

# “Lamanites” and the Spirit of the Lord

*Eugene England*

## EDITORS' NOTE:

*This issue of DIALOGUE, which was funded by Dora Hartvigsen England and Eugene England Sr., and their children and guest-edited by David J. Whittaker, has been planned as an effort to increase understanding of the history of Mormon responses to the “Lamanites” — native peoples of the Americas and Polynesia. We have invited Eugene England, Jr., professor of English at BYU, to document his parents’ efforts, over a period of forty years, to respond to what he names “the spirit of Lehi” — a focused interest in and effort to help those who are called Lamanites. His essay also reviews the sources and proper present use of that term (too often used with misunderstanding and offense) and the origins and prophesied future of those to whom it has been applied.*



My parents grew up conditioned toward racial prejudice — as did most Americans, including Mormons, through their generation and into part of mine. But something touched my father in his early life and grew constantly in him until he and my mother were moved at mid-life gradually to consecrate most of their life’s earnings from then on to help Lamanites.

I wish to call what touched them “the spirit of Lehi.” It came in its earliest, somewhat vague, form to my father when he left home as a seventeen-year-old, took a job as an apprentice Union Pacific coach painter in Pocatello, Idaho, and — because he was still a farmboy in habits and woke up each morning at five — read the Book of Mormon and *The Discourses of Brigham Young* in his lonely boarding room. He has told me of becoming aware of the dramatic promises to the Lamanites made throughout the Book of Mormon and reinforced by Brigham Young — how the gentiles would become nursing fathers and mothers to them, carrying their children in their arms (1 Ne. 21:23, 22:6), and how they would play a crucial, even dominant role in the latter-day preparations for Christ (3 Ne. 20:14–16, 21:23). He was moved to a sense of responsibility and moral seriousness connected to the American Indians and to a conviction that the millennium would not come until those promises had been fulfilled.

When he was coming out of the ether from an appendicitis operation there in Pocatello, just after turning eighteen, he had a vision of the Savior, glorified, all in white, clearly recognizable. He was given assurance that he was accepted despite his youthful sins and would be blessed in serving the Lord. He returned home to complete high school as a twenty-two-year-old and then worked a few years to save money for training as an airline pilot. He decided to go on a mission instead. Then he had the same vision again; but this time, Christ was holding by the hand Dora Hartvigsen, whom my father had begun courting, and presented her silently to him.

My father remembers the clear impression from those visions that his fate was tied irrevocably to my mother's and both of theirs to that of the Lamanites. And that impression continued to haunt them through their struggling early married life, during the worst of the Great Depression, as students at Utah State in Logan, where I was born, and then while they began farming in Downey, Idaho, where my sister Ann was born. But their feelings were still unfocused until the spring of 1944, when a new apostle named Spencer W. Kimball spoke at their stake conference about his work as the first general Church leader assigned to the Lamanites and about the Book of Mormon promises. The conference was held in the Downey Ward, where my father was in the bishopric. He and my mother attended the luncheon served at a large table in the Relief Society room after the morning session and happened to be seated next to Elder Kimball. Mother remembers distinctly the spiritual force, unusual in her experience, radiating from the apostle as he continued to talk of the Lamanites.

I think that was the spirit of Lehi. I have felt clearly, many times, the related spirit which has been named the spirit of Elijah. It is what moved me to unexpected diligence and resourcefulness when I was called as a new graduate student to be genealogy chairman in the Stanford Ward, and it touched me with extraordinary energy and insight when I later searched for my own ancestors in Somerset, England. I have had a distinct sense of the gratitude of other-worldly beings, even their presence, as I have done temple work for the dead. And what I have felt in those experiences — brimming spiritual reality but also a hard sense of responsibility, even of promises made long ago that *must be kept* — is much like what my parents say they felt as they listened to Elder Kimball and then talked on the way home that afternoon about what they must do.

On the one hand, they were in debt \$40,000 to purchase the farm and were barely surviving. They had been paying their tithing and serving faithfully in the Church — wasn't that enough? On the other hand, they had continued to read the scriptures together and knew that the promises to the Lamanites were not being fulfilled: they had not yet begun to "blossom as the rose" (D&C 49:24), and no one but Elder Kimball seemed to be doing much about it. My parents talked together of their temple promises to consecrate *all* they had and were to the work of Christ. Finally they decided to write a letter offering to budget \$50 a month to help support the Lamanite missionaries Elder Kimball

had said were now becoming available. He was away on an extended assignment but answered after five weeks, writing, as they remember, "I know personally two young Mexicans who could go on missions, serve as branch and district leaders, and return to make the work in Mexico begin to grow. Now Brother and Sister England, thank you for your offer, but if you could send *eighty* dollars a month we could send them *both*." My father reports, "Well, we stretched — but then Spencer Kimball has always stretched us."

As they stretched further in the next few years, my parents gradually began consciously living the covenant laws of sacrifice and consecration — which they understood to mean using all surpluses to serve the Lord. They bear steady witness of the resulting blessings — both a spirit of peace and confirmation they are doing right and an "opening of the windows of heaven" to provide increasing resources by which to expand their consecration. Good crops and prices allowed them to pay off the farm in three years. They increased the number of Lamanite missionaries they supported and gave management of the funds to the First Quorum of Seventy. Meanwhile, still in their early forties, though continuing to farm during the summer, they moved to Salt Lake City and began to make investments there.

In 1954 they were called to preside over the North Central States Mission, which set back their investment programs but multiplied their spiritual strengths and confidence: Dad says, "There I was, a sagebrush-grubbing homesteader from Bannock Valley, Idaho, debating with Lutheran ministers and teaching leadership to the likes of Clyde Parker and Russell Nelson." Mom received the gift of speaking in public by the Spirit and was given, at times of great need, immediate, complete healings by the priesthood. Her undramatic but deeply felt testimonies of these events have greatly blessed us and our children, as well as many others. After their mission, my parents founded a non-profit foundation to expedite tax-free transfer of their surpluses to the Church. Starting in the early sixties, Elder Kimball occasionally asked them to help with some educational needs for Lamanites (travel for students from Bolivia to Utah State and from Polynesia to the Church College of Hawaii and a scholarship to the Harvard Law School for an American Indian) and sometimes to expand their missionary help, when there were no Lamanites immediately ready, to others (they sent the first Asian Indian missionary from Fiji and the first native Chinese missionary).

My folks served from 1963 to 1966 as president and matron of the London Temple, and when they returned Dad was asked to serve as a host at the visitors center on Temple Square. One day his associate, Bill Bradshaw, told him about a Sister Arlene Crawley, a Primary teacher from Kaysville, who had felt inspired while teaching her class about the Book of Mormon to have them each buy a copy and put their picture and testimony in it so she could take them to be given to visitors at Temple Square. Bill told how he had given one copy to a Dutch family with a daughter the age of one of the Primary children; he had asked the Dutch girl to become a pen pal with the donor of the book and then asked the parents to receive missionaries to explain something about

the book their daughter was reading. Then he had written the mission president in Holland to follow up, the family had joined the Church, and the Kaysville girl was saving her money for a mission to Holland.

My father, moved again I believe by the spirit of Lehi, agreed with Bill that such a program could have enormous power — every member could indeed become a missionary, by sending copies of the Book of Mormon, that testament of Christ written to the Lamanites. The enclosed pictures, testimonies, and envelopes for a return letter would establish a personal connection and follow-through. With Bill's support, Dad took the lead in seeing if this procedure could be established as an official Church program. Temporarily, my parents and other donors supplied hundreds of copies of the Book of Mormon for mission presidents who requested them. Armed with statistics, success stories, and a large poster Sister Crawley had made with President McKay's picture and those of her thirteen students, inscribed "‘Every Member a Missionary’ By Sending a Book of Mormon on a Mission," Dad worked through the First Quorum of Seventy, the missionary committee, and the First Presidency until the program was fully accepted. It was managed for some time by Brother Bradshaw and as of late 1984 is directed by two missionary couples, Helen and Ray Barton and Audrey and Virgil Peterson, who report they handle about 15,000 gift copies each month, provided by members from all over the Church. A sample letter they received lately from a missionary in Chile reported thirty-six baptisms from seventeen of these personalized gift copies.

In 1968 the government began to tax charitable foundations, so my folks dissolved theirs and set up an investment partnership with my sister, Ann England Barker, me, and our children, to be used to develop properties and then give them directly to the Church to support Lamanite and other missionary work as needed. This cooperative method has provided my parents with a way to teach their descendants, through direct participation, the meaning of full consecration.

I have been pleased (and, I admit, a bit surprised) at how effective my parents' example has been in teaching their grandchildren to be personally committed to the covenants of sacrifice and consecration and to feel the spirit of Lehi. I now suspect that the intrinsic power of the covenants and of the spirit of Lehi itself explains much of the force of that example.

I believe that in the great councils of the preexistence, before this earth was populated, we premortal spirits were given to understand that human agency and the resulting vicissitudes of history would make it impossible for God to give all of us the gospel to enjoy on the earth, that most of us would suffer in ignorance and terrible injustice. A third part of us recoiled in such horror and fear as to rebel and lose all opportunity to come here. But those of us who welcomed the challenge turned to each other, I believe, and made holy covenants that if we were the fortunate ones we would bend all efforts to do genealogy and temple work for the others, so they could share vicariously but fully in Christ's gospel ordinances as well as his atonement. Those covenants create

the remarkable spiritual energy that I have felt in the spirit of Elijah.<sup>1</sup> By the same token, I am convinced that the spiritual energy in the spirit of Lehi comes from the covenants we made with each other in those same councils when we realized that we would be cast into various roles on earth — black or white, bond or free, male or female, Lamanite or Nephite, gentile or Jew. I believe we promised that rather than taking comfort, pride, or despair in our condition, we would give ourselves in sacrificial love to help the others find salvation, whether by "scourging them up to remembrance" if we were Lamanites or "carrying them on our shoulders" if we were gentiles.

Almost all who read this essay will be gentiles. The spirit of Lehi should encourage in us a special sensitivity (and response) to the condition, needs, and promised roles — from scourge to victim to flourishing blossom to scourging "lion" again — of all those scattered children of Israel who helped populate the Americas and Polynesia. The descendants of all these Israelites (whether Lamanites, Nephites, Ishmaelites, and Zoramites from Joseph or Mulekites from Judah) are designated by Mormons as "Lamanites." But so are native peoples, such as Eskimos and Fijians, who probably moved in from Siberia and the Far East and may not be literal descendants of Israel, certainly not of Laman.<sup>2</sup> And all of these are generally thought to inherit dark skins and other vaguely defined "curses" from Book of Mormon times. The first step in responding to the spirit of Lehi is to disabuse ourselves of these notions, and the best help is to read the Book of Mormon more carefully.

In 2 Nephi 5, when Laman and Lemuel rebel, the Lord seems to curse them and their descendants, genetically, with a dark skin. But a much more naturalistic reading (and one consistent with the impartial, nonracist God we know from other scriptures) emerges from the complete record. For instance, later when the Amlicites (former Nephites) marked themselves with "a mark of red upon their foreheads" as part of becoming Lamanites, we are told that "thus the Word of God is fulfilled . . . which he said to Nephi [back in 2 Nephi 5]: "Behold, the Lamanites have I cursed, and I will set a mark on them that they and their seed may be separated from thee and thy seed . . . except they

<sup>1</sup> Elder John A. Widtsoe suggested this idea in a quotation from one of his many talks on genealogy that I read when I was genealogy chairman in the Stanford Ward but cannot now locate. The idea has recently been reinforced by Elder Neal A. Maxwell, in a sermon called "Foreordination" given in a district sacrament meeting in Jerusalem, October 1978, and circulated by the Church Education System to its institute teachers. Elder Maxwell quotes from Elder Orson Hyde (*Journal of Discourses*, 7:134) in support of his own suggestion that "the degree of detail involved in the covenants and promises we participated in [in the pre-existence] may be a more highly customized thing than many of us surmise." And he quotes President Joseph F. Smith to show that we can receive "inklings of those promises": "By the power of the spirit, in the redemption of Christ, through obedience, we often catch a spark from the awakened memories of the immortal soul, which lights up our whole being as with the glory of our former homes" (pp. 13–14).

<sup>2</sup> For an authoritative argument that there were many other people already in the Americas when Lehi (and even the Jaredites) arrived, but that they were very understandably lumped together with their estranged relatives, the "Lamanites," by the Nephite record keepers, see John L. Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1985), pp. 84–86. He discusses proper use of the "Lamanite" on pp. 93–94.

repent of their wickedness and turn to me” (Alma 3:13). This implies strongly that the original Lamanite “curse,” as well as this one on the Amlicites, was propagated by the Lamanites themselves — which they could easily do either through marking their own skin or by intermarrying with darker New World people around them. There is no need for a genetically inherited curse from God to explain the Book of Mormon record.

My argument is not that God cannot do genetic tricks, but rational and scriptural evidence indicates that he does not. The prophet in Alma 3 states unequivocally that “every man” that is cursed brings “upon himself his own condemnation” (Alma 3:19), rather than receiving it through his race. And passages throughout the Book of Mormon that have been assumed to describe racial intervention by God are actually about other kinds of reasonable, law-fulfilling, individual spiritual change. For instance, though 2 Nephi 30:6 has been thought to promise the future righteous Lamanites a miraculous change in skin color it actually refers to “scales of darkness” falling from their *eyes* and their resulting state has now been changed from “white and delightsome” back to the first edition’s “pure and delightsome.” Other passages make most sense as descriptions of natural processes resulting from changed life style and intermarriage (Mormon 5:15), rather than as the wholesale and sudden genetic intervention of a race-conscious God.

Actually, it was the people themselves (not God), who were race-conscious, both the often vengeful Lamanites and also the Nephites. The Nephites, for instance, rejected the Lamanite prophet Samuel, at least in part, because of racism and then conveniently left his prophecies out of the written records until Christ strongly directed them to correct the oversight (Hel. 14:10; 3 Ne. 23: 9–13). In fact, that particular neglect suggests that the entire record probably reflects the Nephites’ own elitist, race-conscious — even somewhat paranoid — perspective, as they looked out at the threatening, dark-skinned peoples all around them.<sup>3</sup> We should not let their limited, though perfectly understandable, perspective determine our understanding of race any more than we should let certain limitations in the perspective of Old Testament writers determine our concept of God.

