to the News such "revolting scenes" were not limited to the South, but it was "becoming quite common in some of the free states for white girls to marry negroes," suggesting that such girls "ought to be put in an insane asylum," *Deseret News*, May 11, 1859. Mormon missionaries also noted with some concern black-white racial intermixture in South Africa. See *Deseret News*, December 15, 1853.


52. *Journal of Discourses*, 10, Brigham Young, March 8, 1863.


Journal of Discourses, 3, Brigham Young, July 14, 1855; Journal of Discourses, 1, Orson Pratt, August 29, 1852.

Ibid., 1, Brigham Young, August 29, 1852.

Pratt, Key to the Science of Theology, 170-71.

Ibid.

Journal of Discourses, 4, Brigham Young, December 4, 1856.

Ibid., 6, Heber C. Kimball, December 13, 1857. Lorenzo Dow Young, a brother of the Mormon president, also manifested his belief in such racial progress. Journal of Discourses, 6, Lorenzo D. Young, December 13, 1857.

Ibid., 6, Joseph Young, April 8, 1857.

Ibid., 2, Brigham Young, April 8, 1855. Young claimed that he was expressing and quoting the teachings of Joseph Smith. This writer has not uncovered any contemporary coöperating evidence. Young seemed to be suggesting that a definite racial transformation took place within the individual so treated and "the revolution and change in the system" was "so great" that he would have "spasms" with the appearance of "going into fits."

Ibid., 2, Brigham Young, December 3, 1854; Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, November 29, 1862.

S. George Ellsworth, "A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada, 1830-1860," 304-05. At the same time missionary work within the United States was severally curtailed in the wake of increased anti-Mormon activity.

Parley P. Pratt, "Proclamation! To the People of the Coasts and Islands of the Pacific! Of Every Nation, Kindred and Tongue" (n.p., n.d.).

Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, March 16, 1861.

Journal of Discourses, 1, John Taylor, June 12, 1853; Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, September 1, 1860.

Ibid., 8, Orson Pratt, April 8, 1860.
Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, July 14, 1860.

See Appendix A for a brief discussion of Mormonism in terms of its limited ethnic-geographic appeal, especially in Tables 4-6.

Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, August 21, 1852.

W.W. Phelps to James Morgan, August 8, 1855, W.W. Phelps Papers, L.D.S. Church Historical Department.

Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, September 24, 1853, August 16, 1856. Although they were denounced for their "crouching servility" hope was expressed that these natives would eventually "lay down their shackles and produce their quota to swell the numbers of the redeemed of the Lord."

Ibid., September 1, 1855, August 16, 1856, February 10, 1855. The Hindus, in addition, were described as "a god-forsaken race" and their neighbors, the Karen tribe pronounced to be the descendants of Essau "an idolatrous and a heathenish nation with no hopes of redemption this side of the 'Prison!'" The "Priests of Elkanah" are described in Mormon scripture, Pearl of Great Price, Abraham, 1:7-17, as idolatrous Egyptian Priests who attempted to sacrifice the Prophet Abraham, but were foiled in their attempt by Divine intervention.

Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, November 25, 1854. It was also noted, that it was "a waste of time to have anything to do with them" (the natives).

Deseret News, December 5, 1855. The missionaries as they departed from the country were called upon to "gather out the few Saints" who were there. However, Mormon missionaries were apparently still in the country as late as 1856. See R. Lanier Britsch, "The Latter-day Saint Mission to India," B.Y.U. Studies, XII (Spring 1972), 262-78.

Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, October 29, 1853, September 8, 1855.

Ibid., September 27, 1856.

Ibid.

Ibid., May 17, 1856. These accounts were also careful to point out that the Malay natives possessed "none of the Negro features."
81. Ibid. The fact that they, like the Saints, practiced polygamy was also considered a factor favorable to their conversion.

82. Ibid., July 18, 1863, June 7, 1856.

83. Ibid., November 14, 1863, December 19, 1863.

84. Ibid., February 6, 1864, February 14, 1863. The Star described these Saints as "tolerably well off when taking into consideration the gross darkness and opposition that surrounds them." It is interesting that one of the several companies of Saints migrating from South Africa included a Kaffir lad named "Goboao" who found his way to Utah, "Journal History," September 13, 1861.

85. Book of Mormon, 2 Nephi 30:16, 3 Nephi 2:15. Apostle George A. Smith recalled that during the early days of the Church he and other missionaries had rejoiced "exceedingly in the things that were about to transpire when they would be permitted to go and preach the Gospel to the Lamanites," Journal of Discourses, 3, George A. Smith, September 23, 1855.


87. Ibid.


89. Ibid., 2, Wilford Woodruff, February 25, 1855.

90. Parley Pratt, Key to the Science of Theology, 25.


92. Journal of Discourses, 3, George A. Smith, September 23, 1855. In fact, Mormon missionaries took note of the literal-ethnic relationship existing between the black man and certain members of the Cherokee and Creek tribes. The Cherokees were "mixed ... to a great extent ... with the Gentiles non-Mormon whites and to some degree with the negroes," while the Creeks were "less mixed with the Gentiles, but more with the negroes" thus decreasing the likelihood of their conversion to Mormonism. See "Journal History," August 31, 1860.

A more extensive discussion of the church in terms of its racial-ethnic composition is contained in Appendix A.

Such rhetoric was quite common. See Journal of Discourses, 7, Brigham Young, October 7, 1859, December 18, 1859, 8, Brigham Young, September 9, 1860, 10, Brigham Young, October 6, 1863, 10, Orson Hyde, October 6, 1863; Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, December 19, 1863.

Deseret News, October 15, 1862.

Journal of Discourses, 10, Brigham Young, May 31, 1863.

Ibid., 2, Brigham Young, December 3, 1854.

Deseret News, October 26, 1859; Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, June 3, 1865.

Deseret News, March 1, 1855; Journal of Discourses, 2, Brigham Young, February 18, 1855. One Saint optimistically predicted that "in due time" the Lord would "feel after the Sable sons of Ham, and 'Ethiopia will stretch out her hands to God.'" See The Mormon, July 21, 1855.

Journal of Discourses, 2, Brigham Young, December 3, 1854, 7, Brigham Young, October 8, 1859; Deseret News, February 3, 1854. In a somewhat revealing tone, Young explained that he would "rather undertake to convert five thousand Lamanites [Indians], than to convert one of those poor, miserable creatures whose fathers killed the Savior."

Deseret News, February 8, 1855.

Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, June 3, 1865. Apostle Wilford Woodruff was convinced of the impracticality of converting the Jewish people. "You cannot convert a Jew, you might as well try to convert this house of solid walls as to convert them into the faith of Christ." Journal of Discourses, 4, Wilford Woodruff, February 22, 1857.

Deseret News, October 15, 1862; Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, November 29, 1862.

Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, June 3, 1865. Another group, the descendants of Ishmael or the Mohammedan people, were declared as "not particularly designed to hold the Keys of the Priesthood" or to rule in the Mormon Kingdom. See Deseret News, March 2, 1854.

Journal of Discourses, 7, Brigham Young, July 3, 1859, 10, Brigham Young, July 31, 1864.

108. In fact, it is probable that the public disclosure of polygamy after 1852 along with the incorporation of its theological precepts facilitated Mormon stratification. This is suggested by Hanson in his *Quest for Empire*, 139-41. For example, polygamy, despite its status as an essential aspect of Mormonism, was only practiced by a small, select minority (15-20%) of the total church membership. See Stanley S. Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," *Western Humanities Review*, X (Summer 1956), 229-39.


111. *Ibid.*, 8, Brigham Young, April 6, 1860; *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, May 15, 1858.

112. During the fifteen year period after 1865 the stratified-hierarchical status of various ethnic groups in terms of their receptiveness to Mormonism was developed to even a finer degree. See *Journal of Discourses*, 11, Brigham Young, December 23, 1866, 20, Orson Pratt, May 9, 1879; *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, April 15, 1878, November 24, 1878; *Juvenile Instructor* (Salt Lake City), September 15, 1868, July 1, 1879.

113. The Saints also looked at their concept of a pre-existent or premortal status in an increasingly stratified manner, again placing the black man at the bottom. See *The Seer*, April 1853; *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, April 8, 1865, November 2, 1861; *Journal of Discourses*, 2, Orson Hyde, September 24, 1853.


116. Gossett, 184. This was the case whether the "True Faith" be Mormonism or Protestantism.


119. Bolt, 22.
120 Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind*, 100-01.

121 Ibid., 82.


123 Hanson, *Quest for Empire*, 139-41.

124 *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, February 29, 1862.

125 Ibid., June 1, 1861.


127 Fredrickson, 113-14.

128 *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, June 1, 1861.
Chapter IX
"UNRECONSTRUCTED SAINTS"—THE BLACK MAN'S INFERIOR STATUS REENFORCED
1865-1880

Although the years immediately after the Civil War were characterized by vigorous attempts to improve the status of blacks, especially in the South, the black man's inferior status within Mormonism remained essentially unchanged. While "practically . . . all true" or "sane" adult male members of the church were ordained to the Latter-day Saint priesthood, the black man continued to be denied such ordination and was prohibited from participating in various sacred rites and ceremonies.¹

The Saints, in fact, became more adamant in their efforts to maintain and perpetuate the black man's inferior status within Mormonism. The Mormons reflected this tendency most readily through their efforts to find and utilize historical evidence proving that Joseph Smith had initiated the practice of black priesthood denial. The Latter-day Saints apparently began this effort in 1879, following the death of Brigham Young, at a meeting of important church leaders. Among the leaders present at this gathering was Apostle John Taylor—who was to be installed in less than a year as the new church president. These leaders listened to the recollections of two elderly church men—Zebedee Coltrin and Abraham O. Smoot—who had been acquainted with Joseph Smith. Coltrin and Smoot both claimed the Mormon prophet had inaugurated and sanctioned priesthood denial for the black man back in the 1830's.² The Coltrin-Smoot testimonies represented the first known Latter-day Saint effort
to link black priesthood denial to Mormonism's founder.

John Taylor, just prior to, and following his installation as the Saints new "Prophet, Seer, and Revelator" in 1881, maintained and in some ways intensified Mormonism's hard line toward the black man. Taylor not only reaffirmed the various arguments which justified the black man's subordinate position within Mormonism, but presented his own beliefs directly linking the black man to the Devil or Satan. The black race, theorized the new Mormon leader, had been created as a distinct ethnic group and was allowed to perpetuate itself because "it was necessary that the devil should have representation upon the earth."³

The Saints reflected their desire to maintain and perpetuate the black man's inferior status through their continuing support for the now defunct institution of black slavery. Before his death, Brigham Young, along with other church leaders, continued to characterize black slavery as an "ordinance of God."⁴ Some Mormons wondered whether its abolition after 1865 had been such a good thing.⁵ Apostle Brigham Young, Jr., in 1866 suggested that the black man's current "condition" was "worse" than it had been under the Peculiar Institution.⁶

A Latter-day Saint tendency to view slavery as a benign institution, especially when compared with the "bondage" of poor white Europeans, also reflected Mormonism's continuing pro-slavery attitude. "The Negroes," reported the Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, had been "princes" when their condition was compared with that of the "poor, heart-broken, hopeless, worn-out, famine-stricken" Europeans.⁷ Echoing a similar belief, Apostle Orson Pratt observed that black "American slavery . . . never compared with the slavery of those millions in the old countries," while
another Mormon apostle characterized European "bondage" as "far worse" than the South's now-defunct Peculiar institution. 8

The continuation and reinforcement of Mormon anti-black attitudes and practices during this period stood in sharp contrast to the corresponding theories and practices expressed toward the black man by the rival Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The Reorganized Church, headquartered in the Midwest, was made up, to a large extent, of those Latter-day Saints who had been loyal to Joseph Smith during the Mormon sojourn at Nauvoo, Illinois, but refused to accept the leadership claims of Brigham Young and the Twelve following the death of the Mormon Prophet. Most non-Utah Mormons were in agreement on two basic points throughout the 1850's; first, they opposed plural marriage, and second, they believed that Joseph Smith III, the oldest son of the slain Mormon Prophet, was the rightful heir to Latter-day Saint authority. Out of this opposition emerged the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. When this church was formally organized in 1860, "young Joseph" came forward and assumed his role as "Prophet, Seer and Revelator." 9 Although polygamy was the major divisive issue, these two Mormon groups also differed on their attitudes toward race and the position of the black man within their respective organizations. The Reorganized Church did not believe that any man, black or white, should be "deprived of the right" to the priesthood simply because his "fathers in the Gentile world did not have the priesthood." 10 The Reorganized Church also rejected the idea that "birth is sin and the color of one's skin was evidence of a crime or transgression." "God is not the God of the White or Brown alone," declared these Midwest Mormons, but is "the God of all
shades of men. In promoting this view, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in May 1865 received through Joseph Smith III a "revelation" expressing an "expedient" desire to "ordain priests unto men, of every race who receive the teachings of my law and become heirs according to the promise." These Midwest Saints then "Resolved, That the gospel make provision for the ordination of men of the Negro race who are received into the Church by obedience to its ordinances." Throughout the fifteen year period following the Civil War the Reorganized Church defended its decision allowing blacks to hold the priesthood.

Now it would seem that inasmuch as the Negro embraces the gospel thereby becoming a child of God, and a "fellow citizen of the household of Faith," that he might, if "full of faith and the Holy Ghost," be called to participate in the work of preaching the glad tidings of redemption.

