Selective Bibliography on African-Americans and Mormons 1830–1990

Compiled by Chester Lee Hawkins

Introduction

African-American Mormons until recently have received little attention, at least partly because of the limited bibliographical listings that coordinate the sources available for historical or scholarly research papers on their history. This bibliography, though selective, attempts to change that, to meet the needs of the LDS scholarly and religious community.

This work catalogues a variety of reference materials on the role of African-Americans in Mormon history from 1830 to 1990. Included are books and monographs, general and LDS serials, newspaper articles, theses and dissertations, pamphlets, and unpublished works such as journal entries, letters, and speeches, as well as materials relating to the 1978 revelation that “all worthy males” can be ordained to the priesthood in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

I have divided the bibliography into nine major divisions and have included many annotated entries. It is my hope that this work will assist others who are interested in undertaking research projects that will lead to a more definitive and scholarly study of African-Americans’ contributions to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This Selective Bibliography is important for all who wish to contribute to the study of African-Americans in the Mormon church. It is my hope that Latter-day Saints today will understand and appreciate the joys and struggles that African-Americans have had throughout the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

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1830-46

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD:

JOSEPH SMITH AND JACKSONIAN AMERICA

Books and Monographs

Pratt, Parley P. A Voice of Warning and Instruction to All People. New York: W. Sandford, 1837.

This pamphlet discusses race and slavery.

———. Late Persecution of the Church of Latter-day Saints. New York: J. W. Harrison, 1840.

This pamphlet discusses race and slavery.


Includes references on blacks under such headings as “The Prophet’s Views on Abolition,” “Lies Concerning Abolition Rebuked,” “LDS Church’s Position on Negroes in Missouri,” “Missouri Law Concerning the Negro,” “Missouri vs. Retribution, Fought Against the Negro,” “Church’s Stand on Slavery and Abolition,” “Saints Cannot Vote Any More than Negroes,” “The Prophets’ Views of the Negro Race,” “The Negro Came into the World Slaves,” “Two Negroes Were Tried for Attempting to Marry White Women,” “Petition to Eliminate Slavery,” “Would Send Slaves to Texas Annexation and then to Mexico,” “Joseph Smith’s Comments on the Negro Chism’s Case,” and “Case of Whipping Chism.” The above headings are scattered among the seven volumes.

LDS Serial Publications

“Citizenship Denied to Negroes in Missouri,” Evening and Morning Star 2 (July 1833): 218.


“Break off the shackle from the poor black man, and hire them [sic] to labor like other human beings; for an hour of virtuous liberty on earth, is worth a whole eternity of bondage.”


“Minutes of a special conference of the Cincinnatti [sic] branch of the Church . . . held at Elder Pugh’s on the 1st day of June 1845.” Times and Seasons 5 (1 June 1845): 916.


“LDS Charged with Tampering with Slavery.” Evening and Morning Star 2 (December 1833): 242-46.

Latter Day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate 1 (August 1835): 163-64.

Adoption of a resolution which was made a part of Doctrine and Covenants 134.

Latter Day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate 2 (April 1836): 299-301.


“Joseph Smith supports Advocate’s Views on Slavery.”

Latter Day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate 2 (June 1836): 335.

Elijah Able [sic] listed as “Minister of the Gospel.”

Latter Day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate 3 (March 1837): 400.

Elijah Abel listed as Member of Kirtland Safety Society.

“Mormon Views on Slavery Criticised.” Times and Seasons 3 (1 June 1842): 806-08.

Reprinted from Alton Telegraph Review.
“Outrage in Jackson County, Missouri.”
*Evening and Morning Star* 2 (January 1834): 122.

Patten, David W., and W. Parish [sic].

“... [T]he power of tyranny that exists in slave states.”


“... [W]ith a black skin and of the need in which he incorporated the thought that Cain, Canaan and Ham were of the background of the black skin.”


“Speech of Brigham Young on April 6, 1845 given in the City of Joseph.” *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 July 1845): 954.

“The gospel is adapted to the capacity of all the human family, whether they be high or low, rich or poor, bond or free, black or white, young or old. ...”

Unpublished Works

Hyde, Orson. *Speech... Delivered Before the High Priests’ Quorum in Nauvoo, April 27, 1845.* Liverpool: James and Woodburn, 1845.

This pamphlet discussed mainly race issue policy that existed during the early period of the church.

Minutes of the Seventies Journal. 20 December 1836, 25 June 1836, and 1 June 1839.

These minutes mention Elijah Abel.

Nauvoo High Council Minutes. 15 December 1839.

Elijah Abel was paid for “making the coffin.”

1847–96

THE PIONEER PERIOD: BRIGHAM YOUNG TO WILFORD WOODRUFF

Books and Monographs


LDS Serial Publications


———. “Peculiarities of Language.” *Juvenile Instructor* 3 (1 September 1868): 133–34.

———. “From Caucasian to Negro.” *Juvenile Instructor* 3 (15 September 1868): 141–42.