Another way that careful reading of the Book of Mormon could foster the spirit of Lehi is by helping us to reconsider our use of the term “Lamanite,” in its negative connotations, to refer to modern native Americans (North or South) or Polynesians. We should use the term only with some very careful qualifications about what it should mean *now*. “Lamanite” was used in the first part of the Book of Mormon to designate the descendants of Laman, Lemuel, and others joining with them who rebelled against Nephi and Sam, lost contact with the religious records (and thus both literacy and righteousness) and, for whatever reasons, began to appear to the Nephites as more uncivilized and dark-skinned than themselves. But the term quickly lost any legitimate racial significance as, on the one hand, various reprobate Nephite

---

<sup>3</sup> Sorenson 1984, 90. Nephite prejudice is also clear in Jacob 3:5, Mosiah 9:1–2, and Alma 26:23–25.

groups (Amlicites, etc.) defected to become "Lamanites" and, on the other, groups like the "Anti-Nephi-Lehies" accepted the gospel, moved to Nephite lands, and "were no more called Lamanites" (Alma 23:17).

By the time of the two-hundred-year reign of peace after Christ's visit, there had been periods (such as under Samuel) when the "Lamanites" exceeded the "Nephites" in righteousness. Then the complete intermingling and unified righteousness after Christ produced a condition such that "neither were there Lamanites, nor any manner of -ites" among them (4 Ne. 1:17). When this utopia dissolved about 231 A.D., "they who rejected the gospel were called Lamanites" and the "true believers in Christ" were called Nephites (4 Ne. 1:38), but the terms had again become completely devoid of genealogical or racial meaning.

At the end of the Book of Mormon, the Lamanites were no more literal descendants of Laman than were the Nephites they destroyed — and according to Mormon's testimony both were equally wicked (Morm. 4:11–12). The surviving group was still called Lamanites only because they had allied themselves with those who had earlier rejected the gospel. So what can it mean when we still use the term "Lamanite" for all the native peoples of America and Polynesia, including those who accept the gospel and become faithful Church leaders — as well as for light-skinned Central and South Americans of Spanish descent?

Charlotte and I learned one harmful thing "Lamanite" means when we were missionaries in Samoa. Many Polynesians we met had decided, from being called Lamanites by white people who clearly connected the term with its meaning in the first part of the Book of Mormon, that it meant racially inferior and cursed. We saw them refuse moral and leadership responsibilities on the grounds they were inherently incapable — because they were "Lamanites."

If we are going to use the term at all, it must be in the third sense suggested in the Book of Mormon. "Lamanite" should properly be used as a morally and racially neutral designation for all the post-Book of Mormon but pre-Columbian inhabitants of the Americas and Polynesia and all their descendants, whatever their ancestry. It refers to those whom Christ, when he prophesied their dramatic role in preparing for his second coming, called "the remnant of Jacob" (3 Ne. 21:23), those to whom the Book of Mormon, including its great promises concerning their roles in the latter days, is specifically extended. It is those Spencer W. Kimball (1954) in a great prophetic chastisement of us all for our racism, with obvious concern to avoid the usual misuse of the term Lamanite, once referred to as "Lehites" or, in turn, "Nephite-Lamanites" or "Lamanite-Nephites." As Elder Dean L. Larsen of the First Quorum of Seventy recently taught a group of us at BYU, the name and identity of "Lamanite" is used properly for modern peoples only to remind them and us of those special blessings and responsibilities that are theirs and ours. He added that that explanation ought to be an essential part of any discussion of Book of Mormon peoples (1984).

The preface to the Book of Mormon announces the book as "written to the Lamanites, who are a remnant of the House of Israel." Moroni closes the book

with a great promise about coming to know it is true “by the power of the Holy Ghost” (Moro. 10:4), a promise which he addressed not to us gentiles but “unto my brethren, the Lamanites.” And Christ spends six chapters of 3 Nephi prophesying to the Lamanites their central role in the final preparation for his coming, when all their enemies “shall be cut off” (3 Ne. 20:17) and they will inherit the gentiles’ land, cities, and strength, “no weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper” (22:17) and “in thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed” (20:27). Those references are not to the rebellious children of Laman or the wild and dark-skinned enemies of Mormon. Those references are to the diverse, multi-colored, and multi-talented North and South American Indians and Polynesians of today, in and out of the Church. Those peoples have a great mission still to perform beyond what they have already achieved, and they have been promised the help, however uncomprehending or weak, of all of us who will respond to the spirit of Lehi.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Kimball, Spencer W. “The Evil of Intolerance.” *Improvement Era* (June 1954): 423–26.
- Larsen, Dean L. Speech given in a seminar for teachers of the Book of Mormon, Brigham Young University, 4 June 1984.
- Smith, Joseph F. *Gospel Doctrine*. 14th ed. Salt Lake City: Deseret Press, 1966.



# Mormons and Native Americans: A Historical and Bibliographical Introduction

*David J. Whittaker*

## INTRODUCTION

**T**homas O'Dea (1957, 256) pointed out that Mormons have thought of native Americans from two perspectives. Theologically, their missionary work demanded that the Indians be viewed as converts; but practically, their colonizing efforts forced them to see Indians as most American pioneers viewed them: as primitive and usually savage peoples in the way of civilization's westward movement. One view stressed their religious nature, the other emphasized their savageness. Where one could argue for their perfectability, the other could suggest their destruction. The approach almost always depended upon whether the perspective was that of a missionary or of a pioneer. This bifurcated view follows the general approach which began in colonial times: either Indians were noble red men not far from the Garden of Eden, or they were savages, not capable of even the most fundamental Christian or civil attributes and therefore not worthy of having these characteristics applied to them (Berkhofer 1978, Billington 1981, Pearce 1952).

From the beginning, however, Mormonism has also seen a dialogue between sacred text and its interpretation and application in Mormonism. The Book of Mormon told of three migrations from the Old World to the New. Righteous groups were white, while those individuals who rejected the covenants they had made with God received a "sore cursing," even "a skin of blackness . . . that their seed might be distinguished from the seed of their brethren" (2 Ne. 5:21; Alma 3:6-10). Just as wickedness brought dark skin, repentance brought a return of white (3 Ne. 2:12-16). Throughout the volume, righteous groups were peaceful and enjoyed the benefits of civilization while those who were rebellious were identified as savage hunters.

---

*DAVID J. WHITTAKER is University Archivist and Curator, Archives of the Mormon Experience, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. He served as guest editor of this issue.*

In the early chapters, the righteous are identified as Nephites after Nephi, an early prophet. The wicked are called "Lamanites" after Laman, a rebellious brother. While the terms become confused later in the volume (4 Ne. 1:17), by the final pages (about A.D. 420), the wicked are wandering the land seeking the lives of the few good survivors, including a prophet, Moroni, who has the final responsibility after his father, Mormon, to record what he has witnessed and hide the records in the hope that the account will help convert the descendants of those who are hunting him (Morm. 8:1-5).

*Lamanite* thus carries a potentially pejorative meaning in Mormon thought. It seems to equate white skin with goodness and dark skin with wickedness and savagery. The imagery has helped create a view of contemporary native Americans as inferior, and some argue that calling Indians Lamanites reinforces the negative stereotyping inherent in Book of Mormon worldview. (See the England and Harris essays in this volume.)

There had been several hundred years of intellectual curiosity and speculation about Indian origins before the Book of Mormon appeared. Many theories had been advanced to explain the origins of these peoples; and, like early Mormons, most authors had offered a single theory to explain the very complex tribal situation of the Americans by 1492 (Huddleston 1967, Wauchope 1962, D. Snow 1979, Dobyus 1976).

Early Book of Mormon defenses rather consistently claim a Central American setting for the Book of Mormon and assume that archaeology would prove it. Pre-Utah writings link Central American descriptions with the Book of Mormon.<sup>1</sup> Joseph Smith himself seems to have argued for a single explanation of the American Indian (Sorenson 1985, 1-4). He seldom referred to the Book of Mormon, referred to the Indians as "the literal descendants of Abraham," and offered the volume as a literal history of this descent (Jessee 1984, 76). His associates seem to have thought of all native American peoples as being descendants of Nephi and his family.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the statements and arguments in *Evening and Morning Star*, 1 (June 1832): 26 1 (Aug. 1832): 22; 1 (Dec. 1832): 54, 55; 1 (Jan. 1833): 57-59; 1 (June 1833): 99; 2 (April 1834): 150-51; *LDS Messenger and Advocate* 1 (April 1835): 59-61; 2 (May 1836): 319-20; 3 (Oct. 1836): 398; 3 (Jan. 1837): 433-35; 3 (Sept. 1837): 567-69; Parley P. Pratt, *The Voice of Warning* (1837), Ch. 4; Charles P. Thompson, *Evidences in Proof of the Book of Mormon* (1843); Orson Pratt, *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon* (1850-51). This approach reached its culmination with the 1879 edition of the Book of Mormon when Orson Pratt, in textual footnotes, specifically identified sites in Central and South America with various Book of Mormon places. This approach influenced the Benjamin Cluff-Brigham Young Academy expedition to Central America, 1900-02. The best summaries of the uses of contemporary sources (both actual and potential) in early Mormonism are two unpublished essays by Gordon C. Thomasson: "Daddy, What's a 'Frontier'?: Second Thoughts on the Environment that Supposedly Produced the Book of Mormon," and "Documents of LDS History Produced between 1830 and 1839 Relating to the Truth of the Book of Mormon," both c1960s; Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. It is interesting to note that an early editor, probably W. W. Phelps, commented how difficult it was to define "civilized" and "savage." *Evening and Morning Star* 1 (April 1833): [8].

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, the comments of Oliver Cowdery in his remarks to the western tribes in 1830 in P. Pratt 1874, 54-56. In a letter to Joseph Smith dated 7 May 1831, Cowdery wrote of "another tribe of Lamanites . . . called Nacashoos [Navajos]." *Times and Seasons* 5

Smith approved Andrew Jackson's policy of moving the eastern Indian tribes to a western reservation, noting that the U.S. government was actually assisting with the gathering of Israel (HC 2:358-62, Prucha 1:183-292). During the few times Smith personally met with Indian leaders, he counselled peace and referred them to the Book of Mormon for the details of their own history. (See Parry's essay in this volume. HC 4:401-2, 5:363, 479-81, 6:401-2.)

No one essay or book can possibly treat all the complex issues of Mormon relations with native Americans. What we seek to do here is to present a historical overview, identify some key topics, and provide an adequate bibliography for serious study of native Americans and Mormons in the continental United States north of Mexico and excluding Alaska.

#### AN OVERVIEW OF MORMON-NATIVE AMERICAN RELATIONSHIPS

The first Mormon preaching among native Americans occurred when Joseph Smith sent several missionaries to the western border of Missouri in the winter of 1830-31 (Jennings 1971; Pratt 1874). In a revelation given in Missouri on 17 July 1831 Joseph Smith told these first missionaries to the Indians: "For it is my will that in time, ye should take unto you wives of the Lamanites and Nephites that their posterity may become white, delightsome and just, for even now their females are more virtuous than the gentiles." William W. Phelps included the "substance" (two pages) of the revelation in a 12 August 1861 letter to Brigham Young, now in the Church Historical Department. Several things are apparent: (1) While the Book of Mormon strongly teaches that God removes the curse of the dark skin, this document implies that intermarriage can; (2) Some scholars think that this revelation was the initial impetus for plural marriage, as some of the missionaries had wives in Ohio; and (3) This document seems to have begun the Mormon practice of marrying native Americans. Some of the contents of the document better fit an 1861 context and it is possible that Phelps added his own understanding thirty years later. Ezra Booth confirms early talk about marrying Indians, but the reasons for doing so probably did not include polygamy or even changing skin color, but rather facilitating entrance into the reservation for missionary work (Booth 1831; W. Hall 1852, 59; J. Brown 1960, 320-23; Brooks 1944; Coates 1972; Stenhouse 1873, 657-59; Bachman 1975, 68-73).

This first Indian mission ended in failure, produced the first non-Mormon charges that Mormons and Indians were in league to destroy other whites on

---

(15 Feb. 1844): 432. In 1833, an editorial in the *Evening and Morning Star* [1 (June 1833): 99] saw recent reports of archaeological excavations in North Carolina and Ohio as providing proof of both Nephite and Jaredite skills in art and science. Four months before this report, the same newspaper cited the reports of Lt. Col. Galindo from Central America about the great civilizations in ancient America. Early Mormon commentators saw no contradiction in their claims that *all* native Americans were explained by the Book of Mormon. This view allowed them to see evidence of Lamanites everywhere they went in North America. John Sorenson (1985) assumes a local setting, claiming that the Book of Mormon requires a locus in Central America. While this thesis promises to become the new orthodoxy within Mormonism, it modifies the thrust and content of early Mormon apologetics.

the frontier, and sparked Protestant missionary efforts to prevent Mormon proselyting (Jennings 1966, Schultz 1972, Berkhofer 1963). In spite of their denials, Mormons were being charged as late as 1838 with converting Indians in Missouri to use them against the local whites.<sup>3</sup>

The most eloquent early expression of Mormon sentiments about the Indians appeared in the writings of Parley P. Pratt. In his 1837 *Voice of Warning* he presented the main LDS arguments. Several years later, as the first editor of the *LDS Millennial Star*, he wrote of the glorious future that awaited the descendants of the Book of Mormon peoples (1841, 40–42), penned one hymn, “Oh, Stop and Tell Me, Red Man,” and authored the 1845 “Proclamation of the Twelve Apostles” which announced to the rulers of the earth that “the ‘Indians’ (so called) of North and South America are a remnant of the tribes of Israel; as is now made manifest by the discovery and revelation of their ancient oracles and records. And that they are about to be gathered, civilized and made *one nation* in this glorious land.” The same proclamation foresaw a major work just ahead for “the sons and daughters of God” who would be required to devote a portion of their time to instructing “the children of the forest” (J. Clark 1:254, 256, 259; Clark incorrectly attributes authorship to Wilford Woodruff).