The Reorganized Church differentiated its position from that of the Utah Church by announcing that the only major objections that could be mustered "against the idea of preaching the gospel" to the blacks is "found in the prejudice of the white man." This Mormon group, in fact, made an active effort to proselytize among blacks both within the United States and abroad. This was in sharp contrast to the Utah Mormons who felt that the black man should be converted only after all the other races of mankind had had the opportunity to receive the True Gospel.

The two Mormon groups also disagreed concerning the historical relationship between Joseph Smith and the establishment of the black man's inferior Mormon status. Eleven years before the Utah Saints tried to historically link black priesthood denial to Mormonism's founder, a spokesman for the Reorganized Church made the following observation:

It is said by someone that Joseph Smith has said that the Negro cannot enter into the congregation of the Lord until
his third generation. I cannot say whether he did so or not.\textsuperscript{16}

These two Latter-day Saint Churches also differed in their feelings about the \textit{Pearl of Great Price}--a work whose precepts helped to establish the black man's inferior Mormon status. Although the Reorganized Church looked with initial favor upon these writings, they gradually discounted the Scriptural significance of this work, especially the Book of Abraham.\textsuperscript{17} By contrast, the Utah Saints, as previously mentioned, had built the superstructure of their theology around the teachings contained in the \textit{Pearl of Great Price} following the death of Joseph Smith, and in 1880 canonized it as Holy Scripture.

The Utah and Reorganized Saints also differed in their perspectives of the interrelationships existing between the black man, Latter-day Saint revelation, and the American Constitution. The Reorganized Church felt that Joseph Smith's 1833 Revelation maintaining that "it is not right that any man should be in bondage one to another" had been vindicated by the consequences of the Civil War.\textsuperscript{18} By contrast, the Utah Mormons believed that Smith in presenting this revelation had not been referring to the question of black slavery but instead to general political "bondage" allegedly existing in the United States prior to the adoption of the Federal Constitution.\textsuperscript{19}

The two Mormon groups also differed in their interpretations of the relationship existing between the Federal Constitution and the black man. Speaking for the Utah Saints in 1871, John Taylor, then an apostle, described the limited ethnic-racial concerns of the Founding Fathers in forging the Constitution:
The liberty they professed was only for themselves; for the
European communities who might come here, the Caucasian race;
not the negro, not the Indians, perhaps not the Asiatic or
Chinese, but to the white; everything else professed is a
falsehood a sham. It does not or did not profess to give
liberty to them, only to the white man.\textsuperscript{20}

According to the future Mormon president, this document "did not even
prohibit slavery."\textsuperscript{21} By contrast, a spokesman for the Reorganized Church
rejected such a narrow ethnic interpretation of the Constitution. "No
man," he declared, was "justified" in robbing the black man "of his labor"
or depriving "him of his Constitutional rights . . . on account of . . .
the blackness of his skin."\textsuperscript{22}

Despite these very real differences, there is little to suggest that
the pro-black attitudes of the Reorganized Church motivated the Utah Mor-
mons to move in the opposite direction in accentuating their well-developed
anti-black practices and ideology.\textsuperscript{23} The Utah Mormons probably did not
pay much attention to anything the Reorganized Church had to say about the
black man or anything else for that matter. Latter-day Saint leaders
in Utah, in their numerous public discourses or church publications, hardly
acknowledged the existence of the Reorganized Church, let alone enter
into any debate with their Midwest rivals over the status of the black
man within their respective movements.\textsuperscript{24} After all, the total number of
members in the Reorganized Church was very small—only a fraction of those
claiming allegiance to the Utah Church throughout this period.\textsuperscript{25}

While the Utah Mormons could ignore the "Reconstructed" racial
attitudes of the Reorganized Latter-day Saints; they could not ignore
the efforts of a hostile Federal Government attempting to "Reconstruct"
Utah through the abolition of polygamy. The reaction of the Utah Mormons
against this Federal intervention was a crucial factor in causing these Saints to uphold and reenforce the black man's subordinate Mormon status. After 1865 various anti-polygamy proponents, in calling for Federal Government intervention, proclaimed "now that slavery is abolished" the time had come to "fix up things," and "enforce the moral law in Utah."\[26\]  
In addition, a hostile United States Congress through its proposal and implementation of various measures,--the Cullom bill of 1870, the Freylinghuysan bill of 1873, the 1874 Poland Act, the Edmunds Act of 1882, and finally the 1887 Edmunds-Tucker Act--all directed against Mormon polygamy, made it clear that the elimination of the Saints' Peculiar Institution was an essential prerequisite for Utah statehood.\[27\]

The Saints throughout this period expressed their alarm over these anti-polygamy efforts. They even feared that the black man might be used in such enforcement. One Mormon apostle believed that the Federal Government, in its efforts to "correct" the "morals" of the Saints, might encourage blacks to migrate to Utah.\[28\] Although such a fear never materialized, Brigham Young probably reflected underlying Mormon anxieties about the real and figurative use of the black man by a meddlesome Federal Government:

I suppose it will be but a little while before some of those officious characters will determine the number of beans that brother Heber C. Kimball and I shall have in our porridge, and whether they shall be white or black. I think, if some of them had their way, they would have them all black.\[29\]

One pro-Mormon publication even suggested that the Saints themselves utilize the black man as a vehicle for Utah statehood. The Mormons could achieve this long sought goal through the "colored mode" by voicing support for the Radical Reconstruction goals of "Sambo and his friends"
in Congress. By winning "the negroes favor" in this way, the Saint's statehood proposal would have a better chance of being enacted. Although this proposal was nothing more than a sarcastic suggestion, it does indicate Mormon apprehensions about the real and potential role of the newly emancipated black man in their own affairs.

The Saints believed that as white Americans they had been unfairly singled out by a hostile Federal Government anxious to deprive them of their basic rights of citizenship, while extending these same privileges to less worthy racial groups. According to one outraged writer

The Mexican greasers, barbarians of Russian America Alaska, Chinese, Indians, and Negroes, and all inferior races are to have the right of suffrage before white Latter-day Saint people.

The Millennial Star complained that unfavorable federal treatment had the effect of "thrusting" the Saints who were "personages of royal birth and lineage . . . a long way below the negro." This represented an attempt to determine "whether crabs can progress backwards or not."

Also sensitive to the Mormon's status as white men in the light of unfavorable action on the Federal level, Apostle Orson Pratt observed in 1879 that Congress had passed an anti-Mormon immigration act, but had "not yet passed a law forbidding the Chinese from emigrating to this country."

Pratt sarcastically observed that the Saints in the eyes of Congress had "sunk down so far beneath heathenism" that the "gates" of immigration were "shut down" upon them, while the Chinese "heathens by tens of thousands" could still "come swarming to our land."

Another development, related to the Latter-day Saint reaction against Federal Government efforts to "Reconstruct" Utah, caused the Saints to uphold the black man's inferior Mormon status. This involved Latter-
day Saint sympathy and identification with the defeated South—a region going through the same rigors of Reconstruction as Utah. The Saints, through their official publications, accused northern radical Republicans of attempting to reverse "the social, political, and civil relations of the blacks and whites," by placing "the white man's head under the nigger's heel." Another observer described the black man as "utterly unprepared, unfit, and incapable" of assuming any leadership position in the South. Sympathetic with the plight of the South, Brigham Young called for the moderate treatment of former Confederate leaders. As late as 1878, the *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star* went so far as to suggest that the South's "cause" had been "fundamentally right."

At the same time, a number of southern congressmen sympathized with the plight of the Utah Saints during this period. When northern Republicans pushed for the enactment of anti-polygamy legislation in the Cullom Bill of 1870, major opposition came from the Democrats, particularly those of the South. Southern Democrats also tended to vote against other proposed Congressional measures designed to regulate polygamy during the 1870's and 1880's. One group of southern congressmen argued against what they described as "absolute congressional authority" which, they claimed, "had brought war and ruin to the South, and promised to do the same for Utah."

Other non-Mormons detected parallels between the position of the defeated South and that of the Utah Saints. The Philadelphia *Age* felt that the harsh tactics earlier employed by the Radical Republicans against the South were being employed against the Saints. The San Francisco *Examiner* accused Republican politicians of attempting to provoke the
Saints into open rebellion, and thus have an excuse to invade Utah and set up a "thieving carpetbagger" government modeled after those in the South, while the Chicago Times reported that such a process was already underway with the appointment to a Salt Lake City Judgeship of a "heron-legged, sallow skinned . . . protege of Gerritt Smith." 40

Less sympathetic observers detected close parallels between the extinct institution of southern slavery and Mormon polygamy. One hostile non-Mormon writer observed that in polygamy the "women are generally regarded little better than slaves," while another labeled polygamous females as "circassian slaves" or serfs. 41 The New York Times described "Polygamy in Utah" as "slavery" or the "system of the South 20 years ago." According to the Times the women of polygamous families "work in the field just as do the negro women in the South, and the head of the family acts as overseer or superintendent." 42 Harriett Beecher Stowe, who by the 1870's had shifted her crusading attacks from southern slavery to Mormon polygamy, saw similarities between the Peculiar Institutions of the two regions. Alluding to the abolition of southern slavery, she observed that "our day has seen a glorious breaking of fetters." She expressed a hope that the hour is come to loose the bonds of a cruel slavery whose chains have cut into the very hearts of thousands of our sisters—a slavery which debases and degrades womanhood, motherhood, and the family.

Stowe called on all American women to participate in efforts to free their "sisters from this degrading bondage." 43

The Saints, possibly motivated by a certain sense of identification with the besieged South, attempted to develop literal bonds through the inauguration of a vigorous missionary program in the states of the
former Confederacy. Brigham Young hoped that "the late war and consequent misery that has attended it" would have the effect of "softening the hearts" of the vanquished southerners, causing them to "listen to the testimonies of the servants of God." By 1869, the Saints were pleased with their initial efforts in this "excellent field," noting that there was a "great demand" for additional missionaries. "All the decent people" or Mormon converts, observed another Saint, were migrating from the South to Utah "leaving [behind] only the Scallawags" (sic). By the 1880's, one writer estimated that one out of every three Latter-day Saint missionaries was being sent to the South, "where in recent years they have made many converts."

While southern influences probably helped to bolster Mormon anti-black attitudes, such influences were far from absolute. Brigham Young and other Saints tended, on occasion, to minimize the parallels between the Saints and the South. The Mormon president noted that unlike the persecuted Saints very "few" southerners during the late war had been "driven from their homes and suffered the loss of all they had on earth" for "their religion." He suggested, moreover, that the South had "suffered" because of "their wickedness." The Millennial Star decried the tendency of certain periodicals to accord great sympathy to a South going through the rigors of Reconstruction, while at the same time overlooking the equally "harsh measures" being enacted against the Utah Saints during this period.

In turn, the South found its sympathies and desire to identify with the Saints limited for several reasons. The South, while believing that a state or region had a right to regulate its own local institutions
continued to look with repugnance on polygamy as they had done before 1865.\textsuperscript{51}

This was somewhat reminiscent of the way the Saints felt and acted toward
the South and its Peculiar Institution during the period 1852-65. In
addition, many southerners, while identifying with the plight of a Mormon
society suffering from the indignities of Federal Reconstruction, never-
theless looked upon and treated those Latter-day Saint missionaries labor-
ing in the South as "outsiders," since Mormonism was a northern-based
religion.\textsuperscript{52}

Latter-day Saint anti-black practices and attitudes were also per-
petuated and reenforced as part of a larger Mormon effort to tighten up
a number of their ideas and practices. The Saints undertook this process
in their economic, political and theological affairs. The Mormons attempted
economic self-sufficiency through the organization of cooperative enter-
prises. Some Mormon communities went so far as to restore the communi-
tarian or common holding of all property. The Saints did this in an
effort to blunt the influences of non-Mormon merchants and mining interests
coming into Utah in ever increasing numbers, particularly after the com-
pletion of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869.\textsuperscript{53} Politically the
Saints also attempted to strengthen the role of the church over its in-
dividual members through the organization of the Mormon-dominated Peoples
Party. The church formed this political organ in reaction to increased
Federal Government efforts to eradicate polygamy, and to counter intensi-
ified political activities by Utah non-Mormons, and a number of L.D.S.
dissidents—"Godbeites"—who formed the rival Liberal Party.

The Latter-day Saints "tightened up" theological or doctrinal matters
in a couple of areas directly affecting the status of the black man with-
in Mormonism. Latter-day Saint leaders for the first time in 1879, as
previously indicated, tried to historically link black priesthood denial to Mormonism's founder, Joseph Smith. The death of Brigham Young in 1877 undoubtedly motivated efforts in this direction. The statements of the Utah Mormon leader, starting in 1849, had provided the primary basis for enforcing priesthood proscriptions on the black man. Therefore, in order to insure the future continuity of this practice, and give it the aura of ultimate Mormon authority, it was natural for the Utah Saints to "link" the practice of black priesthood denial to Joseph Smith as had been done with polygamy earlier.54

Another effort to strengthen Mormon theology, the canonization as Holy Scripture of the Pearl of Great Price in 1880, contributed to the perpetuation of the black man's inferior Mormon status. This work, containing the Books of Moses and Abraham, written by Joseph Smith during the 1830's and early 1840's, had been initially published in book form in 1851, but did not have the same canonized status as Smith's earlier writings—the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants. Nevertheless, many of its doctrinal precepts including those adversely affecting the status of the black man within Mormonism had been incorporated into the superstructure of Latter-day Saint theology during this period. These included hints of a link between the contemporary black man and the alleged first murderer Cain, the suggestion of "misbehavior" by the black man during a premortal existence,55 as well as an implied "curse" on the black man "as pertaining to the priesthood."56 While these precepts had been publicized within the church since the late 1840's, they were given added legitimacy in 1880 through the elevation of the Pearl of Great Price to the status of Holy Scripture and its sanctification
on a par with the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants.