The spirit, if not the letter, of this 1845 message was manifested following the Mormon exodus from Nauvoo. Although formal missionary work was not possible, Brigham Young sought to deal fairly and peacefully with the various tribes the Mormons encountered as they moved west (Coates 1981, 1978; Bennett 1984, 189–231; Trennert 1972).

Following non-Mormon advice, the Mormons established their base of operations in the Salt Lake Valley, a neutral location between the warlike Shoshone to the north and Utes to the south. As the early years were critical to Mormon survival in the Great Basin, it is no surprise that Brigham Young fluctuated between making peace with and exterminating those who threatened the lives and success of the Mormon western colonization (Tyler 1978; Arrington and Bitton 1979, 145–60; Julina Smith 1932; Brooks 1944; A. Malouf 1945; Coates 1969, 63–115; Smaby 1975; Christy 1978).

Brigham Young’s appointment as the first governor of Utah Territory meant he would also function as *ex officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs. It was during the early 1850s under Brigham Young’s leadership that the basic institutional contours of Mormon Indian policy emerged: that it was cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them. Influential experiences included finding themselves in the middle of warring tribes, attempts to end the centuries-old Indian slave trade, and early armed encounters with various tribes (Morgan 1948, 1953, 1954; Larson 1963a and 1963b; Gowans 1963; Haynes 1968; O’Neil and Layton 1978; Prucha 1:374–80; Neil 1956; W. Snow 1929;

<sup>3</sup> See Albert P. Rockwood to his family, November 1838, Yale University Library. Mormon sensitivity to these charges in their early experiences in Jackson County, Missouri, led Joseph Smith to change the wording of D&C 57:9: “Send goods unto the Lamanites” now reads “unto the people.” At least one early Mormon author thought that the “remnants” (D&C 87:5) left after the Civil War were the American Indians. *LDS Millennial Star* 22 (28 Jan. 1860): 51.

Arrington 1954; 1970; 1985, 210–22; Miller 1968; Coates 1976; Gottfredson 1919; Heimer 1955; Christy 1979).

These early pioneers tried at least three approaches in relating to their Indian neighbors. They first combined their religiosity with various church programs including feeding and clothing the less fortunate natives (Arrington 1954, Jensen 1983). The second grew out of a fundamental equation of farming skills and civilization. Here Mormons, like other Americans of the time, sought to establish special Indian farms, especially during the 1850s (Beeton 1977–78, James 1967, Jackson n.d., Williams 1928, Heband 1930). The third approach was proselyting. Many colonies were first established at least partially to control or convert the local tribes and to teach farming techniques (Campbell 1973). Jacob Hamblin was but one of a number of early Mormons who worked with the Indians much of their lives.<sup>4</sup>

The Civil War brought many non-Mormons to Utah, created insecure Indian relations, and pushed the Indian situation to a more final settlement (Long 1976; 1981, 128–84; Tyler 1978; Madsen 1985a). In 1865, the Utah Indians conveyed title to their lands to the federal government by treaties in return for the establishment of a reservation in Uintah County in eastern Utah. As early as 1861, against Brigham Young's advice, President Abraham Lincoln had declared the "entire valley of the Uintah River within Utah Territory" an Indian reservation. This movement toward reservations for Indians was part of the larger federal Indian policy shift from the early policy of placing Indians in one large Indian Territory on the Great Plains (Trennert 1975; Tyler 1978, 364; *Atlas* 1981, 104–5; Wright 1948; Larson 1974; O'Neil 1941). The most violent rejection of the reservation came from a group of Utes led by Black Hawk. His followers attacked various settlements beginning in the San Pete Valley, and about forty Mormons were killed during the first three years of raiding. Fighting continued until 1873, even though Black Hawk died in 1870. Gradually, most of the Utes moved onto the Uintah Reservation (Spencer 1969, Gibbs 1931, Culmsee 1973).

A non-violent rejection of the reservation was by a band of Shoshone. Mormon missionaries, led by George Washington Hill, approached them beginning in 1873. By 1889 a successful Indian farm had been established at Washakie, just north of Brigham City, Utah, for Shoshone. It became the model for other non-reservation Indian farms in Utah (Coates 1969, 303–18; Dibble 1947; Evans 1938; Madsen 1980). Surprisingly, Mormon missionary efforts fared much better off the reservation during this period. The one major exception was the conversion of the entire tribe of Catawba Indians on their

<sup>4</sup> The literature on nineteenth-century Indian missions is quite extensive. Good places to begin include Rees 1922; Law 1959; Peterson 1971, 1975; Brooks 1944, 1961, 1962, 1964, 1972; Dees 1972a and 1972b; Corbett 1952; Jones 1890; Beal 1935; Nash 1967; Bigler 1967; Rice 1972; Dibble 1947; Coates 1972; Judd 1968; Hinkley 1941; Lyman 1962; Smiley 1972; Bailey 1948; Fish 1970; Seegmiller 1939; Peterson 1973, 192–216; 1975. Llewellyn Harris claimed to have healed 400 Zuni of smallpox in a letter to Orson Pratt in *LDS Millennium Star* 41 (2 June 1879): 337–38. For the unrelated memories of another missionary see an interview with Joshua Perry in Jorgensen 1913. An annotated guide to the larger literature (primary and secondary) is Coates 1969, 329–63.

reservation in York County, South Carolina, in 1883 (Lee 1976, D. Brown 1966, Callis 1943, Foreman 1935, Allred 1983, Warner 1971).

Through the later decades of the nineteenth century, the strong persecution and prosecution of Mormons cut into Indian proselyting. The several apostles who went on Indian missions did so as much to avoid polygamy prosecutions as to convert the natives (Anderson 1900, Whitney 1890, Tullis 1982).

The massacre by federal troops of mostly helpless Indians at Wounded Knee Creek near the Pine Ridge Agency in South Dakota on 29 December 1890 came as a tragic end to a revival of Plains Indians religion that had been led by Tauibu and his son Wovoka, Piute Indians from Nevada. (See Coates essay in this volume.) In part, this revival was a means to escape the terrible realities of reservation life. But it was also a movement to return to the greatness of the past led by messianic prophets who promised Indians deliverance and restoration. The movement combined a type of Christian millennialism with a belief in God's active role in protecting true believers. It gradually gained followers who demonstrated their worthiness in the Ghost Dance, a ritual many contemporary observers were convinced must have come from the Mormons (Mooney 1896). While these charges are essentially without foundation, the fact that early Mormons speculated over the emergence of a Lamanite prophet has not been forgotten by some Mormon extremists.<sup>5</sup> Thus, while some Mormons saw the revivals as a sign that God was stirring the Indians with his Spirit, after the tragedy at Wounded Knee Mormon missionary efforts seriously declined among native Americans.

Benjamin Cluff, then president of Brigham Young Academy in Provo, Utah, led an expedition of faithful Mormons to Central America (1900–02). The purpose of the expedition was to locate Book of Mormon sites, collect fauna and flora for scientific study, and check on the possibilities for missionary work in the area. It was unsuccessful in all objectives except for items sent to Provo for study (E. Wilkinson 1:289–329). It did, however, help focus attention on native Americans in tropical regions and showed the next generation of Mormons that their Book of Mormon studies would have to be better grounded in both fieldwork and in theory.

In 1936, the First Presidency instructed the leaders of the Snowflake Arizona Stake to open formal missionary work among local Indians. In 1942 Mary Jumbo, a Navajo living at Shiprock, New Mexico, asked President Heber J. Grant to send missionaries to her people. Grant authorized George Albert Smith to organize the Southwest Indian Mission with headquarters in Gallup,

---

<sup>5</sup> The Mormon press devoted many pages to the Messiah craze, reprinting material from other sources as well as commenting on the events. See *Deseret News* 7, 23 July 1890; 16 Aug. 1890; 7, 8, 10, 18 Nov. 1890; *LDS Millennial Star* 52 (25 Aug. 1890): 532–35; 52 (8 and 15 Dec. 1890): 777–78, 793–94; *Young Woman's Journal* 1 (Sept. 1890): 477; and *The Contributor* 12 (Jan. 1891): 114. Much of this interest was undoubtedly influenced by a literal interpretation of Joseph Smith's comments on 14 February 1835: ". . . the coming of the Lord, which was nigh — even fifty-six years should wind up the scene." *Millennial Star* 5 (26 March 1853): 205. This would have meant 1891. Fundamentalists schisms have continued to teach about an "Indian Messiah." The most active spokesman was Francis M. Darter who published a number of pamphlets and articles on the subject in the 1940s and 50s.

New Mexico. In 1943 the Navajo-Zuni Mission was organized and it was later added to the Southwest Indian Mission. In 1964 the Northern Indian Mission, with headquarters in Rapid City, South Dakota, was organized (Flake 1965; Parry 1972; Preece 1965; Heinze 1976, "This Mission" 1969; Blanchard 1977; Vogt and Albert 1970).

It was primarily in response to the growing awareness of terrible conditions on Southwest reservations that LDS leaders responded more institutionally to the needs of native Americans beginning in the late 1940s and 1950s. Building on earlier approaches, the Indian Placement Program came to address more modern needs and circumstances of reservation Indians (Bishop 1967; Buchanan 1974-75; Kimball and Kimball 1977, 236-48; "Indian Placement" in *Church News*, 1 Jan. 1972, 8; Cox 1980; Cowan and Anderson 1974, 455-80; Cowan 1979, 85-94; Packer 1962). Neil Birch's essay in this issue recounts the determination of Helen John and the compassion of Golden Buchanan, which sparked the beginnings of this program. In July 1954, the First Presidency gave the program Church sponsorship. The 10 August 1954 letter from the First Presidency sent to the presidents of stakes that were to participate in the placement program that year states:

It is to be made plain to the families of your stakes that there is no compulsion or pressure to be exercised in taking an Indian child into their home. If they elect so to do they must do so of their own free will and assume all responsibilities in connection therewith.

It is understood that if an Indian child is taken into a home he comes not as a mere guest, nor as a servant, although, of course, he or she would be expected to assume such responsibilities of service as all children ought to have and share, but that he or she may enter the home as a welcomed member of the household to enjoy the spiritual and cultural atmosphere of the home, and to be given such schooling in the public schools as may be afforded to him (Bishop 1967, 43).

The placement program involved about 7,000 Indians by 1971 but has declined in the last eight years to 1,968 with an estimated additional 60 percent reduction by 1989 ("Conversation" 1985). It has not been without its critics however, who in an age of new Indian militancy, point out the dangers of a program that can create misfits who are caught between their traditional heritage and the values of middle class America (Steward and Wiley 1981; John 1970; Gottlieb and Wiley 1984, 157-77; Topper 1979; Keane 1982).

Mormon Indian programs went beyond the foster-home approach. In 1955 the Church began an Indian Seminary Program in Brigham City, Utah, in tandem with Intermountain Indian School operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This program spread to about 200 additional federal and public schools, totalling 792 Indian seminary classes by 1968. It was phased out as a separate program between 1980 and 1982.

Since 1950, the Church has sponsored a variety of programs at Brigham Young University for Indians seeking a college education (Wilkinson and Arrington 3:503-35; Bishop et al. 1971). Spencer W. Kimball, as chairman of the Church's Indian Committee, indefatigably searched for ways to assist native Americans. Because of the poverty of the Indian tribes he was familiar

with, he proposed that the Church provide selected individuals BYU scholarships. In 1951, the First Presidency authorized five scholarships.

The first students encountered the problems that most minority students have throughout the country: lack of money, deficiency in high school preparation, and lack of a comfortable social climate. S. Lyman Tyler and others countered with more aggressive recruiting on the reservations, conscientious efforts to address Indian prejudice toward the Church, and increased funding for scholarships and tutorial programs. American Indian enrollment increased from 12 students in 1954 to 494 in 1973. It has levelled at about 400 in 1985.

In 1960 the Institute of American Indian Studies [Service] and Research was established

. . . primarily to serve the various agencies of the Church with programs that relate to the Indians of the Americas; to assist the Brigham Young University and other units within the Unified Church School System to develop programs for enlargement and improvement of the educational opportunities for Indians; to cooperate with governmental agencies in their attempts to improve Indian adjustment to and a more satisfactory participation within the predominant society; and to work with Indian tribes or groups as they attempt to solve their own problems (Wilkinson and Arrington 3:517).

In February 1964, Paul E. Felt was appointed director of the newly established Office of Indian Affairs which designed a variety of curriculum programs to meet Indian academic and vocational needs.<sup>6</sup> Organizational change has come so rapidly in these Indian programs that outsiders have wondered if BYU's program is really a mission in search of an organization. A Native American Studies minor has been put into the curriculum. But with the recent restricting of the Department of Multi-Cultural Education, some observers see additional evidence of institutional shifting that lacks a consistent understanding of either the history, cultures, or needs of native Americans. Others see recent developments as a manifestation of the older assimilationist philosophy.

Some of the most successful BYU programs use grants from a variety of sources, many under the leadership of Dale T. Tingey, to help tribes improve agricultural techniques and production. It is too early to fully evaluate the impact of these BYU programs. While some studies have been done on the educational programs,<sup>7</sup> the approach to Indian education is under appraisal, per-

<sup>6</sup> Indian clubs and groups have provided important social and cultural supports for the students. These include the Tribe of Many Feathers and the Lamanite Generation. With the disbanding of Indian wards and the general decline of multi-cultural education at BYU, a major shift in policy is occurring among Church leaders. The shift to Central and South America is seen in Boyd K. Packer's BYU Indian Week Address in February 1979, copy in possession of the author. See also Fyans 1976.

<sup>7</sup> Churchill and Hill (1979) point out that the prolonged federal domination of Indian education has retarded the Indian quest for education because the federal schools were primarily vehicles in accomplishing the federal policy aims of destroying native American heritage and language. Throughout this history, the schools were elementary and secondary, hence no satisfactory model of upper-level Indian education was developed. Thus BYU's experimentation was quite consistent with national patterns. See Adams et al. 1977. Graduate work on Mormon-Indian education, although of uneven quality, includes G. Taylor 1981; Matthews 1967; Osborne 1975; R. Clark 1967; Hunsaker 1967; DeLand 1971; Rainer 1976; Hall 1970; R. Smith 1968; Lundquist 1974; G. Lee 1975; Sheffield 1969; Willson 1984; Webb 1972; De Hoyos and De Hoyos 1973; Schimmelpfenning 1971.



haps even suffering from an identity crisis, bred in large part by an ignorance of Indian cultures but fueled by genuine religious motivation.