The Saints undertook some apparent pro-black actions during the years 1865-1880. A few blacks joined the church during this period and a group of "colored" Latter-day Saint converts emigrated from Mississippi to Utah following their conversion. Also the Mormon-dominated Utah Constitutional Convention of 1872 formally conceded that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, unless for the punishment of crimes, shall ever be tolerated in this state." During this same period, the "shadow" state of Deseret passed a law granting "suffrage to persons of color." These actions, however, were exceptions to the general tendency to uphold and re-enforce the black man's inferior Mormon status.

On a personal level, the declining status of Elijah Abel, Mormonism's first known black priesthood holder, reflected most graphically the tightening up of Mormon anti-black concepts and practices. Although Abel had supported the leadership claims of Brigham Young following the death of Joseph Smith and had migrated west with Young in 1847, he found that his position within Mormonism was deteriorating. This became evident when Abel appealed to Brigham Young for his endowments and sealing ordinances, something expected of all Mormon priesthood holders in good standing. The Mormon president "put him off," implying that Abel's priesthood had become inoperative. Following the death of Young in 1877, Abel renewed his application for endowments on several occasions to Young's successor—John Taylor. The newly installed Mormon president submitted Abel's application to the Council of the First Presidency and the Twelve Apostles for consideration. It denied Abel's request. Still later, Abel allegedly made another appeal to Wilford Woodruff, Taylor's successor
as president, and was rejected in a similar fashion.\textsuperscript{61}

In 1883, Abel, by then an old man of seventy-three, agreed to go on a mission for the church in the eastern United States and Canada. Abel's missionary activities, however, were cut short by ill health and he returned to Utah. Two weeks later Abel died of "old age and debility."\textsuperscript{62} His motive for going on a mission at such an advanced age and at a time when his status as well as that of blacks in general had deteriorated is a mystery. Perhaps he was motivated by a desire to demonstrate his "full faith in the Gospel" and thereby obtain his long-sought endowments and sealings in the Mormon temple before he died.

Mormon millennialistic apocalyptic anxieties, which had been so influential in the formation of Mormon attitudes toward slavery and race during the period before 1865, continued to be of some influence during the Reconstruction Era. Paraphrasing the famous apocalyptic prophecy of 1832, Apostle Orson Pratt expected the "black race . . . \textit{after many days}" to "inaugurate . . . a general massacre far more horrible than anything that has yet occurred."\textsuperscript{63} Various other church writers indicated that each "new atrocity committed by the negroes" demonstrated the existing "gloomy" relations "between the races."\textsuperscript{64} In fact, one Saint, reacting to the black-white racial disturbances occurring in the South during this period, believed that this "war of races" had already commenced.\textsuperscript{65} Mormons feared that these confrontations might lead to the extermination of "whites for the benefit of the blacks."\textsuperscript{66} The Latter-day Saints were not unique in their millennialistic-apocalyptic fears of a possible race war. The parallel apocalyptic anxieties experienced by various non-Mormon groups within the United States and Great Britain probably re-enforced
Latter-day Saint fears and anxieties.  

The influence of Mormon apocalyptic-millennialistic anxieties in re-enforcing the black man's subordinate Mormon status should not be overestimated. Millennialistic expectations abated after 1865 when apocalyptic visions of imminent racial warfare failed to materialize. In fact, at least one church writer rendered the optimistic assessment that the Civil War did not mark the beginning of apocalyptic disorders, but had, instead, acted to prevent further strife by promoting a "clearer political atmosphere." This came about through the abolition of slavery and "removal of this bone of contention." As a result "American institutions" now rested on "a firmer more lasting basis."  

The years 1865 to 1880, therefore, were characterized by a general Mormon tendency to perpetuate and strengthen those church concepts and practices adversely affecting the black man. This was the case, even though during these same years slavery was abolished, and an attempt made to guarantee the black man his civil and political rights—at least on the Federal level. Before 1865 Mormon tolerance for slavery along with church support for secular anti-black laws had helped facilitate anti-black actions and attitudes in the ecclesiastical realm, but the opposite was not true after 1865, even in the face of various pro-black trends. In fact, Mormon anti-black practices and attitudes not only remained "unreconstructed," but were strengthened.  

This development was significant for several reasons. First, the Mormon desire to retain anti-black practices and attitudes during an Era of Reconstruction dramatizes the Mormon reaction against various aspects of Reconstruction. On a direct level, the Saints reacted against
federal efforts to abolish polygamy. In a less direct manner, the Saints in upholding and strengthening their anti-black attitudes and practices went against the pro-black proclivities of Reconstruction. In addition, the perpetuation of anti-black-anti-Reconstruction attitudes among the Utah Saints, and, for that matter, among many white Americans (particularly in the South), dramatizes the basic failure of Reconstruction proponents to change or "Reconstruct" basic anti-black practices and prejudices.

Secondly, the retention of Mormon anti-black practices and attitudes, as influenced by a general "tightening up" of Mormon practices and attitudes, was significant, in that it illustrates the widespread impact of general Mormon organizational and doctrinal trends. The black man within Mormonism found his Mormon status diminished not just by developments specifically directed against him, but also as the "by-product" of a larger more general effort to "tighten up" theology and practices.71

Finally, the reinforcement of Mormon anti-black practices and theories was significant in and of itself in that it made the black man's subordinate Mormon status irreversible by 1880, a fact attested by the continuation of Latter-day Saint anti-black practices and attitudes right down to the present day.

2The content of these recollections was discussed in chapter 3. These recollections, in the form of a testimony, were recorded in L. John Nuttall, "Journal," 1 (1876-1884), 290-93, L. John Nuttall Papers, Brigham Young University Library.

3Journal of Discourses, 22, John Taylor, August 28, 1881. Taylor had alluded to a similar argument some two years before; Ibid., 21, John Taylor, August 31, 1879.

4Stenhouse, xii; Bowles, Across the Continent, 113. According to Apostle Franklin D. Richards, the black man had been designated to be a "servant of servants among their brethren, making their servitude the fulfillment of prophecy," Journal of Discourses, 20, Franklin D. Richards, October 6, 1879.

5Journal of Discourses, 11, Brigham Young, August 19, 1866.

6Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, March 24, 1866.

7Ibid., June 23, 1866.

8Journal of Discourses, 15, Orson Pratt, September 22, 1872; Ibid., 13, Lorenzo Snow, October 9, 1869.


10The True Latter Day Saints' Herald, February 1860.

11Ibid., October 1, 1865.

12Ibid., June 1, 1865. At the 1878 Conference of the RLDS Church this revelation was made "binding" on members of the church and became section 116 in their Doctrine and Covenants.

13The True Latter Day Saints Herald, August 1, 1867. Italics in original.

14Ibid., May 1, 1868.
Ibid., July 1, 1866, November 1, 1866, October 1, 1867.

Ibid., March 15, 1868.


Doctrine and Covenants, 101:79; The True Latter-day Saints Herald, October 1, 1865.


Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, November 28, 1871.

Ibid.

The True Latter Day Saints Herald, March 15, 1868.

It is more likely that the opposite was true. That is, the Reorganized Church was very possibly influenced by the anti-black practices and attitudes of the Utah Mormons in forming their own pro-black theories and in their positive treatment of the black man within their emerging movement.

Reflecting this tendency were oblique Utah Mormon references to the R.L.D.S. Church. For example, "Among the Saints of God," explained the Millennial Star, "there has never been any schism" and "the rebellious are not the blood of Ephraim," November 17, 1869, December 20, 1870.

In terms of comparative membership the following statistics are revealing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Utah Mormons</td>
<td>80,000</td>
<td>110,000</td>
<td>160,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reorganized Church</td>
<td>6,900</td>
<td>12,171</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sources: Deseret News 1975 Church Almanac (Salt Lake City, 1975), E2; Howard, "The Reorganized Church in Illinois," 73.


29. Ibid., 11, Brigham Young, April 8, 1867.


31. From the Deseret News as reprinted in the Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, October 31, 1868.

32. Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, February 1, 1870.

33. Journal of Discourses, 20, Orson Pratt, October 6, 1879. Even non-Mormon observers condemned what they felt to be the discriminatory treatment of white Latter-day Saints. "Decayed politicians" were denounced for giving the vote to "promiscuous and devil worshipping" blacks while disfranchising polygamous white Mormons. Another writer sarcastically noted that there was a decided preference for the "idle, shiftless, thieving negro as an elector over the industrious, thrifty Mormon" because "the carpetbagger expected Negro votes to keep himself and his friends in power." See Ballard G. Dunn, How to Solve the Mormon Problem, Three Letters (New York, 1877), 15-16, as quoted in William Mulder's, "Immigration and the Mormon Question": An International Episode," Western Political Quarterly, 1X (1956), 430.


35. New York Herald reprinted in the Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, November 7, 1868. According to this article, the Radical Republicans "in making the Black man think he is equal of white has [sic] unleashed his savage and cruel [sic] nature, hence trouble in the South.
This is a violation of the laws of nature."


40. As reprinted in the *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, April 1, 1873, November 7, 1871, August 5, 1873.

41. R. Guy McClellan, *The Golden State* (Chicago, 1872), 597; Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 663. The Mormon men according to this same account would become "Turks."


43. As written for the "preface" of Stenhouse, *Tell it All*. In this same work (p. 605), Stenhouse carried the black slavery analogy to another level. She described the "Order of Enoch" or communal arrangements entered into by the Saints in the following manner: "They do, in fact, literally make themselves slaves, only their slavery is infinitely worse and debasing than the bondage of the Negro, for they give soul and mind, as well as body and goods, utterly, absolutely and for ever, into the iron grasp of the Mormon priesthood." Italics in original.

44. *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, June 8, 1867.


46. *Ibid.*, June 12, 1876.

47. According to the non-Mormon observer Ellen E. Dickinson, *New Light on Mormonism* (New York, 1885), 187. The church-owned *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, November 8, 1880, also noted the importance of southern missionary activity in explaining that Mormon efforts had expanded to the point that as many missionaries were being sent to this region as to the British Isles.

49. *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, July 9, 1872.


53. For the best account of these developments see Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 235-349.

54. It is interesting that by the 1890’s Latter-day Saint leaders were so sure of a definite link between Joseph Smith and black priesthood denial that church leaders asserted that the Mormon prophet himself had "taught this doctrine: That the seed of Cain could not receive the priesthood nor act in any of the offices of the priesthood until the Seed of Abel should come forward and take precedence over Cain’s offspring; and thus prevent any of the seed of Cain’s coming into possession of the priesthood." "Council Meetings," August 22, 1895, George Albert Smith Papers, copies in University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

55. Although in 1869 Brigham Young seemed to discount questions surrounding the black man’s pre-mortal existence as a cause of his current unfavorable situation. See *Journal History*, December 25, 1869.

56. As previously indicated, church spokesmen had implicitly suggested a link between black priesthood denial and the writings of the *Pearl of Great Price* by describing this concept as the "curse . . . as pertaining to the priesthood." It wasn’t until after 1880 that this work was quoted chapter and verse in giving scriptural justification to such practices.


58. *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, April 16, 1872. In this the Saints were merely assenting to the legal abolition of slavery which had been implemented through the Congressional Territorial Statute of 1862 and re-enforced by the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865.

59. *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*, April 4, 1868. The "State of Deseret" was sort of a Mormon "shadow government" prepared to take over civil functions within Utah in case of statehood or apocalyptic calamity. By granting suffrage to persons of color within this "shadow
state," perhaps the Saints hoped to improve their chances for actual statehood. This view contrasts somewhat with observations of Boyd Eddins, that there was "no recognition of the free and equal status of the Negro." See his "The Mormons and the Civil War," 140.

60 "Minutes, Council Meetings," January 2, 1902, August 26, 1908, George A. Smith Papers.

61 Ibid. "Aunt" Jane James, another faithful black Mormon of long standing, met the same difficulties as Abel in attempting to secure her temple ordinances. "Council Meeting," August 22, 1895, January 2, 1902, August 26, 1908, George A. Smith Papers.


63 Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, August 18, 1866. Italics in original

64 Ibid., January 18, 1868, February 15, 1868, September 10, 1877.

65 Ibid., April 17, 1868.

66 Ibid., March 21, 1868, May 13, 1873.

67 For non-Mormon millennialistic developments during this period see Bolt, Victorian Attitudes to Race, 105; Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, 82, 93-4.

68 As noted by Klaus Hanson, Quest for Empire, 19; Boyd L. Eddins, The Mormons and the Civil War, 76, 120.

69 Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, August 29, 1868.

70 Leonard J. Arrington in surveying intellectual trends within Mormonism has observed that the church went through a "stage of purification" during the period 1867-1896. This period was characterized by the tendency of the Saints to "band together to preserve their unique way of life" and emphasize education or "indoctrination" to facilitate this end. See his article "The Intellectual Tradition of the Latter-day Saints," Dialogue, IV (Spring, 1969), 13-26.
EPilogue

Contemporary Public Concern Over the Black Man's Place in the Mormon Church

The black man's subordinate place within Mormonism was well defined, and essentially unquestioned by 1880. However, both the Saints and non-Mormons paid little attention to the Mormon-black issue until after 1945. After World War II an increasing number of national periodicals and newspapers discussed the problem, and by the late 1960's and early 1970's a number of books and monographs had been written on the Mormon-black question.\(^1\) In 1967 one writer went so far as to suggest that the controversy over the black man's status within Mormonism had replaced polygamy as the most visible feature of the Latter-day Saint religion.\(^2\) In response to this increased public attention the Latter-day Saints, as early as 1949, issued their first official statement upholding the inferior status of the black man within the church.

The attitude of the Church with reference to Negroes remains as it has always stood. It is not a matter of the declaration of a policy but of direct commandment from the Lord, on which is founded the doctrine of the Church from the days of its organization, to the effect that Negroes may become members of the Church but are not entitled to the Priesthood at the present time.\(^3\)

By 1969, after a twenty year period of increased publicity and controversy over the Mormon-black issue, Latter-day Saint leaders felt compelled "to restate the position of the Church with regard to the Negro both in society and in the Church." While conceding that the black man should have "his full constitutional privileges as a member of society," including "equal opportunities . . . protection" and "civil rights," the church
asserted that the black man could "not yet ... receive the priesthood."4

Several developments stimulated increased interest and controversy over the status of the black man within Mormonism. Such concern was facilitated by the demographic and geographic expansion of the Latter-day Saint movement. Numerically, church membership increased three-fold during the twenty years from 1950 to 1971. Geographically, the church became more than just a movement centered in the Great Basin. Mormonism emerged as a major American sect, and indeed a world religion.5 As a result, the Saints felt increased pressure to deal with questions involving the black man and his actual and potential status within Mormonism.

In the post World War II period the church expanded its quest for new converts to Latin America.6 Previous to this expansion, the church in keeping with well-established missionary practices scrupulously tried, and largely succeeded in avoiding contact with individuals of obvious black descent.7 The Saints in Latin America, however, confronted native residents of varying racial intermixtures—black, white and Indian. Black-Mormon contacts became of special concern as the Saints contemplated the establishment of a mission in Cuba during the late 1940's. In an attempt to determine the feasibility of Cuban missionary activity, church leaders commissioned Lowry Nelson, a nationally prominent sociologist, and also a Mormon, to undertake an ethnic-racial survey of the country. If Nelson's study indicated the presence of a sufficient number of "pure white" Cubans "maintaining segregation from the Negroes" then missionary efforts would be pressed forward, if not, Cuba would be by-passed as an arena for future missionary activity.8 In conducting this study Nelson became upset with the church's negative position toward the black man and expressed
his concern directly to those church leaders who had originally solicited his advice. Nelson was still disturbed by the Saints anti-black position five years later. Possibly further upset by the L.D.S. black priesthood denial Proclamation of 1849, the Mormon sociologist revealed his feelings publically in The Nation. Thus, Nelson became the first of a long line of "liberal" Latter-day Saints to challenge the church's position on the black man.  

A short time later, the Mormon experience in Nigeria further underscored the increasing controversy over the Mormon-black question. This black African nation attracted Mormon attention quite by accident. The church in keeping with its established missionary policies and practices did not intend to make Nigeria an arena for Mormon activity. This all changed, however, during the early 1950's after a group of Mormon missionaries stopped over in Nigeria en route to the long-established Mormon missions in white South Africa. These missionaries left behind in Nigeria a number of tracts and books which found their way into the hands of some of the residents. A number of Nigerians after reading these materials were receptive to the message which they contained and proceeded to set up their own branch of the Mormon church. Representatives of this self-established Mormon group then wrote to the church headquarters in Salt Lake City informing them of this fact and requesting additional information and instructions. While surprised by these unexpected developments, Utah Mormon leaders nevertheless sent the requested materials along with a representative from Salt Lake. For several years thereafter, Mormon church officials apparently thought of promoting missionary efforts in this black African nation, and by 1965, plans were made to send "Sev-
eral hundred properly commissioned missionaries" to Nigeria. Before the missionaries could be sent, however, Nigerian government officials became aware of Mormon anti-black practices and doctrines, and prohibited the entry of any Utah Saints into the country. In addition, a number of American blacks became aware of this incident and through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People adopted a resolution in 1965 endorsing the anti-Mormon actions of the Nigerian Government. This NAACP resolution characterized the Mormon Church as "racist in both doctrine and practice," and called upon all the predominantly non-white nations of South America and Asia--both areas in which Mormonism was making significant inroads--as well as Africa to follow the Nigerian example and deny Mormon missionaries entry into their countries.

The post-World War II civil rights movement in the United States further stimulated controversy over the black man's place within Mormonism. Civil rights advocates lost little time in calling national attention to what they considered Mormon anti-black actions and attitudes. These critics felt that they could detect a link between anti-black religious practices and official Mormon hesitancy to support pending Civil Rights bills before the Utah State Legislature. They suggested that church leaders were working "behind the scenes" to prevent the enactment of such legislation. Some non-Mormons also charged that the Latter-day Saints in California had organized opposition against the passage of an important fair housing act. Such accusations seemed plausible against the backdrop of various anti-civil rights and pro-segregationist statements made by certain prominent Latter-day Saint leaders such as Apostle Ezra Taft Benson, one time Secretary of Agriculture under President Eisen-
Although some Latter-day Saints, like Apostle Benson, resisted the Civil Rights movement, most Mormons expressed apathy or indifference toward the quest for black equality. So-called "liberals" within the church criticized this attitude. In 1968 Mormon "liberals" assailed church officials for their minimal expressions of sympathy and concern in the wake of Martin Luther King's assassination. Dr. Sterling M. McMurren, a former U.S. Commissioner of Education and prominent Mormon liberal, was concerned that this indifference might prevent the church from ever assuming "moral leadership" in civil rights.

Meanwhile, church officials, perhaps sensitive to this criticism, moved toward publicizing their support of equal rights for all peoples. In 1963 at a Mormon Church conference, Apostle Hugh B. Brown maintained that there is in this Church no doctrine, belief or practice that is intended to deny the enjoyment of full civil rights by any person regardless of race, color, or creed.

Two years later, the church-owned Deseret News, in the wake of a vigorous NAACP campaign protesting church silence on pending Utah civil rights legislation, came forward and supported the enactment of a fair housing bill.

At the same time, the Saints found their racial attitudes and practices subject to closer scrutiny and criticism because of the increased public visibility of Mormon politicians. As certain Latter-day Saint political figures achieved national recognition, they were quizzed concerning their views on racial questions in general and the place of the black man within Mormonism in particular. From the "right wing" or "conservative" vantage point, Apostle and Secretary of Agriculture Benson
characterized the Civil Rights movement as a "Communist conspiracy."²⁵ On the other end of the political-social spectrum, Stewart Udall, also a Mormon, who served as Secretary of Interior under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, viewed the black man's contemporary position in a somewhat different light. Udall, like other Mormon "liberals," not only supported black civil rights, but also criticized black priesthood denial as "a social and institutional practice having no real sanction in essential Mormon thought."²⁶

The political emergence of George Romney as Governor of Michigan, a major presidential candidate, and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development under President Nixon gave Mormon racial attitudes even greater exposure. Prior to his entry into public life, Romney worried that his involvement in politics might "put intense heat on his church's racial practices."²⁷ In order to minimize such a development, Romney declared his "political independence" from prevailing church practices and attitudes and made it clear that "Mormonism's anti-Negro bias would not alter his stands" on relevant civil rights issues.²⁸ By assuming a strong pro-civil rights position and maintaining it throughout his three terms as Governor of Michigan, Romney "neutralized" the Mormon-black issue and, in fact, managed to pick up an increasing percentage of the state's black vote in each of his three gubernatorial campaigns.²⁹ However, as Romney emerged as a leading presidential possibility following the Republican debacle of 1964, his favorable civil rights record was largely overlooked and he found himself under increased attack because of the anti-black position of his church.³⁰ Although the Mormon-black issue has been largely discounted as a factor in the collapse of Romney's presidential campaign,
Romney's emergence as a national political figure, nevertheless, exposed this controversial issue to a large number of Americans.\(^\text{31}\)

Confrontations between the church and pro-black militants during the late 1960's also brought the Mormon-black question into sharper focus. A number of well-publicized clashes took place usually involving athletes from the church-owned Brigham Young University on one side, and protesters from rival institutions on the other. To some extent, the militant stance assumed by black activists encouraged this development. Significantly, these militant confrontations reached a peak in late 1969 and early 1970 in the wake of the official Latter-day Saint reaffirmation of priesthood denial for the black man. Reacting to these trends, several universities including San Jose State, Stanford, and Washington terminated all future intercollegiate athletic activities with Brigham Young University.\(^\text{32}\)

In one observer's view, these Mormon-pro-black militant clashes had "grown in intensity to the point where they almost transcend all else." Serious consideration was given to disbanding the Western Athletic Conference, of which B.Y.U. was a charter member, in order to assure tranquility in all future athletic contests.\(^\text{33}\)

Sensitive to this increased attention and controversy over the black-Mormon issue, Latter-day Saint leaders appeared more flexible in their attitudes and practices. As early as 1940, Apostle J. Ruben Clark, Jr., recommended the appointment of a sub-committee to the Council of Twelve to carefully study the black question and make some ruling or re-affirm whatever ruling that has been made on this question in the past as to whether or not one drop of negro blood deprives a man of the right to receive the priesthood.\(^\text{34}\)

It is not clear how extensive this investigation was, or what recommen-
dations were made as a result. Nevertheless, by 1963, rumors circulated that the "top leadership" of the church was "seriously considering abandonment of its historic policy of discriminating against Negroes." 35 According to Hugh B. Brown, considered the most "liberal" of the Mormon apostles, the church was in the midst of a survey "looking toward the possibility of admitting Negroes" to the Mormon priesthood. 36 Expectations of imminent black ordination obviously proved premature. Speculations over a possible change in the church's position, however, received renewed impetus in late 1969 and early 1970 as the result of the public disclosure of a private interview given by President David O. McKay some years earlier. In this interview, McKay had purportedly deemphasized the theological significance of priesthood denial for the black man explaining:

We believe that we have scriptural precedent for withholding the priesthood from the Negro, it is a practice, not a doctrine, and the practice will someday be changed. And that is all there is to it. 37

Although the Saints did not admit the black man in full fellowship, they did demonstrate greater flexibility in a number of other areas of black-Mormon relations. In addition to their abortive efforts among the Nigerians, the Saints promoted missionary activities among certain other dark-skinned peoples in the South Pacific and South America. Following their earlier successes among the Polynesians, the Saints decided to start missionary work among their darker-skinned "Negroid"-like neighbors--the Melanesians. 38 Also during the 1950's and 1960's the Saints expanded their missionary activities in Latin America especially Brazil--a country with a great deal of racial intermixture. At least one observer speculated that "perhaps" some Saints of mixed-black descent had been ordained
into the Mormon priesthood.\(^{39}\)

The church also demonstrated greater flexibility in its actions toward American blacks. As early as 1965, one non-Mormon publication reported that the Saints were engaged in "somewhat of a campaign to get some Negroes into the church."\(^{40}\) Possibly hoping to defuse anti-church protests against Brigham Young University, officials of this school launched a campaign to recruit blacks for their athletic teams.\(^{41}\) Room was also made in the famed Mormon Tabernacle Choir for two black women.\(^{42}\) The most extensive Latter-day Saint effort to provide a "place" for the black man within Mormonism came in 1971 with the formation of the "Genesis group."

The church set up this organization or "special meeting" to serve the needs of an estimated two hundred black Latter-day Saints living in and around Salt Lake City.\(^{43}\) At the same time Mormon leaders organized a committee "charged with dealing with the church's Negro problem."\(^{44}\)

"Liberal" Latter-day Saints heartened by such developments believed that in the "long run" ordination of blacks to the Mormon priesthood was "inevitable."\(^{45}\) Dr. J.D. Williams, a University of Utah professor and prominent Mormon "liberal," declared "change will come and within my lifetime."\(^{46}\) The "liberals" believed that as younger, concerned Latter-day Saints like Williams moved up in church leadership positions, black priesthood denial would be abandoned.\(^{47}\)

Some "liberal" individuals, anxious for what they considered to be the inevitable revocation of black priesthood denial, attempted to suggest and predict the manner in which this change could be brought about. In the opinion of Lowry Nelson the church had a built-in mechanism—"progressive revelation"—which would bring about change.\(^{48}\) Another Saint
explained that "revelation . . . has always been bound up in the history and needs of a particular time."

A new revelation on the race issue under social pressure, therefore would not be seen as a repudiation of the divine origins of doctrine but confirmation that truth continually unfolds itself in response to the changing conditions and the spiritual fidelity of the Mormon faith. 49

According to these "liberals," termination of black priesthood denial would not be without historical precedent. The church had suspended the practice of polygamy in 1890, they felt, as a result of increased controversy. 50

Advocates of change also presented and published evidence to support their views that the Mormon practice of black priesthood denial was contrary to the historical realities of the Mormon past. They seemed anxious to "externalize" or attribute the evolution of Mormon black-racial practices and attitudes to historical factors largely outside of essential Mormon thought and practice. This tendency was related to a basic "liberal" desire to prove that the evolution of black priesthood denial and related racial attitudes were "undesirable aberrations" or abnormalities that somehow affixed themselves to Mormonism. "Liberal" Mormons such as Sterling M. McMurren and Stephen L. Taggart, along with Fawn M. Brodie, an ex-Mormon who sympathized with the "liberals," attributed the emergence of black priesthood denial to the external controversy during the 1830's between the Saints and non-Mormon Missourians. They postulated that the Saints had introduced black priesthood denial at this time in an attempt to clear up possible misunderstandings over issues of race between non-Mormon Missourians who favored the Peculiar Institution and recently arrived Mormons from the northern, non-slave states of Ohio, New York,
and New England. Another Mormon "liberal," Dennis L. Lythgoe, writing from a slightly different perspective, attributed the evolution of Latter-day Saint anti-black practices and attitudes to early Mormon support for slavery during the 1830's. More than this, Lythgoe felt that the practice and legal existence of slavery among the Utah-based Saints during the 1850's and early 1860's was crucial in shaping basic Mormon practices and attitudes. Writing in a somewhat broader context, Naomi Woodbury argued that Mormon anti-black practices and attitudes were primarily the product of general anti-black and pro-slavery rhetoric which was so much a part of nineteenth century American thought in the period 1830-1880.