#### INDIAN-WHITE RELATIONSHIPS: THE AMERICAN CONTEXT

Obviously Mormon interaction with native Americans has taken place against the larger backdrop of federal Indian relations.<sup>8</sup> Americans have vacillated between isolating and assimilating their Indian neighbors. Both philosophies have been argued on the basis of Indian well-being — even survival. But implicit in both schools of thought was the notion of Indians as separate, dependent, and inferior while white (European) civilization was superior. Both views saw little or nothing of value in the Indian cultures (Sheehan 1980; Berkhofer 1978, 113–34; Leach 1973). These a priori images have continued to effect the ways Indians are perceived in our society.

These views are deeply imbedded in our colonial history. The first accounts of the natives by explorers lacked the pejorative stereotyping that has led to racism, but they saw the natives as different and felt the additional need to explain the differences (Prucha 1:8; Porter 1979; Axtell 1981; Nash 1982). Thus, when Puritan ministers took to discussing the natives, their accounts were already biased toward both protestant Christianity and European notions of civilization. Few early colonists questioned the superiority of Christianity over the native religions or of the greater value of farming as opposed to hunting (Berkhofer 1965, Beaver 1966, Kellaway 1961, Bowden 1981, Ronda and Axtell 1978).

During the colonial period, the use of treaties to dispossess hunting cultures became a common practice (Prucha 1:5–33; Sheehan 1969; Washburn 1971; Kupperman 1980; Leach 1973). Land-holding rights were at the center of the problem; natives viewed the land as belonging to the group and whites thought that undeveloped land was wasted earth (Washburn 1959, Jacobs 1972, Prucha 1:52–60, Sutton 1975). Whites continued to think that a signature of one or two chiefs could transfer large blocks of earth from one group to another by a people who just did not think in these terms, but whites had the superior technological might to enforce their viewpoints.

<sup>8</sup> The best studies of the history of American Indian policy are the works of Prucha 1975, 1977, 1981, 1982, 1984. His bibliographical essay at the end of *The Great Father*, vol. 2, provides an excellent evaluation of the best studies on all major topics relating to Indian-white relationships. Particularly valuable guides include the multi-volume series being issued by Indiana University Press for the Newberry Library, under the general editorship of Francis Jennings. They include both topical and tribal titles. Swagerty 1984; Dockstader 1957, 1974; Tyler 1977. Scholarly publications that specialize in native Americans include, *Ethnohistory*, *The Indian Historian*, *Journal of American Indian Law*, and *American Indian Quarterly*. About 430 Supreme Court cases since 1810 have dealt with American Indians. The *Indian Law Reporter* is a valuable aid in remaining current in this complex and important area of law.

Valuable histories of Indian-white relations are Tyler 1973; T. Taylor 1983; Smith and Kvasnicka 1976; Kvasnicka and Viola 1979. The best surveys of Indian history include Debo 1970; Driver 1969; Gibson 1980; Hagan 1979; Washburn 1975; Olson and Wilson 1984; Levine and Lurie 1968; Josephy 1984; Brophy and Aberle 1966. Collections of documents include Washburn 1973, Prucha 1975.

From the earliest years of contact through the early nineteenth century, the potential threat of natives militarily allied to political enemies forced whites to deal with the various tribes as foreign nations. This implied a kind of equality; but by the conclusion of the Revolution, the Indians, many of whom had sided with England, found themselves conquered peoples.

The founding fathers assigned the federal government sole power to deal with native Americans. Early experience in dealing with the problems of an expanding frontier, regulating trade, and planning for the future came to be embodied in a series of Congressional Acts called the Trade and Intercourse Acts, which sought to control the commercial relationships between the two races. Their underlying assumption was that the Indian frontier would recede as whites moved west (Prucha 1962; 1969; Viola 1974; Horsman 1967; Drinnon 1980).

The new concept of the reservation was developed in the 1820s and grew to the multi-reservation system by the 1860s (Prucha 1:179-314; Satz 1975; Hagan 1971, 21-36; Hill 1974; Stuart 1979; Trennert 1975; Alexander 1977, 42-57; 95-111, 158-71; Keller 1983; Priest 1942; Utley 1967, 1973, 1984). In 1887 the same Congress that voted with the Edmunds-Tucker Act to disincorporate the LDS Church passed the General Allotment Act. Both acts grew out of the same determination to force the Mormon Church and Indians to abandon their corporate, communal lives. Where Mormonism was forced to abandon plural marriage and ecclesiastical control of Utah society, the Indians were forced to abandon their communal life by forsaking their tribal leaders for programs that promised allotments in fee simple and citizenship to those Indians who adopted farming on individualized plots like "good" Americans. The consequence was to almost destroy what Indian cultural values remained after 300 years of struggle with western European peoples (Prucha 2:659-86; Cadwalader and Deloria 1984; Carlson 1981; Gilcreast 1967; Hoxie 1984; Otis 1934; Prucha 1976, 1979; Mardock 1971; Fritz 1963; Washburn 1975; Adams 1975; McDonnell 1980).

The 1920s saw stirrings of reform and the emergence of John Collier who, as commissioner of Indian Affairs by 1934, moved to reverse the direction federal policy had taken since the 1880s by giving the Indians a "New Deal." Collier was largely responsible for the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934 which allowed the tribes to set up legal structures designed to aid self-government and prevent further erosion of the tribal land base (Prucha 2:921-1012; Berens 1977; Downes 1945; Freeman 1952; Kelly 1975, 1983; McNickle 1983; Philp 1977; M. Smith 1971; G. Taylor 1980). Its 138 million acres in 1887 had diminished to 48 million acres by 1934 of which 20 million acres was desert or semi-desert land (Prucha 2:671). All of the New Deal programs promised a new epoch for the Indians but it did not last (Burt 1982, Koppes 1977).

Thus, in 1953 Congress formally adopted a policy of "termination" with the specific aim of dismantling the special relationships the tribes had with the federal government (Hasse 1974; Fixico 1980; Prucha 2:1013-84; Philp 1983; Cohen 1953; Wilkinson and Briggs 1977; Watkins 1957; Hagan 1981). Several tribes were almost immediately "terminated" by statute and left to their

own resources. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, responding to the high levels of unemployment on the reservations as well as to the growing threats of Congressional termination, encouraged reservation Indians to relocate in larger American cities. The general consequence of the BIA's program was to create Indian ghettos in several American cities from which the recent militant Indian movement has come (Sorkin 1969, 1978; Tax 1978; Waddell and Watson 1971; Tyler 1974; Hertzberg 1971; Thornton et al. 1982).

Most of the tribes fought termination, seeing it as a return to the allotment mentality, and saw its withdrawal after the 1960 elections. Paralleling other civil rights movements of the 1960s, American Indians found their own voices; and in 1968, the Indian Civil Rights Act was passed (Deloria 1969, 1973; Josephy 1971; Burnett 1972; Lazarus 1969; Parman 1976).

Another option for Indian tribes had opened in 1946 with the Indian Claims Commission, a judicial structure for adjudicating Indian tribal land claims once and for all. Until then, tribes could not sue the government without its permission. The potential costs of such suits had prevented bills from passing Congress from 1930 until 1946. It was an assimilationist movement which again sought to end any special privileges for the Indians in American society (Prucha 2:1017-23; Rosenthal 1976; G. Wilkinson 1966; Lurie 1957; LeDuc 1957; Danforth 1973; Deem and Bird 1982, 152-84).

While citizenship rights had been conferred upon native Americans in 1924, the unique relationship between the tribes and government had precluded full constitutional rights and responsibilities for most Indians. The 1968 Act amended Public Law 280 which had forced states to take a greater obligation in Indian affairs and also impressed upon the tribes the requirements of the Bill of Rights (M. Smith 1970; Lee 1974).

In 1970 President Richard Nixon helped set the current direction of federal Indian policy by restressing the trust relationship between tribes and the federal government, repudiating termination, and calling for legislation to assist tribes while not destroying their autonomy (Prucha 2:1111-15; Forbes 1981). The resulting 1974 Indian Financing Act and the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act ensured increased opportunities for federal assistance if candidates could work their way through the maze of the federal bureaucracy (Prucha 2:1139-70; Putney 1980; Szasz 1974; Prucha 1984; Butler 1978; Flannery 1980; Nickeson 1975; Porto 1979; Sorkin 1971). The growth of state programs must also be understood in this context (T. Taylor 1959, 1972).

While there are innumerable problems native Americans must still confront, they are no longer passive objects being molded into the white image. Any Mormon who seeks to relate to Indians today must not approach the task ignorant of history. This is especially true in the impact of recent federal legislation on programs like Indian placement (Guerrero 1979; Barsh 1980).

#### PRESIDENTIAL POSITIONS

Mormon leaders from Joseph Smith to Spencer W. Kimball have spoken consistently about the heritage and destiny of the American Indians (Maestas

and Simons 1981). In January 1833, Joseph Smith spoke of the *Book of Mormon* as containing a record of the forefathers of "our western tribes of Indians. . . . By it we learn that our western tribes . . . are descendants from that Joseph which was sold into Egypt." His pronouncements over a skeleton unearthed during the 1834 Zion's Camp march have been used to suggest that the final battles of the Book of Mormon took place in Illinois.<sup>9</sup> Brigham Young's numerous statements echo the teachings of Joseph Smith but he also added his own views.<sup>10</sup>

As an apostle, John Taylor spoke of the great destiny of the American Indians, as president of the urgency of missionary work among the Indians "if we desire to retain the approval of God." Taylor even dictated a revelation on Indian proselyting and urged that "care must be taken that the interests of the Indians on their reservations, water claims, or otherwise, are not interfered with, but they must be guarded and protected in all their rights the same as the white man."<sup>11</sup>

Wilford Woodruff had early in his life thought there was very little the Saints could do for the Indians except pray for them and treat them kindly until "the power of God begins to rest upon them and they are waked up by the visions of heaven." Woodruff thought he saw this happening as the Ghost Dance revivals began in the 1870s.<sup>12</sup>

Joseph F. Smith, a missionary in the Hawaiian Islands, gave more attention to the Pacific Basin throughout his life than to North American Indians and was very cautious about seeing the spirit of God in the Ghost Dance (Smith 1891; 1919, 378-81).

Heber J. Grant, in dedicating the Hawaiian and Alberta temples, looked to a day when the "descendants of Lehi" would receive their proper inheritance as the recovered branch of Israel (Lundwall 1968, 143-50; 169-76; CR, April 1932, 9-10).

George Albert Smith initiated more active Indian missionary work. As early as 1936, President Smith had spoken of the needs of the descendants of Lehi, praising the work at the Intermountain Indian School and of the Catawba tribe in South Carolina (CR April 1951, 175-78; April 1956, 56;

<sup>9</sup> See *Times and Seasons* 6 (1 Jan. 1846): 1076. The Zelph episode versions records a change from "Lamanitish" to "Lamanite." The "Lamanitish" altar becomes a "Lamanite" altar near Adam-Oni-Ahman (HC 2:79-80, 3:35; "Scriptory Book of Joseph Smith," LDS Historical Dept. Archives, p. 43).

<sup>10</sup> *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool and London: LDS Booksellers' Depot, 1854-86): 1:105-7, 165, 168-69, 170-71; 2:135, 138-39, 140, 143, 268; 3:87, 159; 4:28, 41, 217, 280; 5:128, 236; 6:194, 196, 293, 297, 328-30; 7:58, 137, 336; 8:83, 128, 146, 149, 287, 326; 9:104, 108, 124, 291; 10:33, 107-8, 231-32, 259; 11:65, 120, 263-65, 282, 285; 12:112, 121, 270; 13:247; 14:87, 151, 279; 15:121; 17:40.

<sup>11</sup> *Times and Seasons* 6 (1 March 1845): 825-30; *Ibid.* 6 (15 July 1845): 968; and *LDS Millennial Star* 38 (6 June 1876): 437-38; *Ibid.* 44 (18 Oct. 1882): 732-33; (the revelation is in Roberts 1892, 349-51); J. Clark 2:351; JD 23:233.

<sup>12</sup> JD 2:200; 4:231; 9:222-29; 15:282; 18:119; 23:330-32; *LDS Millennial Star* 54 (19 Sept. 1892): 605-7; *CR Reports*, April 1898, 57; April 1880, 11-14. See "Epistle of Wilford Woodruff," 22 Feb. 1879 in Woodruff 7:457-66; 7:472-567; *Deseret News*, 29 May 1879, 513-14; Romney 1955, 350.

Oct. 1936, 73; April 1956, 56; Oct. 1936, 73; April 1950, 184–85; April 1950, 142–46).

David O. McKay, an internationalist, made the largest number of his pronouncements about Polynesians, then joining the Church in large numbers (Law 1972, 19–21, 64–68). He referred to Polynesians as part of the one family of the American Indian, a consistent teaching of the Church since the 1850s.

Joseph Fielding Smith brought a strong doctrinal stance to the Church's position on the native American in his apostolic writings, warning that "civilization" is a relative term and urging Saints not to dismiss the culture of "primitive" people because of a technological judgment (Smith 1936, 130–43, 249–58, 263–65; 1954, 172–73, 452; 1954–56, 1:151; 2:247–51; 3:40–41, 262–64; 1957–66, 1:142–43; 2:196–98; 3:38–41, 122–23; 4:25–29; 1970, 397–403).

Harold B. Lee said little on the Indian but strongly condemned intolerance in an age of growing civil rights concerns (CR April 1982, 117–18).

By far the most consistently vocal Church leader has been Spencer W. Kimball. The key figure in the development of the Placement Program and BYU programs, he has strongly condemned prejudice among Church members and has urged a larger vision of the American Indian in contemporary Mormon thought.<sup>13</sup>

#### MORMON RACIAL ATTITUDES

Not until the end of the seventeenth century was there any reference to Indians as red, and then the term did not originally have a pejorative meaning (Prucha 1:8; Craven 1971, 39–41). By the nineteenth century, darker skin had become associated with deficient character. Much study has yet to be done on the history of white perceptions of native Americans, and as yet no study of Indians similar to Winthrop Jordan's *White Over Black* exists (1968; Vaughan 1982; Bidney 1954; Horsman 1975; Hatch 1978). Mormons as an American subgroup seem no more prejudiced than other citizens (Mauss 1970, 185–200; Cutson 1964; Douglas and Mauss 1968; Parry 1977, 225–38; V. Brown 1972). Starting from the premise that all human beings are the sons and daughters of God and then insisting that the gospel of Jesus Christ is to go to every nation, tongue and people, it would be difficult for any member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to justify or practice any form of

<sup>13</sup> Whittaker forthcoming; CR April 1947, 143–52; Oct. 1947, 15–22; April 1949, 103–13; April 1950, 41–44; Sept. 1950, 63–69; April 1953, 105–10; *BYU Devotional Address*, 15 April 1953; CR April 1954, 103–8; April 1956, 52–58; Address to Seminary Teachers, BYU, 27 June 1958; CR Oct. 1959, 57–62; Oct. 1960, 32–37; Address to BYU Indian Studentbody, 5 Jan. 1965; CR Oct. 1965, 65–72; Address to BYU Studentbody, 25 April 1967; BYU Campus Education Week General Assembly Address, 13 June 1969; Address delivered at the Lamanite Youth Conference, Salt Lake City, 14 April 1971; Remarks at Regional Representative Seminars, Address delivered at the Lamanite Youth Conference, Salt Lake City, 14 April 1971; Remarks at Regional Representative Seminars, Salt Lake City, 4 April 1974; 3 April 1975, 2 Oct. 1975, 5 April 1976, and 1 April 1977; and *Ensign* 5 (Dec. 1975): 2–7; Kimball 1982, 594–620; *Deseret News* 40 (1890): 127–28, 161, 235, 497–98; 44 (1892): 497 ff. reports the Indian mission of his father, Andrew Kimball.

racism. Yet the history of Mormonism reveals how far the distance can be between the ideal and the real (McConkie 1978, 137–48; Papanikolas 1976; Higham 1955).

Native Americans constitute a unique ethnic group in American culture. They are the only racial group who were in America prior to colonization, and they are the only group that still has a special relationship with the federal government. The histories of both the Indians and the European colonizers have been shaped by this unique situation, and this interaction has also influenced the general thrust of Mormon-Indian relations (McLoughlin 1984; Spicer 1961; Berkhofer 1963; Freedman 1965).

#### SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The lives of pioneers and missionaries who worked directly with the Indians need documenting. Scholars have not thoroughly used federal records on Mormon-Indian relations. We need a scholarly edition of the several hundred letters Brigham Young exchanged with various Indian chiefs. More scholarly studies of the various missions and programs of the nineteenth-century Church need to be researched and written. We still lack for the Indian what Lester Bush has done for blacks in Mormon history. We need to better understand the puritan heritage of early Mormonism, and we need a systematic analysis of the term *Lamanite* in our literature. We need more comprehensive studies of the various tribes, particularly in the Great Basin, that had and have significant contact with the Mormon Church (Steward 1982; Palmer 1928; W. Snow 1923; Jennings, Smith, and Dibble 1959; Crampton 1971; Covington 1949; Tyler 1951a, 1951b, 1964; O'Neil 1968, 1973, 1976; Thompson 1975; Hanson 1937; Hauck 1953; Burnham 1980; Jackson 1982; Schroeder 1965; Stewart 1966; Delaney 1971; Larson 1952, 1965; Stoffle and Evans 1976; Knack 1978; C. Malouf 1940; S. Price 1952; Defa 1980; Malouf and Smith 1947; Allen and Warner 1971; Bluth 1978; Liebler 1962; Benally 1976; Corell 1971; Thompson 1981; Wood 1981; Liljebad 1957; Madsen 1962, 1979; Fowler and Fowler 1971; Fowler 1965; King 1985; Alberts and James 1984; Sonne 1954, 1962; Green 1958). In addition to tribal histories, we need biographies of Indian leaders (Salabiye and Young 1984; Moses and Wilson 1985). So far only one native American has been called to be a General Authority in the LDS Church, and while he has no assignments or responsibilities that involve native Americans (*Ensign* 5 [Nov. 1975]: 136–37; 5 [Dec. 1975]: 26–27). We need to better understand his life and contribution. We need more anthropologically sensitive studies on the cultures that predate Mormon contact, and we need to follow these up with continuing analysis of changing cultures once contact was made. We need studies of the interaction of Mormon and Indian world-views. No serious study has yet been done on the teaching or more popular literature in the Church. This would include both public addresses and Church-produced manuals.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Buchanan 1950, 1973; Felt 1964; Petersen 1981; Richards 1970; Dyer 1968; Larsen 1965.

We need to study the changing Mormon perceptions of Indians in the visual arts and Mormon literature. P. Jane Hafen (1984) has made an excellent start (see also her essay in this volume), but she concentrates on work after 1940. A full study would begin with "Joseph Smith Preaching to the Indians" and include the art work in George Reynolds, *The Study of the Book of Mormon* (1888), the work of C. C. A. Christensen, and the paintings of John Hafen, Arnold Frieberg, and Minerva Teichert. It would also include the sculptures of such individuals as Mahonri Young, Cyrus Dallin, and Grant Speed (Oman 1982; Oman and Oman 1976; Hinton 1974). We need a comprehensive bibliographical study of the archival sources of Mormon-Indian relationships.

The twentieth century has hardly been touched. Here we need detailed histories of the many Indian missions since the 1940s, biographies of the mission presidents as well as better studies of the key Church leaders who have shaped Mormon policy, studies of the various BYU Indian programs, and biographies of the individuals who have shaped them. We do not fully understand the history of the Placement Program, nor do we comprehend the educational programs of the last twenty years. How will the Indian migration from reservations effect the future of Mormon-Indian relations?

This century has seen great emphasis on the judicial activity of tribes, and the resulting litigation has yet to be fully studied (Getches, Rosenfelt, and Wilkinson 1979, 1983; Canby 1981; Pevar 1983; Washburn 1971; Deloria and Lytle 1983; Kammer 1980). The law firm of Wilkinson, Cragun, and Barker was very influential in the early years of the Indian Claims Commission, and Mormon attorneys have continued to play a prominent role in Indian legal matters (Weyler 1982, 132-65). With the increasing importance of water and mineral rights of western tribes, western lawyers will continue to play a significant role.

Finally, we need more critical studies of the Book of Mormon as both a history and cultural record. Warnings have appeared in recent years about amateur archaeologists and historians, but more needs to be done by those who have acquired the necessary skills and expertise (Nibley 1964, 366-76; Green 1969, 1973; Sorenson 1969, 1976; Coe 1973; Madsen 1985b; Raish 1981; Strom 1969; J. Price 1974; N. Douglas 1974).

#### CONCLUSION

Years ago, Felix S. Cohen (1952), one of the great legal scholars of American Indian affairs, argued that the real question was not how to change Indians, but rather how to change whites. Cohen recognized that Indians have and continue to contribute important things to modern cultures. This is true whether whites recognize it. For example, an important contribution is Indian feeling for individual freedom and governmental structures which reflected this concern and which may have provided early models for American colonists.

Scholars like Frank Waters (1968), John Neihardt (1932), and Gary Witherspoon (1977) have led the attempt to make the richness of Indian cul-

ture and religions available, or at least understandable, to non-Indians (Highwater 1981; Radin 1972). This is also true of Indian religion, where complex worldviews continue to baffle whites who can only see another form of paganism (Storm 1972; Gill 1982; J. E. Brown 1953, 1982; Hultkrantz 1979).

It would seem that in Mormonism, as in the larger American culture, the relationship with native Americans has tended to be a one-way road. We continue to think our greatest gifts are material and that these are the ones we must share with the Indians. But the approach is flawed at the most fundamental level: until we can recognize and take the good in other cultures we will remain isolated from those we seek to love and relate to. We have yet to learn that cultural pluralism is desirable and that we have much to learn from other cultures without demanding these cultures merge into our own. It is this matter that Chief Dan George eloquently calls to our attention.

The Book of Mormon may yet force us to reach outside ourselves to receive as we try to give the best we have to offer. Perhaps this is the real message of Mormon-Indian relations. It is clearly time that we enter into a genuine dialogue.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Historical Dept. Archives refers to those of the LDS Church, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Adams, David Wallace. "The Federal Indian Boarding Schools: A Study in Environment and Response, 1879-1918." Ed.D. diss., Indiana University, 1975.
- Adams, Larry LaMar, et al. "Academic Success of American Indian Students at a Large, Private University." *College and University* 53 (Fall 1977): 100-7.
- Alberts, Patricia C., and William R. James. "Utah's Indians and Popular Photography in the American West: A View from the Postcard." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (Winter 1984): 72-91.
- Alexander, Thomas G. *A Clash of Interests: Interior Department and Mountain West, 1863-96*. Provo: BYU Press, 1977.
- Allen, James B., and Ted J. Warner. "The Gosiute Indians in Pioneer Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1971): 162-77.
- Allred, Byron Harvey. *Indian Territory Mission: The Missionary Journals of . . .* Hamilton, Mont.: Bitterroot Publishing Co., 1983.
- Anderson, Edward H. "Apostle Lyman's Mission [1882] to the Indians." *Improvement Era* 3 (May 1900): 510-16.
- Arrington, Leonard J. "How the Saints Fed the Indians." *Improvement Era* 57 (Nov. 1954a): 800f.
- . "The Mormon Tithing House: A Frontier Business Institution." *Business History Review* 29 (March 1954b): 24-58.
- . "The Mormons and the Indians: A Review and Evaluation." *The Record* [Friends of the Library, Washington State University, Pullman] 31 (1970): 5-29.
- . *Brigham Young, American Moses*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.
- , and Davis Bitton. "Mormons and Native Americans." In *The Mormon Experience*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979, pp. 145-60.
- Axtell, James. *The European and the Indian: Essays on the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Bachman, Danel. "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith." M.A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975.



- Bailey, Paul. *Jacob Hamblin: Buckskin Apostle*. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1948.
- Barsh, Lawrence. "The Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978: A Critical Analysis." *Hastings Law Journal* 31 (July 1980): 1287-1336.
- Beal, Samuel Merrill. "The Salmon River Mission." M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1935.
- Beaver, R. Pierce. *Church, State, and the American Indians: Two and a Half Centuries of Partnership in Missions Between Protestant Churches and Government*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1966.
- Beeton, Beverly. "Teach Them to Till the Soil: An Experiment with Indian Farms, 1850-1862." *American Indian Quarterly* 3 (Winter 1977-78): 299-320.
- Benally, Clyde J. "The Navajos." In Papanikolas 1976, 13-27.
- Bennett, Richard E. "Mormons at the Missouri: A History of the Latter-Day Saints at Winter Quarters and at Kaneshville, 1846-52 — A Study in American Overland Trail Migration." Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University, 1984.
- Berens, John. "Old Campaigns, New Realities: Indian Policy Reform in the Progressive Era, 1900-1917." *Mid-America* 59 (Jan. 1977): 51-64.
- Berkhofer, Robert F., Jr. "Model Zions for the American Indian." *American Quarterly* 15 (Summer 1963a): 176-90.
- . "Protestants, Pagans, and Sequences among the North American Indians, 1760-1860." *Ethnohistory* 10 (Summer 1963b): 207-32.
- . *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Response, 1787-1862*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.
- . *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.
- Bidney, David. "The Idea of the Savage in North American Ethnohistory." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 15 (April 1954): 322-27.
- Bigler, David L. "The Crisis at Fort Limhi, 1858." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Spring 1967): 121-36.
- Billington, Ray Allen. *Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1981.
- Bishop, Clarence R. "Indian Placement: A History of the Indian Placement Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints." MS thesis, University of Utah, 1967.
- Bishop, Clarence R., et al. "Coordinated Report of Lamanite Programs of the Church." 23 Nov. 1971. Special Collections, Lee Library, BYU.
- Blanchard, Kendal A. *The Economics of Sainthood: Religious Change Among the Rimrock Navajos*. Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 1977.
- Bluth, John F. "Confrontation with an Arid Land: The IncurSION of Gosiutes and Whites into Utah's Central West Desert, 1800-1978." Ph.D. diss., BYU, 1978.
- Booth, Ezra. Letter. *The Ohio Star*, 8 Dec 1831; [also in E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (1834), p. 220].
- Bowden, Henry Warner. *American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Brooks, Juanita. "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (Jan.-April 1944a): 28-31.
- , ed. "Journal of Thales H. Haskell." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (Jan.-April 1944b): 69-98.
- . "Indian Sketches from the Journals of T. D. Brown and Jacob Hamblin." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (Oct. 1961): 346-60.
- . *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

- . *John Doyle Lee, Zealot — Pioneer — Scapegoat*. Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1964.
- , ed. *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission* [the diary of Thomas D. Brown]. Logan: Utah State University Press for the Western Text Society, 1972.
- Brophy, William H. and Sophie D. Aberle, comps. *The Indian, America's Unfinished Business: Report of the Commission on the Rights, Liberties and Responsibilities of the American Indian*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.
- Brown, Douglas Summers. *The Catawba Indians: The People of the River*. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1966.
- Brown, James. *Giant of the Lord . . .* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1960.
- Brown, Joseph Epes. *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953.
- . *The Spiritual Legacy of the American Indian*. New York: Crossroads Publishing Co., 1982.
- Brown, Victor L., Jr. "Minorities: A Latter-day Saint Definition." *New Era* 2 (Sept. 1972): 20, 21.
- Buchanan, Golden. *Oral History*. 5 vols. Jan. 1974–October 1975. James D. Moyle Oral History Program. Historical Department Archives.
- . *Teaching Aids for Lamanite Missionaries*. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1950.
- Burnett, Donald L., Jr. "An Historical Analysis of the 1968 'Indian Civil Rights Act.'" *Harvard Journal of Legislation* 9 (May 1972): 557–626.
- Burnham, Paul F. "Settlement Patterns on the Ute Indian Reservation." M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1980.
- Burt, Larry W. *Tribalism in Crisis, Federal Indian Policy, 1953–61*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.
- Butler, Raymond V. "The Bureau of Indian Affairs: Activities since 1945." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 436 (March 1978): 50–79.
- Cadwalader, Sandra L., and Vine Deloria, Jr., eds. *The Aggressions of Civilization: Federal Indian Policy since the 1880s*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984.
- Callis, Charles A. "Among the Catawbias." *Improvement Era* 39 (Aug. 1943): 47.
- Campbell, Eugene E. "Brigham Young's Outer Gordan: A Reappraisal." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Summer 1973): 220–53.
- Canby, William C., Jr. *American Indian Law in a Nutshell*. St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1981.
- Carlson, Leonard A. *Indians, Bureaucrats, and the Land: The Dawes Act and the Decline of Indian Farming*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981.
- Chamberlin, J. L. *The Harrowing of Eden: White Attitudes toward Native Americans*. New York: Continuum Books of Seabury Press, 1975.
- Christy, Howard A. "Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah, 1847–52." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978): 216–35.
- . "The Walker War: Defense and Conciliation as Strategy." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Fall 1979): 394–420.
- Churchill, Ward, and Norbert S. Hill, Jr. "Indian Education at the University Level: An Historical Survey." *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 7 (Fall 1979): 43–58.
- Clark, James R., ed. *Messages of the First Presidency*. 6 vols. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1965–75.
- Clark, Richard Owen. "A Manual of Instructions for Area Coordinators of the Indian Seminary Program." M.Ed. thesis, BYU, 1967.
- Coates, Lawrence G. "A History of Indian Education by the Mormons, 1830–1900." Ed.D. diss., Ball State University, 1969.