The most scholarly "liberal" Mormon attempt to "externalize" the historical origins of Mormonism's black problem was undertaken by Lester E. Bush, Jr. Like Woodbury, Bush argued that the church leaders were primarily influenced by anti-black feelings in American society. However, in contrast to Woodbury, Bush believed that Latter-day Saint anti-black practices and attitudes did not emerge until after 1844 and the death of Joseph Smith. Bush made a deliberate and most convincing effort to exonerate Smith as a "guilty party" in the implementation of black priesthood denial.

Bush, however, by "externalizing" the evolution of Mormon racial attitudes and practices and isolating their initial expression from Joseph Smith, demonstrated the weaknesses of his methodology as well as that of his fellow "liberals." By "externalizing" the historical development of Latter-day Saint racial trends, Bush slighted the relationships between Mormon anti-black practices and attitudes and general theological
and organizational trends within Mormonism itself. These trends, as the previous chapters of this study have tried to demonstrate, were of crucial importance in the emergence and perpetuation of those Mormon practices and attitudes adversely affecting the black man. Bush, by attempting to "detach" Joseph Smith from the development of Mormon anti-black practices and attitudes, gave too little attention and credence to the impact and role of Joseph Smith and his contemporaries prior to 1844.

In fact, the ideas and influences of the Mormon Prophet and his close associates played a key role in establishing Mormonism's initial racial mood and setting the theological parameters in which later anti-black practices and attitudes would develop.

Mormon "liberals" such as Bush and others, by attempting to "externalize" or detach the history of black priesthood denial from the general development of Mormon theology, are attempting to convince Mormon leaders and those in positions of influence that this practice was not the product of essential Mormon trends or thought. They apparently hope that church leaders, after considering this historical "evidence," will have no choice but to abandon the controversial practice of black priesthood denial.

Despite such liberal efforts, most church leaders and rank-and-file Latter-day Saints have yet to be converted to the liberal position. The church has shown very little inclination to abolish black priesthood denial over the past thirty years. In fact, as previously indicated, the church has re-enforced its long-standing position through its two "official" statements of 1949 and 1970. These statements upholding black priesthood denial, moreover, were issued during the tenure of President
David O. McKay, ironically considered by many to have been among the most flexible of church leaders on the black-Mormon question. On at least one occasion, moreover, McKay declared that black priesthood denial would not change during his lifetime. His two successors, Joseph Fielding Smith and Harold B. Lee, were less sympathetic than McKay with the general situation of the black man within Mormonism. Smith was known throughout the Mormon world for his writings justifying the church policy of limiting Negro participation. Lee, who became church president upon the death of Smith in 1972, reaffirmed the Mormon "decision with respect to black minorities" and seemed to stand by his earlier characterization of those who questioned this view as "smart boys" or "enemies." Lee's successor and current church president, Spencer W. Kimball, upon becoming president in 1973 asserted his belief that black priesthood denial had been and was still sanctioned by God.

Several factors have contributed to the continuing Mormon retention of black priesthood denial. The continuing agitation or controversy over the Mormon-black issue, ironically enough, encouraged a Latter-day Saint counterresponse or resistance against any and all possible change. It has been perceptively noted that if the church changed its position in the midst of the intensifying controversy, it would appear that the church had compromised its ideals. A significant number of Latter-day Saints surveyed in Utah in 1972 believed the agitation and controversy over Mormonism's black question to be part of a "Black conspiracy" to destroy the church.

As part of the Mormon reaction against the current Mormon-black controversy, a number of church writers have attempted to defend the
Latter-day Saint position by looking at the historical past. The most prominent efforts in this direction were undertaken by John J. Stewart and John L. Lund. Although these two writers claimed that their historical examinations were primarily for faithful members, the tone and structure of their arguments seemed equally tailored for dissidents within the church and non-Mormon critics. In reviewing the historical development of Mormon anti-black practices and attitudes, both Stewart and Lund adopted an "internal" approach. That is, they argued that these practices and attitudes developed as a part of, and within the mainstream of larger Latter-day Saint doctrinal and social trends. This "internal" approach, which contrasts sharply with the "external" arguments of Brodie, Woodbury, and other "liberal" critics, correctly perceived the importance of general Mormon doctrinal trends and practices on Mormon anti-black developments.

However, Stewart and Lund "internalized" their arguments to such an extent that they, in direct contrast to the liberals, overlooked the impact of external forces within the larger non-Mormon society. They also carried their arguments into a non-historical cul-de-sac by emphasizing the ultimate supernatural origins of black priesthood denial as a practice sanctioned "by the Lord." Such shortcomings in the arguments of Stewart and Lund haven't shaken general Mormon acceptance of black priesthood denial. The views of such "conservatives," in fact, have probably helped to bolster Mormon support for black priesthood denial in the face of increased controversy and attack.

Mormonism's rapid growth has also played a part in causing the Saints to retain black priesthood denial. Surprisingly enough, contro-
versy over the Mormon-black issue has not retarded Mormon geographic and demographic expansion, even in non-white parts of the world. In fact, the retention of anti-black practices and attitudes may have made Mormonism more attractive to certain individuals and groups.66 In 1972, one survey estimated that 70% of all Utah-based Mormons were against allowing the black man "to hold the priesthood in the Mormon Church."67 Thus, it is not at all surprising that the church leadership has shown very little inclination to repeal the practice of black priesthood denial.

Another factor working against the abolition of black priesthood denial is that, as a practice, it has affected only a few Mormons in a direct way. If the Latter-day Saints had, somehow, attracted a large number of blacks to the True Faith, perhaps church officials might have been more inclined to lift the proscriptions on black priesthood ordination and look upon the black in a less harsh light. But such has not been the case, only a few blacks have cast their lot with Mormonism.68 In addition, those few blacks within the church have generally not complained about their subordinate place.69 Those few black Mormons willing to talk have tended to conform to a stereotype image articulated in 1963 by President Joseph Fielding Smith. Thus, Mormon blacks have been presented as "wonderful people" seemingly content with "their place" in the church.70

A continuing Latter-day Saint belief in a number of ideas which go to the core of basic Latter-day Saint theology promotes a continuing Latter-day Saint belief in black priesthood denial. Mormonism, as it has since its founding, maintains a literal belief in various Sacred writings, including the Bible and the works of Joseph Smith. These writings,
especially the *Pearl of Great Price*, have been instrumental in providing Scriptural precedent and justification for black priesthood denial.\(^7\)

These scriptures have been used to support a Mormon belief that the black man is a literal descendant of Cain—the first murderer—and Ham—Noah’s accursed son. Although in recent years some church spokesmen have "moved away" from the concept of a literal link between the contemporary black man and his alleged accursed ancestors,\(^2\) most Latter-day Saints continue to accept traditional Scriptural justifications for black inferiority.

Furthermore, the tendency to view the black man as part of a Scripturally accursed race has been strengthened by a continuing Latter-day Saint tendency to view themselves as a "chosen race" literally descended, according to Mormon Scripture, from the "noble" parentage of Abraham.\(^3\) The Saints further justify their position by maintaining that since they are a church led by a "Prophet, Seer, and Revelator" who receives continuing, revelation from the Lord, any directive for change must come from Him. Finally, any lingering Mormon doubts about the inherent discriminatory nature of black priesthood denial can be rationalized away by a basic Latter-day Saint belief that the black man will eventually receive the priesthood, probably after the Second Coming or during the imminent millennium. After all, according to Mormon belief, this mortal life is just one small segment of man's eternal or total existence.


First Presidency Statement, August 17, 1949. Copy in L.D.S. Church Historical Department.


In the period from 1940 to 1971, the percentage of Mormon church members living outside of Utah has increased from 59% to 74%, while the percentage of those Saints living outside of the United States itself has more than doubled during this same period. See *Deseret News* 1974 Church Almanac, 191.

In fact by the end of 1974, Mexico along with Central and South America accounted for almost 40% of all church members residing outside of the United States. *Deseret News* 1974 Church Almanac, 116-17.

In this practice church missionaries were following the procedures established on a formal basis in 1908. See "Council Meetings," August 26, 1908, George Albert Smith Papers.


10. The Nation, May 24, 1952. Nelson pointed out that he wrote his letter in a spirit of "constructive criticism" with the hope that his crucial question could be "openly discussed." In a follow-up, Nelson restated his observation that the church "deliberately avoided" work among blacks and that blacks were "turned away from Mormon chapels," The Nation, October 18, 1952.


13. The Nigerians interested in Mormonism then proceeded to organize their own Latter-day Saint group. Eventually missionaries from the Re-organized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints expressed an interest in doing work among the Nigerians and were allowed into the country. For a current description of R.L.D.S. missionary activities in this country see Saints Herald, May 1972, 56.


18. On one occasion, Benson denounced civil rights protesters as "inferior and immoral" people engaged in a "race conspiracy," Christian Century, September 29, 1965. Other Mormon apostles conspicuous in their denunciations of the Civil Rights movement included Mark E. Peterson and Bruce R. McConkie. See Mark E. Peterson, "Race Problems--As They Affected the Church," Address at Convention of Teachers of Religion, Brigham Young University, August 27, 1954; and Bruce R. McConkie, Mormon Doctrine (Salt Lake City, 1958), 107-08.


Chicago Sun Times, April 5, 1965.


Dialogue, II (Summer, 1967), 5-7. Udall's criticism of church practice with regard to the black man was also covered in the New York Times, May 19, 1967.

New York Times, November 27, 1967. According to the Times, Romney traveled to Utah in order to warn L.D.S. Church leaders of this fact. At least one church leader, Joseph Fielding Smith, had reservations about Romney's decision to enter politics, warning that the "enemies" of the church would "play up the Negro question to the very limit," Deseret News, July 14, 1962, reprinted in Look, October 22, 1963.


According to one account, Romney's percentage of the black vote in Michigan had increased to 35% by the time of his third race for governor. See Dennis L. Lythgoe, "The 1968 Presidential Decline of George Romney: Mormonism or Politics?" Brigham Young University Studies, XI (Spring, 1971), 232. Also see T. George Harris, Romney's Way: A Man and an Idea (New York, 1967), 6,9; Clark R. Mollenhoff, George Romney: Mormon in Politics (New York, 1968), 186, 189; Richard C. Fuller, George Romney and Michigan (New York, 1966), 69-74, 112-13.


38. Turner, 262-3.

39. *New York Times*, December 28, 1965; *Dialogue*, II (Autumn, 1967), 7. When such instances have been officially discovered it has been church policy to suspend the black priesthood holder from exercising any priesthood authority.


41. *The Daily Herald* (Provo, Utah), February 16, 1970. Church officials and student leaders at Brigham Young University tried to defuse the tense racial situation existing between the Mormon school and Arizona State University by conducting encounter sessions. In these, black leaders from the latter school were invited to the B.Y.U. campus to "talk out" misunderstandings on both sides. See Brian Walton, "A University's Dilemma: B.Y.U. and Blacks," *Dialogue*, VI (Spring, 1971), 31-36. Also see the *Daily Universe*, September 22, October 5, 6, 9, 19, 22, 1970.

42. One of these, Wynetta Willis Martin discusses her experiences and conversion to Mormonism in her autobiography, *Black Mormon Tells Her Story* (Salt Lake City, 1972).

43. *Deseret News*, October 23, 1971. See also *San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle*, October 24, 1971, *New York Times*, April 6, 1972. It is interesting to note that the formation of this group received minimal coverage in the Utah and California newspapers (near large concentrations of Latter-day Saints) while the article in the *Times* was much
more extensive and detailed.

44 New York Times, April 6, 1972. This committee consisted of three Mormon Apostles, including Harold B. Lee, who was to become church president in less than a year.


46 Time, October 18, 1963.

47 Nation, April 6, 1963. Certain individuals were also concerned about the detrimental effects of priesthood denial. According to one writer it was "the greatest reason for defection among the young," while another believed that one-third of all Latter-day Saints expressed "doubts" on this issue. See New York Times, October 2, 1967; Dialogue, II (Winter 1967), 6-7.


51 This idea was postulated originally by Fawn Brodie in No Man Knows My History, 173. Sterling McMurren gave further publicity to this concept during the 1950's and 1960's and Stephen L. Taggert in Mormonism's Negro Policy, 1-66, presented this argument in its most sophisticated historical form.

52 See Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery in Utah," 40-54. Also see his "Negro Slavery and Mormon Doctrine," 327-38 and "Negro Slavery in Utah."


55 In fact, of all the church leaders during this period, McKay seemed to make the fewest unfavorable statements or observations concerning the black man and his status within Mormonism. However, at least one writer has suggested that after 1953 the church became increasingly conservative in its educational policies and more restrictive in allow-
ing scholars to examine materials in the church library. See Brewer, "The Mormons," 533.