- . "Mormons and Social Change among the Shoshoni, 1853-1900." *Idaho Yesterdays* 15 (Winter 1972): 2-11.
- . "George Catlin, Brigham Young and the Plains Indians." *BYU Studies* 17 (Autumn 1976): 114-18.
- . "Brigham Young and Mormon Indian Policies: The Formative Period, 1836-1851." *BYU Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 428-52.
- . "Refugees Meet: The Mormons and Indians in Iowa." *BYU Studies* 21 (Fall 1981): 491-514.
- Coe, Michael. "Mormons and Archaeology: An Outside View." *DIALOGUE* 8 (Summer 1973): 40-48.
- Cohen, Felix S. "Americanizing the White Man." *American Scholar* 21 (Spring 1952): 177-91.
- . "The Erosion of Indian Rights, 1950-1953: A Case Study in Bureaucracy." *Yale Law Journal* 62 (Feb. 1953): 348-90.
- "Conversation [with David A. Albrecht] about Changes in the Indian Student Placement Service." *Ensign* 15 (Oct. 1985): 76.
- Corbett, Pearson H. *Jacob Hamblin, the Peacemaker*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1952.
- Corell, J. Lee. "Navajo Frontiers in Utah and Troublous Times in Monument Valley." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1971): 145-61.
- Cox, Kay H. *Without Reservation*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980.
- Covington, James W. "Relations Between the Ute Indians and the United States Government, 1848-1900. Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1949.
- Cowan, Richard O. "The Day of the Lamanites." *The Kingdom is Rolling Forth*. Provo: BYU Press, 1979, pp. 85-94.
- Cowan, Richard O. and Wilson K. Anderson. "The Day of the Lamanites." In Cowan and Anderson. *The Living Church*. Provo: BYU Printing Services, 1974, pp. 455-80.
- CR. *Report of the Semi-Annual General Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, semi-annual.
- Crampton, C. Gregory, guest editor of *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Spring 1971). Special Indian issue.
- Graven, Wesley Frank. *White, Red and Black: The Seventeenth-Century Virginian*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1971.
- Culmsee, Carlton. *Utah's Black Hawk War: Lore and Reminiscences of Participants*. Logan: Utah State University Press for the Western Text Society, 1973.
- Cutson, Roldo Van Leuven. "A Study of the Attitude of the Latter-day Saints Church in the Territory of Utah toward Slavery as It Pertained to the Indian as Well as to the Negro from 1847 to 1865." M.A. thesis, BYU 1964.
- Danforth, Sandra C. "Repaying Historical Debts: The Indian Claims Commission." *North Dakota Law Review* 49 (Winter 1973): 359-403.
- Debo, Angie. *A History of the Indians of the United States*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970.
- Deem, Woodruff J., and Glenn V. Bird. *Ernest L. Wilkinson, Indian Advocate and University President*. Privately published, 1982.
- Dees, Harry C. "George W. Bean, Early Mormon Explorer." *BYU Studies* 12 (Winter 1972a): 147-62.
- . "The Journal of George W. Bean: Las Vegas Springs, New Mexico Territory, 1856-57." *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 15 (Fall 1972b): 3-29.
- Defa, Dennis Ray. "A History of the Gosiute Indians to 1900." M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1980.

- De Hoyos, Genevieve, and Arturo De Hoyos. "The Indian Placement Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: A Statistical and Analytical Study." First draft, 1973. Special Collections, Lee Library, BYU.
- DeLand, Richard L. "Some Techniques for Making Teaching Visual: A Handbook for Writers for Seminary Lessons for Lamanites." M.R.E. thesis, BYU, 1971.
- Delaney, Robert W. "The Southern Utes a Century Ago." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1971): 114-28.
- Deloria, Vine, Jr. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1969.
- . *God is Red*. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, Inc., 1973.
- Deloria, Vine, Jr., and Clifford M. Lytle. *American Indians, American Justice*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983.
- . *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.
- Dibble, Charles E. "The Mormon Mission to the Shoshoni Indians." *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (Jan., April, and July 1947): 53-73; 166-77; 279-93.
- Dippie, Brian W. *The Vanishing American White: Attitudes and U. S. Indian Policy*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982.
- Dobyns, Henry F. *Native American Historical Demography: A Critical Bibliography*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976.
- Dockstader, Frederick J. *The American Indian in Graduate Studies: A Bibliography of Theses and Dissertations*. 2 vols. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1957, 1974.
- Douglas, Ella D. L., and Armand L. Mauss. "Religious and Secular Factors in Race Attitudes of Logan, Utah Residents." *Proceedings of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters* 45 (Fall 1968): 467-88.
- Douglas, Norman. "The Sons of Lehi and the Seed of Cain: Racial Myths in Mormon Scripture and Their Relevance to the Pacific Islands." *Journal of Religious History* 8 (June 1974): 99-104.
- Downes, Randolph C. "A Crusade for Indian Reform, 1922-1934." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 32 (Dec. 1945): 331-54.
- Drinnon, Richard. *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building*. New York: New American Library, 1980.
- Driver, Harold R. *Indians of North America*. Rev. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- Dyer, Alvin R. "The Opportunities, Blessings, and Promises to All Who Will Assist the Lamanites." Address to the Combined Agency Directors for the LDS Indian Student Placement Program and Specialized Programs for Lamanite People, Salt Lake City, 4 Oct. 1968.
- Emmett, Robert. *The Last War Trail: The Utes and the Settlement of Colorado*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.
- Evans, Joshua T. "The Northern Shoshone Indians, (a) under tribal organization and government, (b) under the ecclesiastical administration of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as exemplified at the Washakie Colony, Utah." M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1938.
- Evans, M. J. "Resources, Competition and Population Change: A Kaibab Paiute Ethno-historical Case." *Ethnohistory* 23 (Spring 1976): 173-97.
- Evans, Ralph. Oral History. March-June 1973. Interviewed by James H. Moyle Oral History Program. Historical Dept. Archives.
- Felt, Paul. *The Book of Mormon, the Lamanite and His Prophetic Destiny*. Provo: BYU Division of Continuing Education, 1964.

- Fish, Joseph. "The Indian Wars." In John H. Krenkel, ed. *The Life and Times of Joseph Fish, Mormon Pioneer*. Daville, Ill.: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1970, pp. 91-110.
- Fixico, Donald L. "Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy in the 1950s." Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1980.
- Flake, David Kay. "A History of Mormon Missionary Work with the Hopi, Navajo, and Zuni Indians." M.A. thesis, BYU, 1965.
- Flannery, Thomas J., Jr. "The Indian Self-Determination Act: An Analysis of Federal Policy." Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1980.
- Forbes, Jack D. *Native Americans and Nixon*. Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Center, University of California, 1981.
- Foreman, Grant. "Missionaries of the Latter-day Saints in Indian Territory." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 13 (June 1935): 196-213.
- Fowler, Catherine S. and Don D. Fowler. "Notes on the History of the Southern Piutes and Western Shoshones." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1971): 95-113.
- Fowler, Don D. "Cultural Ecology and Culture of the Eastern Shoshone Indians." Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburg, 1965.
- Freeman, John Leiper, Jr. "The New Deal for Indians: A Study in Bureau — Committee Relations in American Government." Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1952.
- Freedman, John F. "The Indian Convert: Theme and Variation." *Ethnohistory* 12 (Spring 1965): 113-28.
- Fritz, Henry E. *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963.
- Fussell, Edwin S. "The Red Face of Man." In Sherman Paul, ed. *Thoreau: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962, pp. 142-60.
- Fyans, J. Thomas. "The Lamanites Must Rise in Majesty and Power." *Ensign* 6 (May 1976): 12-13.
- Getches, David H., Daniel M. Rosenfelt, and Charles F. Wilkinson. *Federal Indian Law, Cases and Materials*. St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1979.
- Gibbs, Josiah F. "Black Hawk's Last Raid — 1866." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 4 (Oct. 1931): 98-108.
- Gibson, Arrell Morgan. *The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present*. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1980.
- Gilcreast, Everett Arthur. "Richard Henry Pratt and American Indian Policy, 1877-1906: A Study of the Assimilation Movement." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1967.
- Gill, Sam D. *Native American Religions, An Introduction*. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1982.
- Gottfredson, Peter. *History of Indian Depredations in Utah*. Salt Lake City: Shelton Publishing Co., 1919.
- Gottlieb, Robert, and Peter Wiley. *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1984.
- Gowans, Frederick R. "A History of Brigham Young's Indian Superintendency (1851-1857), Problems and Accomplishments." M.A. thesis, BYU, 1963.
- Green, Dean M. "The Limhi Indians of Eastern Idaho." M.A. thesis, BYU, 1958.
- Green, Dee F. "Book of Mormon Archaeology: The Myths and the Alternatives." *DIALOGUE* 4 (Summer 1969): 71-80.
- . "Mormon Archaeology in the 1970s: A New Decade, A New Approach." *DIALOGUE* 8 (Summer 1973): 49-55.
- Guerrero, Manuel P. "Indian Child Welfare Act: A Response to the Threat to Indian Culture Caused by Foster and Adoptive Placements of Indian Children." *American Indian Law Review* 7 (1979): 51-77.

- Hafen, P. Jane. "A Pale Reflection: American Indian Images in Mormon Art." M.A. thesis, BYU, 1984.
- Hagan, William T. "Indian Policy after the Civil War: The Reservation Experience." *Indiana Historical Society Lectures, 1970-71*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1971.
- . *American Indians*. Rev. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- . "Tribalism Rejuvenated: The Native American since the Era of Termination." *Western Historical Quarterly* 12 (Jan. 1981): 5-16.
- Hall, Gerald Ray. "A Weekend Foster Parent Program. . . ." M.R.E. thesis, BYU, 1970.
- Hall, William. *The Abominations of Mormonism Exposed*. Cincinnati: I. Hart, 1852.
- Hanson, William F. "The Lure of Tam-man Nacup, Springtime Festival of the Utes." Ph.D. diss., BYU, 1937.
- Harris, Llewellyn. "Miraculous Healings Among the Zunis." *Juvenile Instructor* 14 (15 July 1879): 160-61.
- . "The Faith of the Zunis." *Juvenile Instructor* 18 (Jan. 1883): 61-64.
- Hasse, Larry J. "Termination and Assimilation: Federal Indian Policy, 1943 to 1961." Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 1974.
- Hatch, Roger D. "Integrating the Issue of Race into the History of Christianity in America." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 46 (Dec. 1978): 545-69.
- Hauck, Paul Anthony. "Horscharch Performances of the Ute Indians." Ph.D., University of Utah, 1953.
- Haynes, Alan E. "The Federal Government and Its Policies Regarding the Frontier Era of Utah Territory, 1850-1877." Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1968.
- Hebard, Grace Raymond. *Washakie*. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1930.
- HC. Joseph Smith, Jr. *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Period I*. Ed. B. H. Roberts. 2nd ed. rev. 7 vols. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1964.
- Heimer, H. Bartley. "Mormon-Indian Relations as Viewed Through the Walker War." MA thesis, BYU, 1955.
- Heinze, Lyle S. "Origin and Development of the San Juan Mission in Southeastern Utah in Its Work with Indian People, Especially since 1940." M.R.E. thesis, BYU, 1976.
- Hertzberg, Hazel. *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1971.
- Higham, John. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, 1955.
- Highwater, Jamake. *The Primal Mind: Vision and Reality in Indian America*. New York: Harper and Row, 1981.
- Hill, Edward E. *The Office of Indian Affairs: Historical Sketches*. New York: Clearwater Publishing Co., 1974.
- Hinkley, R. Clinton. "Biography of Arza Erastus Hinkley." Senior thesis, Utah State Agricultural College, 1941.
- Hinton, Wayne K. "A Biographical History of Mahonri M. Young, A Western American Artist." Ph.D. diss., BYU, 1974.
- Horsman, Reginald. *Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1783-1812*. Ann Arbor: Michigan State University Press, 1967.
- . "Scientific Racism and the American Indian in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *American Quarterly* 17 (May 1975): 152-68.
- Hoxie, Frederick E. *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the American Indians, 1880-1920*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
- Huddleston, Lee Eldridge. *Origins of the American Indians, European Concepts, 1492-1729*. Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute of Latin American Studies, 1967.