36. This statement was made by McKay just a short time after the 1963 "rumors" of an impending change, New York Times, November 17, 1964. There were also indications that the "conservative" faction (that group opposed to any change on the black issue) steadily increased its power and influence in church councils after 1963. See Christian Century, January 21, 1970. There were even suggestions that McKay himself had "gone over" to the "conservative" side by 1967. Newsweek, March 6, 1967.

57. As quoted in Christianity Today, February 13, 1970. Also see the New York Times, January 25, 1970. For an example of Joseph Fielding Smith's beliefs and teachings concerning the black man and his "place" within Mormonism see his The Way to Perfection (Salt Lake City, 1931), 97-111. The fact that Joseph Fielding Smith didn't retain the "liberal-minded" Hugh B. Brown in the first Presidency of the Church was interpreted as serving "notice" that there would be no change on the black priesthood position of the church in the foreseeable future.


60. As noted in Dialogue, II (Winter, 1967), 37.

61. Time, November 1, 1963.

62. According to a Louis Harris survey one-third of the Latter-day Saints living in Utah felt this to be the case. See New York Times, April 6, 1972. Along these same lines, at least two writers believe that Latter-day Saints support for black priesthood denial is bolstered by a fear of black-white racial intermixture, see O'Dea, "Strain in Mormon History Reconsidered," 162 and Brewer, "The Mormons," 524.

63. Stewart & Berrett, Mormonism and the Negro and Lund, The Church and the Negro.

64. Stewart & Berrett's book received national notice in an unfavorable review in The Nation, April 6, 1963. Lund's work was critically received in the "liberal" Mormon journal Dialogue, III (Winter, 1968), 97-100.

65. Stewart & Berrett, Mormonism and the Negro, 15, 19.

67 This was in contrast to only 16% of the Utah Saints who felt blacks should be ordained and 14% who were not sure. New York Times, April 16, 1972. It should be stressed that this survey was only made among the Saints living in Utah, and as suggested by the findings of Armand L. Mauss in "Moderation in All Things: Political and Social Outlooks of Modern Urban Mormons," Dialogue, VII (Spring, 1972), 64, Utah Mormons are possibly more conservative with regard to black priesthood ordination than Latter-day Saints living elsewhere.

68 The church does not and will not release any "official" figures as to the actual number of black Latter-day Saints. Two hundred is the total most commonly cited. See Newsweek, March 6, 1967, New York Times, December 27, 28, 1965, November 23, 1969, January 25, 1970. According to Christian Century, May 12, 1971, the number of blacks in the church could be in the "low dozens" while the New York Times, April 6, 1972 estimated that there were two hundred black Mormons in the vicinity of Salt Lake City.

69 One notable exception in this regard was David H. Oliver, A Negro on Mormonism.

70 As quoted by Smith in an article published in Look, October 22, 1963. See, for example, Wynetta Willis Martin, Black Mormon Tells Her Story; Alan Gerald Cherry, It's You and Me Lord: My Experience as a Black Mormon (Provo, Utah, 1970). An attempt was also made to project the same stereotype image back in the historical past. See Kate B. Carter, The Negro Pioneer.

71 Furthermore some "conservatives" even have an answer for those "liberal" critics who attempt to prove their case by showing that Joseph Smith (or even Brigham Young) never utilized the scriptures in the "Book of Moses" and Book of Abraham to uphold black priesthood denial. According to the "conservatives," both Smith and Young placed major doctrinal emphasis on "living oracles" or "spoken" teachings and in contrast placed relatively limited credence on the Standard Works (Bible, Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price). See Robert M. Frame, Letter to the Editor, Dialogue, II (Summer, 1968), 12.


73 One of the most prominent and in some ways controversial expressions of this view can be found in Alvin R. Dyer, "For What Purposes?" a talk given at Missionary Conference, Oslo, Norway, March 18, 1961, as reprinted in Gerald and Sandra Tanner, The Negro in Mormon Theology (Salt Lake City, 1970), 48-58.
APPENDIX A

MEMBERSHIP TOTALS AND THE GEOGRAPHIC-ETHNIC ORIGINS
OF THE LATTER DAY SAINT MOVEMENT 1830-1880

During the period 1830-1880, the Latter-day Saint movement grew from an initial membership of six, at the time of its formal organization on April 6, 1830, to 160,000 by the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. Despite this impressive growth, the Mormons remained a small minority within American society (see TABLE I) and a very minor religious sect in contrast to the major religious denominations (see TABLE II). In addition, the Latter-day Saints constituted a minority even in those areas where they were most active prior to 1846. For example, during the early 1830's those Mormons in Jackson County Missouri constituted 1,200 of the county's total population of 5,500. Following the Mormon migration west after 1846, this situation was reversed. By 1870, for example, 95% of Utah's total population were Latter-day Saints.

The geographic origins of Latter-day Saint Church members also changed during this period. As indicated in this study, Joseph Smith and a significant number of the early church leaders came from the New England-New York area. Likewise, the Mormons drew most of their converts from middle-sized communities in New York and New England during the years 1830-1850, Eastern Pennsylvania, Canada, and those settled areas in Illinois and the Ohio Valley generally were of significant secondary importance. By contrast, the Saints attracted few converts from the large eastern cities despite their vigorous missionary efforts in and near Boston, Philadelphia,
and New York City. In addition, the Saints limited their activities in western "frontier" areas and in the South, drawing only a fraction of their membership from these regions.

The Saints, disillusioned with an American society that had persecuted them, drastically scaled down their activities within this country following the Mormon migration west after 1846. In the words of S. George Ellsworth, the "Mormons practically neglected the United States and Canada," concentrating their missionary efforts abroad. The Saints drew the bulk of their new converts from Great Britain and Scandinavia after 1850. Even before this time, the Mormons had converted an impressive number of Englishmen and encouraged a significant number of them to migrate to Nauvoo. As a result the 4,000 Englishmen who settled there contributed to the growth and ethnic composition of this Mormon center. This early immigrant migration was supplemented by an even larger British migration after 1850. With the influx of additional converts from Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, Mormonism's immigrant bias became even more pronounced during the next 30 years (see TABLES III and IV). Therefore, Utah's Mormon population, according to William Muelder, assumed a "decidedly Anglo-Scandinavian" or "Nordic cast." This increased European immigrant thrust of Mormonism after 1840 was dramatized by the fact that the proportion of foreign-born Latter-day Saints was "consistently ahead" of the United States as a whole from 1840 to 1880. According to various estimates between 9-15% of America's total population was born abroad during these years. At the same time the percentage of foreign-born Latter-day Saints was 20-35%.

This strong immigrant orientation probably influenced the formation
of Latter-day Saint racial attitudes. Like other immigrant groups, migrating to the United States, the Saints found themselves questioned as to their basic cultural and ethnic fitness within American society. As a result, the Saints like other immigrants were anxious to emphasize their basic white ethnocentrism, while "playing-up" the negative racial characteristics of dark-skinned people, especially the black man.
### TABLE I

MEMBERSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS
AS CONTRASTED WITH AMERICAN POPULATION AT LARGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Church&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt; Membership</th>
<th>Total American Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>62&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>12,866,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>17,069,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>23,191,876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>31,443,321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>110,000</td>
<td>39,818,449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>160,000</td>
<td>50,155,783</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup>Source: Deseret News 1975 Church Almanac, "Church Statistics," E2. These totals include those Saints abroad as well as within the United States. Contrast these totals with the membership of various major American religious denominations during this same period (see TABLE II).

<sup>2</sup>Total church membership by September of that year. By the summer of 1831 it has been estimated that between 600-800 had joined the new faith. Ellsworth, "A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada," 86.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>1830</th>
<th>1840</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>3,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>2,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>1,660</td>
<td>3,200</td>
<td>4,400</td>
<td>5,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopalian</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciples of Christ</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE III

**BRITISH MEMBERSHIP AND THE NUMBER OF CHURCH MEMBERS WHO MIGRATED TO THE UNITED STATES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Total Number of Baptisms</th>
<th>Emigration to the United States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1837-39</td>
<td>1,517</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840-49</td>
<td>34,299</td>
<td>5,784²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-59</td>
<td>43,304</td>
<td>12,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860-69</td>
<td>16,112</td>
<td>9,924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-79</td>
<td>6,295</td>
<td>6,913</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Source: Richard L. Evans, *A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain*, Appendix, 244-45.

²P.A.M. Taylor in *Expectations Westward* has estimated that 4,000 British Mormon converts migrated to Nauvoo during the Mormon sojourn there from 1839-46.
### TABLE IV

SCANDINAVIAN MEMBERSHIP AND THE NUMBER OF SAINTS WHO MIGRATED TO THE UNITED STATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Total Number of Baptisms</th>
<th>Emigration to the United States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850-59</td>
<td>9,117</td>
<td>3,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860-69</td>
<td>12,886</td>
<td>8,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-79</td>
<td>9,532</td>
<td>7,021</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX B

A BRIEF ESSAY ON MORMON SOCIAL-ECONOMIC ORIGINS AND THEIR POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP TO LATTER-DAY SAINT RACIAL ATTITUDES

It is not the purpose of this writer in this brief essay to undertake an extensive examination of Mormon social-economic origins during this period. Such a definitive study would merit at least one, if not several volumes the length of this dissertation. Instead, an attempt will be made to briefly evaluate the findings of a number of studies with regard to the social and economic status of those individuals who associated themselves with the Latter-day Saint movement during the period 1830-1880. On the basis of this limited information, I will then attempt to tentatively postulate my own views on this question. I will then briefly suggest how the socio-economic origins of those individuals who embraced Mormonism possibly influenced developing Latter-day Saint attitudes toward race and the black man.

While the geographic-ethnic origins of those individuals who embraced Mormonism can be determined with some degree of precision (as suggested by Appendix A), the same is not true for Mormonism's social-economic origins. Since the founding of the Latter-day Saint movement there have been conflicting views concerning the social economic status of those who joined the True Faith. This conflict started with Joseph Smith himself. Non-Mormons and those negatively disposed toward the Saints maintained that Smith and his family were economically deprived and "marginal" members of society. They suggested that Smith and his
family looked to the writing and publication of the Book of Mormon as a means to improve their socio-economic status. On the other hand, Latter-day Saint spokesmen and sympathizers countered that Smith and his family were of average economic means and were socially acceptable members of their community.¹

This dialogue centering on the social-economic status of the Smith family has been extended over the years into a conflict over the social-economic origins of all those individuals who embraced Mormonism. S. George Ellsworth, a Latter-day Saint and professional historian, in his 1951 study, "A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada 1830-1860," concluded that "in education and occupation the majority of converts were average people of average communities," representing "a fair cross section of American society." Furthermore, he felt that "there was no economic class consciousness in the (Latter-day Saint) movement."² In another study, considering the social and geographical origins of early Mormon converts between 1830 and 1845, Laurence M. Yorgason agreed with Ellsworth. According to Yorgason, also a Latter-day Saint, "Mormonism had its roots in the average and unobtrusive segments of society."³ Generally, concluded Yorgason, "the wealthy did not flock to Mormonism's message, neither did the very poor nor the transients of society."⁴ Mario De Pillis, a non-Mormon scholar, interested in the social-economic origins of Latter-day Saint converts subscribed to a somewhat different view. "All early Mormon converts," explained De Pillis, "came from the lower but not the lowest classes, whether rural or urban in their origins."⁵ Concentrating his study on those converts in the United States who joined the church during Mormonism's formative years,
De Pillis found that "prospective converts almost always lived under unstable local social, economic, or religious conditions, usually in a newly settled, value disoriented society."\(^6\) Expanding his analysis to those areas outside of the United States, De Pillis concluded that abroad in England, Wales and Scandinavia "a socially disoriented, evangelical population" was "quite ready to hear the new gospel."\(^7\)

The specialized studies of P.A.M. Taylor and William Mulder, which deal with the growth of Mormonism in Great Britain and Scandinavia, agree in certain respects with the "average" social origin interpretation of Ellsworth and Yorgason, as well as with parts of the "poorer-social dislocation" hypothesis of De Pillis.\(^8\) According to Taylor, the Latter-day Saints scored their greatest success in Great Britain during a time of "great" social and "economic turbulence."\(^9\) The majority of the British converts who first migrated to Mormonism's gathering place during the 1840's and early 1850's were "relatively prosperous" i.e. "the middle-class element and the more substantial working-class converts." But after the mid-1850's, when the church started to provide financial aid to emigrating converts, a larger portion of "poorer" immigrants found their way to Utah.\(^10\) Although William Mulder in his study of Scandinavian Saints did not attempt a systematic analysis of Mormon social-economic origins, he found that the majority of those Saints emigrating to America during the 1850's were "small farmers . . . freeholders, tenants, or simple journeyman hands."\(^11\) By the 1860's the number of farmers decreased as an increasing number of laborers, plus "artisans, who outnumbered . . . unskilled laborers" migrated.\(^12\) According to Mulder, these converts came from those areas in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, where economic
and social dissatisfaction was prevalent. Mulder has quoted various contemporary observers both within and outside of the church who remark about the appeal of Mormonism "among the poor and most downtrodden classes of mankind." Mulder has concluded that

It was precisely the poor and humble the Mormons were after. Poverty and ignorance were ills for which America itself was the remedy, an assurance that was one of Mormonism's enthusiasms.

If all of these works are taken collectively it appears that Mormonism appealed mainly to those individuals from middle-class and lower-middle class social origins, and held very little attraction for the upper elements of American or European society. If the findings of De Pillis, Taylor, and Mulder are to be believed, it seems that Mormonism attracted converts during turbulent times and in those regions experiencing "social upheaval" or dislocation. Finally, all of these works taken collectively unmistakably show that during the fifty year period from 1830-1880, the main source of new Mormon converts shifted from an American rural, small town environment to an European urban setting. Finally, it appears that those Europeans who embraced Mormonism and emigrated to the United States during the period 1855-1880 came from a lower social-economic segment of the population than those who had migrated earlier.