- Hultkrantz, Åke. *The Religions of the American Indians*. Trans. Christopher Vecsey. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.
- . *The Study of American Indian Religions*. New York: Crossroads Publishing Co. for the American Academy of Religion, 1983.
- . *Belief and Worship in Native North America*. Trans. Christopher Vecsey. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1981.
- Hunsaker, Don C. "A Study to Determine the Job Description of Latter-day Saint Indian Seminary Area Coordinators." M.Ed. thesis, BYU, 1967.
- "Indian Placement." *Church News*, 1 Jan. 1972, p. 8.
- Jackson, Richard H. "The Indian Farms: An Attempt at Cultural Integration." In Jerry N. McDonald and Tony Lazewski, eds., *Geographical Perspectives on Native Americans*. N.p.: Association of American Geographers, Associated Committee on Native Americans, Publication No. 1, n.d.
- , ed. *Isolation and Exploitation: The Geography of the Northern Utah Reservation*. Occasional Papers in Geography. Provo, Utah: BYU Geography Department, 1982.
- Jacobs, Wilbur R. *Dispossessing the American Indians: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972.
- James, Rhett S. "Brigham Young — Chief Washakie Indian Farm Negotiations, 1854-1857." *Annals of Wyoming* 39 (Oct. 1967): 245-56.
- Jennings, Francis. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1975.
- Jennings, Jesse D., Elmer R. Smith, and Charles E. Dibble. *Indians of Utah, Past and Present*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1959.
- Jennings, Warren A. "Isaac McCoy and the Mormons." *Missouri Historical Review* 61 (Oct. 1966): 62-82.
- . "The First Mormon Mission to the Indians." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 37 (Autumn 1971): 288-99.
- Jensen, Richard L. "Forgotten Relief Societies, 1844-67." *DIALOGUE* 16 (Spring 1983): 105-25.
- Jessee, Dean C., ed. *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984.
- John, Charley. "Mormons Steal Indian Children." *The Warpath* 2 (1970): 6.
- Jones, Daniel W. *Forty Years Among the Indians*. Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1890.
- Jordan, Winthrop D. *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968.
- Jorgensen, Enoch. "Customs and Legends of Utah Indians." *Improvement Era* 14 (April 1913): 625-29.
- Joseph, Alvin M., Jr. *Red Power: The American Indians' Fight for Freedom*. New York: American Heritage Press of McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1971.
- . *Now That the Buffalo's Gone: A Study of Today's Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984.
- Judd, Derrel Wesley. "Zadok Knapp Judd: Soldier, Colonizer, Missionary to the Lamanites." M.A. thesis, BYU, 1968.
- Kammer, Jerry. *The Second Long Walk: The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980.

- Keane, Collen. "Controversy over Native Child Placement by Mormon Church." *Wasaja* 9 (Sept./Oct. 1982): 12, 13.
- Kellaway, William. *The New England Company, 1649-1776, Missionary Society to the American Indians*. London: Longmans, 1961.
- Keller, Robert H., Jr. *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-82*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.
- Kelley, Lawrence C. *The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1983.
- . "The Indian Reorganization Act: The Dream and the Reality." *Pacific Historical Review* 44 (Aug. 1975): 291-312.
- Kimball, Edward L., ed. *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982.
- , and Andrew E. Kimball, Jr. *Spencer W. Kimball*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1977.
- King, Jeffrey S. "'Do Not Execute Chief Pocatello': President Lincoln Acts to Save the Shoshoni Chief." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (Summer 1985): 237-47.
- Koppes, Clayton R. "From New Deal to Termination: Liberalism and Indian Policy, 1933-1953." *Pacific Historical Review* 46 (Nov. 1977): 543-66.
- Knack, Martha C. "Beyond the Differential: An Inquiry into the Southern Paiute Indian Experience with Public School." *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 9 (1978): 216-34.
- Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Culture in America, 1580-1640*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1980.
- Kvasnicka, Robert M., and Herman J. Viola, eds. *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1824-1977*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.
- Larsen, Dean L. *American Indians Today*. Provo: BYU Press, 1965.
- Larson, Gustive O. "Walkara's Half Century." *Western Humanities Review* 6 (Summer 1952): 235-59.
- . "Brigham Young and the Indians." *1962 Seminar on Brigham Young*. Provo: BYU Press, 1963a, pp. 31-49.
- . "Brigham Young and the Indians." In Robert G. Ferris, ed. *The American West: An Appraisal*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1963b.
- . "Walkara, Ute Chief." In LeRoy R. Hafen, ed. *The Mountain Men and Fur Trade of the Far West*. Vol. 2. Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1965, pp. 339-50.
- . "Uintah Dream: The Ute Treaty — Spanish Fork, 1865." *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974) 361-81.
- Law, Wesley R. "Mormon Indian Missions — 1855." M.A. thesis, BYU, 1959.
- Law, Reuben D. *The Founding and Early Development of the Church College of Hawaii*. St. George, Utah: Dixie College Press, 1972.
- Lazarus, Arthur Jr. "Brigham Young and the Indians." In Robert G. Ferris, ed., *The American West, An Appraisal* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1963).
- . "Title II of the 1968 Civil Rights Act: An Indian Bill of Rights." *North Dakota Law Review* 45 (Spring 1969): 337-52.
- Leach, Douglas Edward. *Arms for Empire: A Military History of the British Colonies in North America, 1607-1763*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1973.
- LeDuc, Thomas. "The Work of the Indian Claims Commission under the Act of 1946." *Pacific Historical Review* 26 (Feb. 1957): 1-17.
- Lee, George P. "A Comparative Study of Activities and Opinions of Navajo High School Graduates among Four Selected School Models." Ed.D. diss., BYU, 1975.
- Lee, Jerry D. "A Study of the Influence of the Mormon Church on the Catawba Indians of South Carolina, 1882-1975." M.S. thesis, BYU, 1976.



- Lee, R. Alton. "Indian Citizenship and the Fourteenth Amendment." *South Dakota History* 4 (Spring 1974): 198-221.
- Levine, Stuart and Nancy O. Lurie, eds. *The American Indian Today*. Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1968.
- Liebler, H. Baxter. "The Social and Cultural Patterns of the Navajo Indians." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 30 (Fall 1962): 299-325.
- Liljebad, Sven S. "Indian Peoples of Idaho." M.A. thesis, Idaho State University, 1957.
- Long, E. B. "The 'Terrible Combat' at Bear River for Federal Officials Serving the West: Mormons and Indians Created Far More Problems than the Rebels." *Civil War Times Illustrated* 15 (April 1976): 4-6, 7-10, 40-43.
- . *The Saints and the Union*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981.
- Lundwall, N. B., comp. *Temples of the Most High*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1968.
- Lundquist, Geraldine Taylor. "The Indian Student Placement Program as a Means of Increasing the Education of Children of Selective Indian Families." MS thesis, Utah State University, 1974.
- Lurie, Nancy Oestreich. "The Indian Claims Commission Act." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 311 (May 1957): 56-70.
- Lyman, A. R. *Indians and Outlaws: Settling the San Juan Frontier*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962.
- Madsen, Brigham M. "Shoshone-Bannock Marauders on the Oregon Trail, 1859-1863." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Fall 1962): 299-325.
- . *The Lemhi: Sacajawea's People*. Caldwell, Ida.: Caxton Printers, 1979.
- . *The Northern Shoshoni*. Caldwell, Ida.: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1980.
- . *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre*. Vol. 1, Utah Centennial Series. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985a.
- , ed. *B. H. Roberts on the Book of Mormon*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985b.
- Maestas, John R., and Jeff Simons. *The Lamanite*. Rev. ed. Provo, Utah: privately distributed, 1981. Special Collections, Lee Library, BYU.
- Malouf, A. Arline. "The Effects of Spanish Slavery on the Indians of the Intermountain West." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 1 (Winter 1945): 378-91.
- Malouf, Carling I. "A Study of the Gosiute Indians of Utah." M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1940.
- , and Elmer R. Smith. "Some Gosiute Mythological Characters and Concepts." *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (Oct. 1947): 369-77.
- Mardock, Robert Winston. *The Reformers and the American Indian*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971.
- Matthews, James D. "A Study of the Cultural and Religious Behavior of the Navajo Indians which Caused Animosity, Resistance, or Indifference to the Religious Teaching of the Latter-day Saints." M.A. thesis, BYU, 1967.
- Mauss, Armand L. "Mormons and Minorities." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1970.
- McConkie, Bruce R. "To The Koreans and All the People of Asia." 5 March 1971. In Spencer J. Palmer, ed. *The Expanding Church*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978, pp. 137-48.
- McDonnell, Janet. "The Disintegration of the Indian Estate: Indian Land Policy, 1913-1929." Ph.D. diss., Marquette University, 1980.
- McLoughlin, William G. *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
- McNickle, D'Arcy. *American Indian Tribalism: Indian Survival and Renewal*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.

- Miller, David Henry. "The Impact of the Gunnison Massacre on Mormon-Federal Relations: Colonel Edward Jenner Steptoe's Command in Utah Territory, 1854-1855." M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1968.
- Mooney, James. *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*. Part Two of the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution*. Washington, D.C., 1896.
- Morgan, Dale L. "The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah, 1851-1858." *Pacific Historical Review* 17 (Nov. 1948): 383-409.
- , ed. "U.S. Office of Indian Affairs: Utah Superintendency." *Annals of Wyoming* 15 (July 1953): 140-89.
- Moses, L. D., and Raymond Wilson, eds. *Indian Lives: Essays on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Native American Leaders*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985.
- Nash, John D. "The Salmon River Mission of 1855: A Reappraisal." *Idaho Yesterdays* 11 (Spring 1967): 22-32.
- Nash, Gary B. *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America*. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1982.
- Neihardt, John G. *Black Elk Speaks, Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux*. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1932.
- Neil, William M. "The Territorial Governor as Indian Superintendent in the Trans-Mississippi West." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 43 (Sept. 1956): 213-37.
- Nibley, Hugh W. "The Archaeological Problem." Appendix 1 in his *An Approach to the Book of Mormon*. 2nd ed. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1964.
- Nickeson, Steve. "The Structure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 40 (Winter 1976): 61-76.
- O'Dea, Thomas. *The Mormons*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.
- Olson, James S., and Raymond Wilson. *Native Americans in the Twentieth Century*. Provo: BYU Press, 1984.
- Oman, Richard. "LDS Southwest Indian Art." *Ensign* 12 (Sept. 1982): 33-48.
- , and Susan Oman. "A Passion for Painting: Minerva Kohlhepp Teichert." *Ensign* 6 (Dec. 1976): 52-58.
- O'Neil, Floyd Alexander. "The Reluctant Suzerainty: The Uintah and Ouray Reservation." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1971): 129-44.
- . "An Anguished Odyssey: The Flight of the Utes, 1906-1908." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Fall 1968): 315-27.
- . "A History of the Ute Indians of Utah until 1890." Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1973.
- . "The Utes, Southern Piutes, and Gosiutes." In Papanikolas 1976.
- , and Stanford J. Layton. "Of Pride and Politics: Brigham Young as Indian Superintendent." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978): 236-50.
- . "Blood Indians and 'Mormon' Public Schools: A Case Study of Ethnicity and Integrated Education." In R. A. Carlton, L. A. Colley, and N. J. MacKinnon, eds. *Education Change and Society: A Sociology of Canadian Education*. Toronto: Gage, 1977.
- Opler, Marvin K. "The Ute and Paiute Indians of the Great Basin Southern Rim." In Eleanor Burke Leacock and Nancy Oestreich Lurie, eds. *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*. New York: Random House, 1971, pp. 257-88.
- Osborne, Virgus Con. "An Appraisal of the Education Programs for Native Americans at Brigham Young University, 1966-1974, with Curricular Recommendations." Ed.D. diss., University of Utah, 1975.
- Otis, D. S. *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands*. 1934. Reprint ed. Introduction by Francis Paul Prucha. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973.

- Packer, Boyd K. "Manual of Policies and Procedures for the Administration of Indian Seminaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Ed.D. diss., BYU, 1962.
- Palmer, William R. "Utah Indians, Past and Present." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 1 (April 1928): 35-52.
- Papanikolas, Helen Z., ed. *The Peoples of Utah*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976.
- Parman, Donald L. "American Indians and the Bicentennial." *New Mexico Historical Review* 51 (July 1976): 233-49.
- Parry, Keith. "'To Raise These People Up': An Examination of a Mormon Mission to an Indian Community as an Agent of Social Change." Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1972.
- Pearce, Roy Harvey. "The 'Ruines of Mankind': The Indian and the Puritan Mind." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 13 (April 1952): 200-17.
- . *Savagism and Civilization*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953.
- Perry, Joshua. Interview. In Enoch Jorgensen. "Customs and Legends of Utah Indians." *Improvement Era* 14 (April 1913): 625-29.
- Petersen, Mark E. *Children of Promise: The Lamanites Yesterday and Today*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1981.
- Peterson, Charles S. "The Hopis and the Mormons, 1858-1873." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1971): 179-94.
- . *Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing along the Little Colorado, 1870-1900*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973.
- . "Jacob Hamblin, Apostle to the Lamanites, and the Indian Mission." *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975a): 21-34.
- . "Indian Relations on an Emerging Frontier." *Look to the Mountains: Southwestern Utah and the La Sal National Forest*. Provo: BYU Press, 1975b, pp. 55-79.
- Pevar, Stephen L. *The Rights of Indians and Tribes*. New York: Bantam Books, An American Civil Liberties Union Handbook, 1983.
- Philp, Kenneth R. *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977.
- . "Termination: A Legacy of the Indian New Deal." *Western Historical Quarterly* 14 (April 1983): 165-80.
- Plaisance, Aloysius. "The United States Government Factory System, 1796-1822." Ph.D. diss., St. Louis University, 1954.
- Porter, H. C. *The Inconstant Savage: England and the North American Indian, 1500-1600*. London: Duckworth, 1979.
- Porto, Brian L. "The Policy Process in American Indian Affairs: Patterns of Interaction Between American Indian Interest Groups, The Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Indian Affairs Committees of Congress." Ph.D. diss., Miami University 1979.
- Pratt, Parley P. *A Voice of Warning*. New York: W. Sandford, 1837.
- . "Present Condition and Prospectus of the American Indians, or Lamanites." *LDS Millennial Star* 2 (July 1841): 40-42.
- . "Oh, Stop and Tell Me, Red Man." In *Sacred Hymns and Spiritual Songs for The Church . . .*, 10th European ed. (Liverpool: Published for Orson Pratt by S. W. Richards, 1854), No. 283.
- . *Autobiography*. New York: Russell Brothers, 1874.
- Preece, Eldred Bruce. "Mormon Missionary Work Among the Indians of North America in the Twentieth Century." 1965. Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, BYU, Provo, Utah.
- Price, John A. "The Book of Mormon vs. Anthropological Prehistory." *Indian Historian* 7 (Summer 1974): 35-40.