It is difficult to determine the precise relationship between Mormonism's social-economic origins and developing Latter-day Saint racial attitudes and practices particularly as they affected the black man. But perhaps some tentative conclusions can be drawn, subject to further investigation. At least one writer has suggested, without any specific reference to Mormons, that "white people in the lower socio-economic levels are, on the average, more bitterly anti-Negro than white people
at the higher levels."¹⁷ In addition, it appears that individuals "en-
gaged in farming, or an unskilled occupation," living "on a farm or in
a small town" and "fundamentalist" in their religious convictions tend
to be the most anti-black.¹⁸ Social scientists also suggest that people
whose social position changes tend to "conform" to the norms and preju-
dices of the group or society of which they have just joined.¹⁹ Thus
it is possible that the ever increasing number of Europeans who joined
the church and migrated to America accepted without question, and often
with enthusiasm, Mormon theories and practices already established (in-
cluding those adversely affecting the black man), as well as the corres-
ponding values of the larger American society. Finally, it has been
suggested that "downward mobile individuals" or groups exhibit a "greater"
degree of ethnic "prejudice" than those moving up or remaining stagnant.²⁰
Mormonism, in certain respects, apparently experienced "downward mobility:"
This was the case after 1855 as the church incorporated an ever increas-
ing number of "lower class" Europeans into their midst. Also the aggre-
gate number of individuals who joined the church and migrated to Utah
decreed in the period after 1860. This represented a decline in quantity
concerning with the decline in "quality." In addition, the church
itself suffered from the effects of increased Federal anti-polygamy pressures
after the Civil War. Such actions ultimately led to the disestablish-
ment of the church as an organization, and the imprisonment or exile of
church leaders until polygamy was officially abandoned by the Manifesto
of 1890. Thus, it is not so surprising that the Saints exhibited stronger
anti-black attitudes and a greater degree of "prejudice" against non-
whites in general during these years of social, economic, and political
adversity.

2 S. George Ellsworth, "A History of Mormon Missions in the United States and Canada 1830-1860."


4 Yorgason, "Preview on a Study of the Social and Geographic Origins of Early Mormon Converts, 1830-1845," 282. It is interesting to note that Yorgason in his thesis, "Some Demographic Aspects," 86, has concluded that Mormon leaders "were neither more educated, wealthy, nor influential in their communities than other converts."

5 Mario S. De Pillis, "The Social Sources of Mormonism," Church History, XXXVII (May 1968), 77. According to De Pillis, 72, "Mormonism appealed to the same middle and lower classes ie., "smaller non-commercial farmers who had suffered dislocation and discontent" that had joined the Hicksite sect of Quakerism which had arisen by 1827.

6 De Pillis, 76.

7 Ibid., 78-9.

8 P.A.M. Taylor, Expectations Westward, and William Mulder, Homeward to Zion.

9 Taylor, 33. Also in contrast to the agrarian thrust of Mormon missionary activities in the United States, the Saints scored their greatest British successes in urban areas.

10 Taylor, 158. In his study, Taylor, 151, attempts to graph the decline in the "middle-class element" which emigrated from Great Britain to the United States during these later years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Percentage in &quot;Middle-Class&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840-49</td>
<td>22.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-59</td>
<td>12.96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860-69</td>
<td>8.39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. Ibid., 111.

13. Ibid., 102.


15. Ibid., 121.

16. However, there was one notable exception to this shifting European focus of Mormon missionary activity during this period. The Saints, as noted in chapter IX, became increasingly involved in the American South after 1865.


18. Harold M. Hodges, Jr., Social Stratification: Class in America (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964), 211; Allport, 80. According to both of these men such individuals were also more likely to "have completed less formal schooling."


20. Ibid., 71. At the same time, however, Lipst and Bendix are careful to qualify this observation.
APPENDIX C

LISTS OF SLAVES AND FREE BLACKS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MORMONS FROM 1830-65

In the following tables an attempt has been made to determine the number and names of those slaves and free blacks who came into contact with or were associated with the Latter-day Saints during the years 1830-1865. Table I indicates that the Saints, despite their orientation as a northern-based religion, attracted a number of southern slaveholders, particularly during the 1840's. In addition, it appears that a number of influential Latter-day Saints, including Joseph Smith, along with two Mormon apostles—Charles C. Rich and Heber C. Kimball, utilized the services of black slaves or servants. Moreover, William H. Hooper, Utah's Territorial Delegate to Congress purchased a black slave in 1859, during the time he was representing the Saints. Table II suggests that the number of blacks living in the Mormon community of Nauvoo was relatively small—20 out of a total population of 20,000. However, as suggested by Table III, at least four and possibly as many as eleven of these 20 blacks were "intimately acquainted with," or were "servants of" and lived in the home of Joseph Smith. According to Table IV a relatively large number of slaves and free blacks were brought or migrated to the Great Basin during the first four years of the Mormon settlement in this region. After 1850, according to available information, the number of slaves and free blacks migrating to Utah dropped off sharply. It is interesting to note that the black-Utah migration "peaked" in 1848. The arrival in October 1848 of the Mississippi Company with 34 blacks and the Willard
Richards' Division containing 24 blacks apparently represented the largest single influx of blacks into the territory. This migration, moreover, came just four months before the first known Mormon pronouncement upholding priesthood denial for the black man in February 1849. It is also interesting to compare the totals for 1850 in Table IV with the official U.S. Government Census totals for 1850 as contained in Table V. It is obvious that the Utah Saints gave the U.S. Census takers a "low count," for the reasons discussed in Chapter V. Apparently the Saints also tried to "cover up" the actual existence of any black slavery in the territory by reporting that the 26 black slaves counted were "on their way to California." As indicated by Table VI, it does appear that 26 black slaves were included in the Amasa Lyman-Charles Rich expedition which arrived in San Bernardino in 1851. But as Table IV clearly shows only a third of the black slaves in Utah were in this California-bound Mormon group. Table VII derived from the 1852 census figures for Los Angeles County indicates only 20 blacks in the Mormon colony of San Bernardino. In only six instances, moreover, do the names in Table VI correspond with those in Table VII. Perhaps, if the names of the anonymous 16 blacks belonging to Charles C. Rich, William McKnown and Robert M. Smith in Table VI were available there would be a greater degree of correlation. Table VIII indicates that Brigham Young, like his predecessor Joseph Smith, was "closely associated" with a number of blacks including, in the case of Jane James and her family, the same blacks affiliated with the Mormon Prophet.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of L.D.S. Slaveholder</th>
<th>Years Slaves Held</th>
<th>Migrate to Utah</th>
<th>Number of Slaves Held</th>
<th>State of Pre-Mormon Origins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unnamed So. Convert</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Vermont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Smith</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Whitmer</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Yes, 1850</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tenn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John H. Redd</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Alabama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Turnbow</td>
<td>1844-</td>
<td>Yes, 1848</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mississippi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James M. Flake</td>
<td>1844-</td>
<td>Yes, 1848</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agnes L. Flake</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Yes, 1848</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Crosby</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Yes, 1848</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John H. and George</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Yes, 1848</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William H. Lay</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Yes, 1848</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Brown</td>
<td>1840's-</td>
<td>Yes, 1848</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph L. Robinson</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Yes, 1847</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>So. Carolina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Mathews</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Yes, 1847</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles C. Rich</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Yes, 1848</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Vermont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heber C. Kimball</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Yes, 1848</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert M. Smith</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Yes, 1848</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mississippi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth C. Crosby</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Yes, 1848</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis McKown</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Yes, 1848</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>So. Carolina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas B. Graham</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Yes, 1848</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Maryland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William H. Hooper</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Lee Bland Ewell</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Yes, 1850</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tennessee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas L. Greer</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Jolley</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>Yes, 1850</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>North Carolina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Taylor Dennis</td>
<td>1836-65</td>
<td>Yes, 1855</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tennessee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is not clear whether Smith was actually a slaveholder or merely employed a black man to do work for him.

David Whitmer apparently did not own any black slaves until after 1838 and his departure from the Manti-day Saint movement.

Agnes L. Flake was the wife of James L. Flake.

Because of the limited information available it is difficult to "separate" and determine precisely how many slaves were held by each of these two brothers.

Robert M. Smith's exact southern pre-Mormon origins are difficult to determine. The mystery concerning Smith's background is further complicated by the fact that in some sources he is referred to as "William Smith." See Carter, 3; Beller, 124.

Three of Hooper's four slaves were held prior to joining the church. The fourth was acquired in 1859.

This is an approximate total compiled from Carter, 41.

Greer was given two slaves by his father-in-law Williams Washington Camp in 1855. The following year, Greer and his wife were sent on a Mormon mission to Texas, taking their black slaves with them. They remained there for the next 20 years.
**TABLE II**

**NAMES OF THOSE BLACKS WHO LIVED INNAVOO, ILLINOIS**

**DURING THE MORMON SOJOURN, 1839-1846**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Black</th>
<th>Years in Nauvoo</th>
<th>Migrate West?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elijah Abel</td>
<td>1840-1846</td>
<td>Yes, 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane Manning James</td>
<td>1840's-1846</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherman James</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylvester James</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes, 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vilate James</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lute James</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellen (Helen) James</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marian James</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesse James</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Manning</td>
<td>1844-1846</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liz Flake Rowan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes, 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Flake</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes, 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chism</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venus Redd</td>
<td>1840-1846</td>
<td>Yes, 1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke Redd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaney Redd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amy Redd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marinda Redd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sammy Jolley</td>
<td>1842-1846</td>
<td>Yes, 1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William McCary</td>
<td>1846</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE III

**Names of Those Blacks Who Were "Closely Associated" With Joseph Smith During His Lifetime**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Black</th>
<th>Relationship to Joseph Smith</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Smith’s &quot;negro&quot;</td>
<td>Servant or slave&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elijah Abel</td>
<td>&quot;Intimately acquainted&quot; and &quot;lived in Smith’s &quot;home&quot;</td>
<td>1839-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane Manning James&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>&quot;Servant&quot; of and lived in home of Smith</td>
<td>e.1840's-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Manning</td>
<td>&quot;Servant&quot; or cook for Smith’s family</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Flake</td>
<td>&quot;Lived with&quot; Smith family for a number of years</td>
<td>1840's</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup>It is not clear whether this "negro" was actually "owned" by Smith or was merely employed by the Mormon leader.

<sup>2</sup>It is not clear whether Jane James' husband and family also lived in the Smith home. If this was the case then seven additional blacks lived with the Smith family.
TABLE IV

NUMBER OF BLACKS (BOTH SLAVE AND FREE) WHO APPARENTLY MIGRATED TO UTAH DURING THE PERIOD 1847-1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Total Blacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>59-68</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>59-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals by 1850</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 As compiled from Kate B. Carter, *The Story of the Negro Pioneer* (Salt Lake City, 1965) and Jack Beller, "Negro Slaves in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, II (October 1929), 123-26.

2 There is confusion as to the precise number of blacks (both slave and free) migrating to Utah in 1848. While the names of and status of the 34 blacks migrating with the Mississippi Company (which arrived in Utah in October 1848), are relatively easy to determine, the identity and status of the 24 blacks attached to the third division which arrived in Utah that same month under the leadership of Willard Richards is not given in any of the accounts which I examined. However, Carter, 18-19, 27-30, 32-35 outlines the stories of a number of blacks who migrated during 1848 and might or might not have been part of the Willard Richards contingent. Hence the imprecise figures.

3 Compare these totals with the official U.S. Census totals for 1850 as indicated in TABLE V.
TABLE V

NUMBER OF BLACKS (BOTH SLAVE AND FREE) IN UTAH ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL
U.S. CENSUS FIGURES¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Slave</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>26²</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹As indicated in the following:
U.S., Bureau of the Census, The Seventh Census of the United States:
1850 (Washington, D.C., 1853), 993.
U.S., Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States Taken in
the Year 1860 (Washington, D.C., 1860-66), 135.

²In the Statistical View of the U.S. and Compendium of the Seventh
Census 1850, 83, the 26 slaves were "reported on their way to California."
See TABLE VI.
TABLE VI

NAMES OF THOSE BLACK SLAVES WHO WERE TAKEN TO SAN BERNARDINO
WITH THE AMASA LYMAN AND CHARLES C. RICH EXPEDITION OF 1851

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Black Slave</th>
<th>Master</th>
<th>Year Arrived in Utah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hark Lay</td>
<td>William Lay</td>
<td>July 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oscar Crosby</td>
<td>William Crosby</td>
<td>July 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 unnamed black slaves</td>
<td>Charles C. Rich</td>
<td>October 1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toby Thomas</td>
<td>Daniel M. Thomas</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle Phil</td>
<td>William Mathews</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liz Flake Rowan</td>
<td>Agnes L. Flake</td>
<td>October 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grief Crosby</td>
<td>William Crosby</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 unnamed black slaves</td>
<td>William McKown</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knelt Lay</td>
<td>William Lay</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henderson Lay</td>
<td>William Lay</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannah Smith</td>
<td>Robert M. Smith</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence Smith</td>
<td>Robert M. Smith</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 other black slaves</td>
<td>Robert M. Smith</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1The names of slaves and their masters compiled from information in Carter, The Story of the Negro Pioneer and Beller, "Negro Slaves in Utah."

2According to both Carter and Beller, a "William L. Lay" is listed as a slaveholder, with slaves "Hannah" and "Lawrence." But from a careful examination of these materials it appears that "William" and "Robert M. Smith" were one in the same person.
TABLE VII

NAMES AND AGES OF THOSE BLACKS IN SAN BERNARDINO ACCORDING TO THE 1852 CENSUS OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Black (^2)</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hannah (^3)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toby (^3)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence (^3)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cato</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toby</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellen</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biddy</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harriet</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grief (^3)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harriet</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dick</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hark (^3)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillip</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one child</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one child</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one child</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) As reprinted from Carter, *The Story of the Negro Pioneer*, 33. No last names are given or any indication of their previous status (slave or free) prior to their arrival in California.

\(^2\) Compare the names and number of blacks in this table with those in TABLE VI.

\(^3\) Those blacks who correspond with the names on TABLE VI.
### TABLE VIII

**NAMES OF THOSE BLACKS WHO WERE "CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH BRIGHAM YOUNG**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Black</th>
<th>Relationship to Brigham Young</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jane Manning James</td>
<td>Personal servant of Brigham Young. Arrived as member of Young's household.</td>
<td>1847-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylvester James</td>
<td>Member of Young's &quot;household.</td>
<td>1847-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vilate James</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lute James</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellen (Helen) James</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marian James</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesse James</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hark Lay</td>
<td>&quot;Associated&quot; with Brigham Young</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Graham</td>
<td>Coachman for Young</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Colbourn</td>
<td>Employed by Young</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

This essay is selective rather than exhaustive; it calls attention only to those works that were the most useful in this study.

I. General Secondary Works on Mormonism

In order to understand the complete Mormon implications of Latter-day Saint attitudes toward slavery, race, and the black man, a number of works concerned with the broad sweep as well as particular facets of Mormon history must be examined. The best one volume overview of the Saints is Thomas F. O'Dea The Mormons (Chicago, 1957). A longer general history of the Saints is Brigham H. Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (6 vols.; Salt Lake City, 1930). This work despite its narrow partisan pro-Mormon thrust does provide detailed descriptions of essential Mormon trends. It should, however, be supplemented with a number of other studies concerned with specified aspects of Mormonism. These include: Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom (Cambridge, 1958), Kimball Young, Isn't One Wife Enough? (New York, 1954), Klaus J. Hanson, Quest for Empire (East Lansing, Michigan, 1967), P.A.M. Taylor, Expectations Westward (Ithaca, New York, 1966), William Mulder, Homeward to Zion (Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1957), Robert Bruce Flanders, Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi (Urbana, Ill. 1965), Norman F. Furniss, The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859 (New Haven, 1960) and Gustive O. Larson, The Americanization of Utah for Statehood (San Marino, Ca., 1971). The best biography on

II. Secondary Works on the Mormon-Black Issue

The Mormon-black question has been examined from a historical vantage point by a number of writers as discussed in the Epilogue of this dissertation. Lester E. Bush, Jr. "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," *Dialogue*, VIII, (Spring 1973), 11-68 is by far the most scholarly attempt to discuss the Mormon-black issue. Also see the comments on Bush's essay by Gordon C. Thomasson, Hugh Nibley, and Eugene England in this same issue of *Dialogue*. Stephen G. Taggart in *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins* (Salt Lake City, 1970) made a superficial and unconvincing attempt to find the origins of Mormonism's anti-black practices in the Mormon-Missouri conflicts of 1833-39. This theory was effectively demolished by Lester Bush in his "A Commentary on Stephen G. Taggart's Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins," *Dialogue* IV, (Winter 1969), 86-103, Dennis L. Lythgoe was also less than convincing in his efforts to link the development of Mormon anti-black attitudes to slavery among the Saints. See his "Negro Slavery in Utah" *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX, (Winter 1971) 40-54, and "Negro Slavery and Mormon Doctrine," *Western Humanities Review*, XXI, (1957), 327-38. Also see Jan Shipps "Second Class Saints" *Colorado Quarterly*, XI, (1962-63), 183-88, and Fawn M. Brodie, "Can We Manipulate the Past?", *First Annual*

III. General Works on Race and Slavery in the Larger Non-Mormon Environment During the Nineteenth Century

The development of Mormon attitudes toward slavery and the black man did not take place in a geographic-social vacuum. The Saints in many ways mirrored and were influenced by the racial practices and attitudes of their non-Mormon environment. Winthrop Jordan's White Over Black (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1968) and George M. Fredrickson's, The Black Image in the Black Mind (New York, 1971) are the standard works concerned with the general development of white attitudes toward the black man in the United States. As a northern-based group moving westward, the Saints were not unique in their anti-black attitudes and practices. See: Leon Litwack, North of Slavery (Chicago, 1961) and Eugene Berwanger, The Frontier
Against Slavery (Urbana, Illinois, 1967). Also see Pierre L. van
den Berghe, Race and Racism (New York, 1967), Christine Bolt,
Victorian Attitudes to Race (Toronto, 1971), David Brion Davis, The
Problem of Slavery in Western Civilization (Ithaca, New York, 1966),
Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America (Dallas,
Texas, 1963), Marvin Harris, The Rise of Anthropological Theory
(New York, 1968), and William Stanton, The Leopard's Spots:
Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America, 1815-59 (Chicago, 1960).

Mormon attitudes and practices toward slavery and the black man
can also be better understood by looking at the racial practices and
theories of non-Mormon religious groups in both the North and South.
See: H. Shelton Smith, In His Image But...Racism in Southern
Religion, 1780-1910 (Durham, North Carolina, 1972), Donald G. Mathews,
Slavery and Methodism (Princeton, New Jersey, 1965), Mason Crum
The Negro in the Methodist Church (New York, 1951), Mary B. Putnam,
The Baptists and Slavery 1840-1845 (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1913),
Thomas E. Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America (New Haven, Conn.,
1950), Madeleine Hook Rice, American Catholic Opinion in the Slavery
Controversy (New York, 1944), Irving Stoddard Kull, "Presbyterian
Attitudes Toward Slavery" Church History, VII, 101-114.

IV. Mormon Scriptures

Any careful examination of Mormon attitudes toward slavery and
the black man must start with a thorough reading of Latter-day Saint
scriptural writings. The Latter-day Saints have in the past and
continue to accept Joseph Smith's writings—the Book of Mormon,
Doctrine and Covenants and the Pearl of Great Price as holy scripture,
on a par with the Bible. Although the *Book of Mormon* published and
canonized in 1830 was not directly concerned with the black man, it
does provide some important insights into initial Latter-day Saint
thinking on the questions of race and slavery. The *Doctrines and
Covenants* first published and canonized in 1835 and enlarged in
later versions, contains revelations touching on these same issues.
More significant is the *Pearl of Great Price* containing the Books
of Moses and Abraham written in the 1830's and early 1840's.
Although this work was not published in book form until 1851 and
not canonized until 1880, it had a significant impact on the develop-
ment of Mormon attitudes and practices toward the black man starting
in the 1830's. Joseph Smith's *Holy Scriptures* or revision of the
King James version of the Bible written in the early 1830's, was of
some influence in the formation of Mormon racial attitudes. This
was the case even though this work was never published or canonized
by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

V. Latter-day Saint Newspapers and Serial Publications

While the reading of Mormon scriptural writings can provide
certain basic insights into the origins of Mormon attitudes toward
race and the black man, it is necessary to examine various Mormon
newspapers and periodicals in order to gain a fuller understanding
of the continuing evolution of such attitudes. There were two basic
types of periodicals, those "officially" published by the church
itself and less official newspapers issued by various individuals
associated with the Mormons. The "official" periodicals include the
*Evening and Morning Star*, published initially at Independence, Missouri
and later Kirtland, Ohio from June 1832 through September 1834; the *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate* published at Kirtland from October 1834 through September 1837; the *Elders Journal* issued initially at Kirtland and then at Far West, Missouri from October 1937 through August 1838, the *Times and Seasons* edited at Nauvoo, Illinois from November 1839 through February 1846, the *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star* which began publication at Liverpool, England in May 1840 and the *Deseret News* issued from Salt Lake City since June 15, 1850. A number of less "official" periodicals also provide valuable information relative to developing Mormon racial attitudes. These include the *Northern Times* (Kirtland, Ohio, 1835-36), the *Wasp* (Nauvoo, Illinois, April 16, 1842-April 19, 1843), the *Nauvoo Neighbor* (May 3, 1843-October 29, 1845), the *Prophet* (New York City, May 18, 1844-May 10, 1845), the *New York Messenger* (July 5, 1845-November 15, 1845), the *Frontier Guardian* (Kanesville, Iowa, February 7, 1849-January 23, 1852), the *Seer* (Washington, D. C. January 1853-August 1854), the *St. Louis Luminary* (November 22, 1854-December 15, 1855), the *Mormon* (New York, February 17, 1855-September 12, 1857), the *Western Standard* (San Francisco, February 23, 1856-November 6, 1857), the *Mountaineer* (Salt Lake City, August 27, 1859-July 6, 1861), the *Daily Telegraph* (Salt Lake City, July 4, 1864-February 8, 1865) and the *Juvenile Instructor* (Salt Lake City, January 1, 1866-). The *Journal of Discourses* (26 vols.; Liverpool, 1854-1886) containing the sermons of various church leaders is also an indispensable source for tracing the development of Mormon racial theories and attitudes.
VI. Mormon Tracts and Pamphlets

A number of church spokesmen also revealed their attitudes toward slavery and the black man in various Mormon tracts and pamphlets. Apostle Parley P. Pratt, one of the most prolific of the early church pamphleteers, broached the questions of race and slavery in a number of places. See: A Voice of Warning and Instruction to All People (New York, 1837), The Millennium and Other Poems (New York, 1839), Late Persecutions of the Church of Latter-day Saints (New York, 1840), and his Key to the Science of Theology (Liverpool, 1855). Other Mormon pamphleteers were also concerned with race and slavery. See: Orson Hyde, Speech...Delivered Before the High Priests Quorum in Nauvoo, April 27, 1845 (Liverpool, 1845), John Taylor, The Government of God (Liverpool, 1852), Orson Spencer, Patriarchal Order, or Plurality of Wives (Liverpool, 1853), Lorenzo Snow, The Voice of Joseph (Liverpool, 1857), and Jedediah M. Grant, Three Letters to the New York Herald (N.P., 1852).

VII. Published Diaries, Journals, Letters, Memoirs, and Source Collections

Basic to any research on developing Mormon attitudes toward slavery and the black man is Joseph Smith's journal, published as the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts (6 vols., 2d ed.; Salt Lake City, 1950). This is supplemented by a seventh volume, covering the period from Smith's death in 1844 to the Mormon migration west in 1847, taken from the Manuscript History of Brigham Young and other documents (Salt Lake City, 1956).

XIII. Manuscripts

The most important collection of Mormon material is located in the Church Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City. Until just recently access to the vast number of diaries, journals, letters, etc., contained in this depository was very limited. However, the Church in the last few years has eased its restrictive policies and scholars and other individuals involved in "serious" historical research are allowed to use these materials. Fortunately, I was able to examine a large number of items during my stay in Salt Lake City in the Summer of 1971. Because of this success, this study has the added depth and
dimension that it would have otherwise lacked. The Journal History of the Church, a day-by-day compilation of material from diaries, journals, letter-, and newspapers contained a great deal of useful information. I also had the opportunity to gain some vital information from the journals, diaries, and correspondence of a number of important churchmen. The papers of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, John Taylor, Parley and Orson Pratt, George A. Smith, Willard Richards, John M. Bernhisel, and Thomas Kane were particularly useful in providing additional insights into developing Mormon racial attitudes.

IX. Contemporary Accounts by Non-Mormons

The examination of a number of non-Mormon newspapers and books helped to put my examination of Mormon racial attitudes in an even broader perspective, and bring to light hitherto overlooked information. Such materials must be used with care, however, since non-Mormon observers were sometimes hostile and prone to distort or exaggerate the truth. I used two collections of non-Mormon newspaper clippings. The first was a collection of non-Mormon newspaper clippings in the Latter-day Saints Church Historical Department. The second was a microfilm copy of "The Mormons and the Far West: Transcripts from American Newspapers," as compiled by Dale L. Morgan, This was in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. I also found a great deal of useful information in the Congressional Globe, particularly for the years 1848-50, when the status of Utah and the Mormons was debated within the context of slavery, sectionalism and the compromise of 1850. Also of value

I. Non-Utah or Schismatic Mormon Materials

Finally, any examination of developing Mormon attitudes toward slavery, race and the black man has to be considered within the context of Mormonism as a whole. From its beginnings the Latter-day Saints have been plagued with numerous divisions. Such factionalism which became especially acute following the death of Joseph Smith influenced the development of Mormon racial attitudes. Among the Schismatic Mormon newspapers examined to gain a better understanding of this development were: *The Latter Day Saint's Messenger and Advocate* (Pittsburgh, October 1844-September 1846) published by Sydney Rigdon, *The Voree Herald* (Voree, Wisconsin, February 1846-October 1846), *Zion's Revelle* (Voree, November 1846-September 2, 1847), *Gospel Herald* (September 23, 1847-March 9, 1849), and the
Northern Islander (Saint James, Beaver Island, Michigan, December 12, 1850–June 19, 1856) all published by the followers of James J. Strang. Also The True Latter Day Saints' Herald (Cincinnati, Ohio, January 1860–) the official publication of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints also enabled me to place the development of Latter-day Saint racial attitudes in the broader perspective of Mormonism as it existed at that time.