- Price, Sara Sue. "A Comparison of Gosiute Material Culture and Archaeology of Western Utah." MS thesis, University of Utah, 1952.
- Priest, Loring Benson. *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The Reformation of United States Indian Policy, 1865-1887*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1942.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790-1834*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.
- . *The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783-1846*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1969.
- , ed. *Documents of United States Indian Policy*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975.
- . *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.
- . *A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Indian-White Relations in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- . *The Churches and the Indian Schools*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.
- . *United States Indian Policy: Historical Essays*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981.
- . *Indian-White Relations in the United States: A Bibliography of Works Published 1975-1980*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.
- . "American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century." *Western Historical Quarterly* 15 (Jan. 1984a): 5-18.
- . *The Great Father, The United States Government and the American Indians*. 2 vols. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984b.
- Putney, Diane T. "Fighting the Scourge: American Indian Morbidity and Federal Policy, 1897-1928." Ph.D. diss., Marquette University, 1980.
- Radin, Paul. *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology*. New York: Schocken Books, 1972.
- Rainer, Howard. "An Analysis of Attitudes Navajo Community Leaders Have toward a Religion-Sponsored Program Based upon Membership of That Faith and Amount of Information Obtained." M.A. thesis, BYU, 1976.
- Raish, Martin. "All That Glitters: Uncovering Fool's Gold in Book of Mormon Archaeology." *Sunstone* 6 (Jan.-Feb. 1981): 10-15.
- Rees, Thomas M. "Mormon Missionary Work Among the Western Indians." M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1922.
- Rice, R. Child. "Thomas Sasson Smith and Fort Lemhi." *Upper Snake River Valley Historical Society Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1972): 80-85.
- Richards, Le Grand. "The Lamanites: A People of Promise." Address to BYU Studentbody, 24 Feb. 1970.
- Roberts, B. H. *Life of John Taylor*. Salt Lake City, 1892.
- Romney, Thomas C. *The Life of Lorenzo Snow*. Salt Lake City: Sugarhouse Press, 1955.
- Ronda, James P., and James Axtell. *Indian Missions: A Critical Bibliography*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press for the Newberry Library, 1978.
- Rosenthal, Harvey D. "Their Day in Court: A History of the Indian Claims Commission." Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 1976.
- Salabiye, Velma S., and James R. Young. "American Indian Leaders and Leadership of the Twentieth Century: A Bibliographical Essay." *Journal of the West* 23 (Fall 1984): 70-76.
- Satz, Ronald N. *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975.

- Sayre, Robert F. *Thoreau and the American Indian*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Schimmelpfenning, D. J. "A Study of Cross-Cultural Problems in the L.D.S. Indian Student Placement Program in Davis County, Utah." Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1971.
- Schroeder, Albert H. "A Brief History of the Southern Utes." *Southwestern Lore* 30 (March 1965): 53-78.
- Schultz, George A. *An Indian Canaan: Isaac McCoy and the Vision of an Indian State*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972.
- Seegmiller, Emma Carroll. "Personal Memories of the United Order: Indian Neighbors." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 7 (Oct. 1939): 195-200.
- Sekaquaptewa, Helen. *Me and Mine: The Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa*, as told to Louise Udal. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969.
- Sheffield, Beck K. "A Comparison of the Achievement of Post High School Students who have graduated from the Intermountain Indian School and the Latter-day Saint Indian Placement Program in the years 1964-74." M.Ed. thesis, BYU, 1969.
- Sheehan, Bernard W. "Indian-White Relations in Early America: A Review Essay." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 26 (1969): 267-86.
- . *Savagism and Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Sillitoe, Linda. "The Old and the New Come Together on the Ute Reservation." *Deseret News*, 25 Sept. 1983.
- Smaby, Beverly P. "The Mormons and the Indians: Conflicting Ecological Systems in the Great Basin." *American Studies* 16 (Spring 1975): 35-48.
- Smiley, Winn Whiting. "Ammon M. Tenney: Mormon Missionary to the Indians." *Journal of Arizona History* 13 (Summer 1972): 82-108.
- Smith, Jane F., and Robert M. Kvasnicka, eds. *Indian-White Relations: A Persistent Paradox*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1976.
- Smith, Joseph Fielding. *The Progress of Man*. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1936.
- . *Man, His Origin and Destiny*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1954.
- . *Doctrines of Salvation*. Bruce R. McConkie, comp. 3 vols. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954-56.
- . *Answers to Gospel Questions*. Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., comp. 5 vols. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1957-66.
- . "The Prophesied Future of the Indian People." Address to the BYU Indian Student Ward, 28 April 1967. In *Seek Ye Earnestly*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1970, pp. 397-403.
- Smith, Julina. "A Discussion of the Inter-relations of the Latter-day Saints and the American Indians." M.A. thesis, BYU, 1932.
- Smith, Michael T. "The History of Indian Citizenship." *Great Plains Journal* 10 (Fall 1970): 25-35.
- . "The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934: The Indian New Deal." *Journal of the West* 10 (July 1971): 521-34.
- Smith, Robert Dean. "Relationship between Foster Home Placement and Later Acculturation Patterns of Selected American Indians." M.S. thesis, Utah State University, 1968.
- Snow, Dean R. *Native American Prehistory: A Critical Bibliography*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979.
- Snow, William J. "The Great Basin Before the Coming of the Mormons." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1923.
- . "Utah Indians and the Spanish Slave Trade." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (July 1929): 67-90.

- Sonne, Conway B. "Royal Blood of the Utes." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (Summer 1954): 271-96.
- . *World of Wakara*. San Antonio: Naylor Co., 1962.
- Sorkin, Alan L. "Some Aspects of American Indian Migration." *Social Forces* 48 (1969): 243-50.
- . *American Indians and Federal Aid*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1971.
- . *The Urban American Indian*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1978.
- Sorenson, John L. "Ancient America and the Book of Mormon Revisited." *DIALOGUE* 4 (Summer 1969): 80-94.
- . "Instant Expertise on Book of Mormon Archaeology." *BYU Studies* 16 (Spring 1976): 429-32.
- . *The Urban American Indian*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1978.
- . *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1985.
- Spencer, Deloy J. "The Utah Black Hawk War, 1865-1871." M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1969.
- Spicer, Edward H. "Types of Contract and Processes of Change." In Spicer, ed., *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961, pp. 517-44.
- Stenhouse, T. B. H. *Rocky Mountain Saints*. New York: Appleton and Company, 1873.
- Steward, Jon, and Peter Wiley. "Cultural Genocide." *Penthouse* 12 (June 1981): 81-84, 152-54, 163-64.
- Stewart, Omer Call. "Ute Indians: Before and After White Contact." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34 (Winter 1966): 38-61.
- . *Indians of the Great Basin: A Critical Bibliography*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- Storm, Hyemeyohsts. *Seven Arrows*. New York: Ballantine Books of Random House, Inc., 1972.
- Strom, Ake V. "Red Indian Elements in Early Mormonism." *Temenos: Studies in Comparative Religion* [Helsinki] 5 (1969): 102-68.
- Stuart, Paul. *The Indian Office: Growth and Development of an American Institution, 1865-1900*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1979.
- Sutton, Imre. *Indian Land Tenure: Bibliographical Essays and a Guide to the Literature*. New York: Clearwater Pub. Co., 1975.
- Swagerty, W. R., ed. *Scholars and the Indian Experience*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press for the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, Newberry Library, 1984.
- Szasz, Margaret. *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination, 1928-1973*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974.
- Tax, Sol. "The Impact of Urbanization on American Indians." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 436 (1978): 121-36.
- Taylor, Grant Hardy. "A Comparative Study of Former LDS Placement and Non-Placement Navajo Students at Brigham Young University." Ph.D. diss., BYU, 1981.
- Taylor, Graham D. *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-45*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980.
- Taylor, Theodore W. "The Regional Organization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1959.
- . *The States and Their Citizens*. Washington, D.C.: Dept. of the Interior, BIA, 1972.

- . *American Indian Policy*. Mt. Airy, Md.: Lomond Publications, 1983.
- "This Mission President is a 'Cowboy's Cowboy.'" *Deseret News*, 10 May 1969.
- Thompson, Gregory C. *Southern Ute Lands, 1848-1899: The Creation of a Reservation*. Occasional Papers of the Center of Southwest Studies, No. 1. Durango, Colo., 1975.
- . "The Unwanted Indians: The Southern Utes in Southeastern Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Spring 1981): 189-203.
- Thornton, Russel, et al. *The Urbanization of American Indians: A Critical Bibliography*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press for the Newberry Library, 1982.
- Topper, Martin D. "Mormon Placement: The Effects of Missionary Foster Families on Navajo Adolescents." *Ethos* 7 (Summer 1979): 142-60.
- Trennert, Robert A., Jr. "The Mormons and the Office of Indian Affairs: The Conflict over Winter Quarters, 1846-1848." *Nebraska History* 53 (Fall 1972): 381-400.
- . *Alternative to Extinction: Federal Indian Policy and the Beginnings of the Reservation System, 1846-51*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975.
- Tullis, F. Lamond. "Early Mormon Exploration and Missionary Activities in Mexico." *BYU Studies* 22 (Summer 1982): 289-310.
- Tyler, S. Lyman. "Before Escalante: An Early History of the Yuta Indians and the Area North of New Mexico." Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1951a.
- . "The Yuta Indians before 1860." *Western Humanities Review* 5 (Spring 1951b): 153-63.
- . *The Ute People: A Bibliographical Checklist*. Provo: Institute of American Indian Studies, BYU, 1964.
- . *History of Indian Policy*. Washington, D.C. Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1973.
- . "The Recent Urbanization of the American Indian." In Thomas G. Alexander, ed. *Charles Redd Monographs in Western History*. No. 5. Provo: BYU Press, 1974, pp. 43-62.
- . *An Essay on the Historiography of the Indians of the Americas*. Salt Lake City: American West Center, University of Utah, 1977.
- . "The Indians in Utah Territory." In Richard D. Poll et al., eds. *Utah's History*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978a, pp. 357-69.
- . "Ute Indians along Civil War Communication Lines." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978b): 251-61.
- Utley, Robert M. *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865*. New York: Macmillan, 1967.
- . *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891*. New York: Macmillan, 1973.
- . *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1984.
- Vaughan, Alden T. "From White Man to Redskin: Changing Anglo-American Perceptions of the American Indian." *American Historical Review* 87 (Oct. 1982): 917-53.
- Viola, Herman J. *Thomas L. McKenney: Architect of America's Early Indian Policy, 1816-1830*. Chicago: Swallow Press, 1974.
- Vogt, Evon Z., and Ethel Albert. *People of Rimrock: A Study of Values in Five Cultures*. New York: Atheneum, 1970.
- Waddell, Jack O., and O. Michael Watson, eds. *The American Indian in Urban Society*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.
- Wahlquist, Wayne L., et al., eds. *Atlas of Utah*. Ogden and Provo: Weber State College and BYU Press, 1981.
- Warner, Michael J. "Protestant Missionary Activity among the Navajo, 1890-1912." *New Mexico Historical Review* 40 (1971): 261-81.

- Washburn, Wilcomb E. "The Moral and Legal Justifications for Dispossessing the Indians." In James Morton Smith, ed. *Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959, pp. 15-32.
- . *Red Man's Land — White Man's Law*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971.
- . *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*. 4 vols. New York: Random House, 1973.
- . *The Indian in America*. New York: Harper and Row, 1975a.
- . *The Assault on Indian Tribalism: The General Allotment Law (Dawes Act) of 1887*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1975b.
- Waters, Frank. *The Book of Hopi*. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.
- Watkins, Arthur. "Termination of Federal Supervision: The Removal of Restrictions over Indian Property and Person." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 311 (May 1957): 47-55.
- Wauchope, Robert. *Lost Tribes and Sunken Continents: Myth and Method in the Study of American Indians*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Webb, L. Robert. "An Examination of Certain Aspects of the American Indian Education Program at BYU: A Study Conducted by L. Robert Webb." 1972. Special Collections, Lee Library, BYU.
- Weyler, Rex. *Blood of the Land: The Government and Corporate War Against the American Indian Movement*. New York: Random House, 1982.
- Whitney, Orson F. "Later Leaves of the Life of Lorenzo Snow" [1890]. Typescript. Ch. 3-8 detail Snow's work with the Nez Perce and among the Shoshone in 1885.
- Whittaker, David J. "Spencer Woolley Kimball and the American Indian." Forthcoming.
- Wilkinson, Charles E., and Eric R. Briggs. "The Evolution of the Termination Policy." *American Indian Law Review* 5 (1977): 139-84.
- Wilkinson, Ernest L., ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*. 4 vols. Provo: BYU Press, 1975.
- and Leonard J. Arrington, eds., *Brigham Young University, The First One Hundred Years*. Provo: BYU Press, 1975. Vol. 3:503-35. This chapter on Indian programs was mostly written by Virgus Con Osborne.
- Wilkinson, Glen A. "Indian Tribal Claims before the Court of Claims." *Georgetown Law Journal* 55 (Dec. 1966): 511-28.
- Williams, Parley L. "Personal Recollections of Wash-A-Kie." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 1 (Oct. 1928): 101-6.
- Willson, Linda Ouida. "Changes in Scholastic Achievement and Intelligence of Indian Children Enrolled in a Foster Placement Program." M.A. thesis, BYU, 1984.
- Witherspoon, Gary. *Language and Art in the Navajo Universe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1977.
- Wood, David L. "Gosiute-Shoshone Draft Resistance, 1917-18." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Spring 1981): 173-88.
- Woodruff, Wilford. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*. Typescript. Scott G. Kenney, ed. 9 vols. Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85.
- Wright, Coulsen, and Geneva Wright. "Indian-White Relations in Uintah Basin." *Western Humanities Review* 2 (Oct. 1948): 319-45.