“Negroes—Cain descendants to eventually receive blessing.” *LDS Millennial Star* 14 (14 December 1851): 418.


“Protection Against Slavery.” *LDS Millennial Star* 31 (March 6, 1868): 167–68.

Serials—General


"Race Troubles." *Deseret Weekly*, 26 January 1889, 146.

**Unpublished Works**

An Ordinance to Incorporate the City of Payson.
Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah. Salt Lake City, 1866.
Statutory Provisions were abolished that prohibited Blacks from voting and holding public office.

*Andes Mission*, "The Negroes." Brigham Young University.

Mimeographed pamphlet (between 1850–1900). Mission president was instructed to avoid seeking out the "negroes."

"Civil Practice Act." Acts, Resolution, and Memorials of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah Salt Lake City, 1876.
Women (black and white) were given the right to vote in territorial elections.

*Diary of L. John Nuttal*. Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.
An account of a meeting held in Provo, Utah, 31 May 1879, where discussions were held on "Negro and Priesthood."

*Eunice Kenney*. "My Testimony of the Latter-Day Work." Church Historical Department.
Testimony of the work of Elijah Abel, who served as a missionary in New York in 1838.

*Journal History*, Minutes of First Council of Seventy, 1839–63.
Elijah Abel appointed to be an undertaker in Nauvoo, see p. 494.

Cannon claimed that Joseph F. Smith told him that Joseph Smith taught that all of Ham's children were not black, that Ham had children born before he was cursed, hence that Egyptian Pharaoh is white in this picture. See vol. 16, 29 March 1882, p. 23.

*Journal of William Appleby*. Church Historical Department.
While traveling in New York, Appleby confronted a "coloured Brother" who was ordained an elder. 19 May 1847.

*Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah*.

Brigham Young’s Speech to the Joint Session of the Legislative Assembly, 5 January 1852; Speech by Governor Young in Counsel on a bill relative to the "African [sic] Slavery," 23 January 1852.

Kane, Thomas L. Letter to Brigham Young, 26 October 1869, Kane County, Pa. Church Historical Department.
"All male citizens of the United States over 21 years of age having residence of 6 months in this state (State of Deseret) shall be entitled to vote; the words 'free, white, male,' having been struck out. The number of votes polled on this amendment was 14,000 for, and 30 against."


1897–1950

**Defense and Consolidation: The Church in the Early Twentieth Century**

**Books and Monographs**


See biographical sketch of Elijah Abel.


See p. 8, letter of Asael Smith to Jacob Town, Junior, “... I have taken up with the eleventh commandment that the negro taught to the minister, which was thus... The minister asked the negro man how many commandments there were, his answer was 'eleban, sir' 'Aye,' replied the other, 'what is the eleventh? That is the one I never heard of.' The eleventh commandment, sir, is mind your own business.'”


**LDS Serial Publications**

“Are Negroes Children of Adam?” *Millennial Star* 65 (3 December 1903): 776-78.


“Booker T. Washington’s Views of the Mormons.” *The Improvement Era* 16 (June 1913): 807-08.


**Serials—General**


**Newspapers**

"Death of Jane James, Utah's Black Pioneer of 1847." Deseret Evening News, 21 April 1908, 2.
"Emigration of Negroes." Deseret Evening News, 29 April 1901.
Green Flake was a Black pioneer who came to Utah in 1847 with Brigham Young.
"Negroes and Heaven." Deseret Evening News, 17 December 1903.
"Utah Pioneer (Green Flake) Laid to Rest." Deseret Evening News, 23 October 1903, 5.

This thesis touched upon the anti-slavery tendencies of the Mormons.

Unpublished Works
George Albert Smith Papers. University of Utah Library and Church Historical Department Archives, Salt Lake City.
Minutes of the Quorum of the Twelve discussing Church policy on blacks. Requests had been made to the Quorum for endowments, and questions had been asked about blacks and other ethnic groups with black skin.

Journal History. Church Historical Department Archives.
Whitaker visited with Booker T. Washington, the president of Tuskegee Institute, a guest speaker at the University of Utah.


1951-1960

DAVID O. MCKAY AND THE
INTERNATIONAL CHURCH

Books and Monographs

The discussion on Negroes includes various quotes from Church leaders.


Theses and Dissertations
References to Blacks and Mormons throughout.

References to Blacks and Mormons.

Salvation of Negro Children, see p. 55.


See pp. 160–64.


Serials—General


Christiansen, J. B. "Negro Slavery in the Utah Territory." *Phylon Quarterly* 13 (October 1957): 298–305.


Newspaper


This is an editorial in response to the *Time* article, "Mormonism and Civil Rights."

Theses and Dissertations


Discussion of Negroes in general, see pp. 6–28.


Pp. 305–6 and 335–36 discuss Mormon support for slavery.


Unpublished Works


Caldwell, Gaylon L. "The Development of Mormon Ethics." Address given at Utah Academy of Science Meeting, Fall 1952, Utah State University, Logan, Utah. Utah State University.


Author apologizes for a statement in *Time* which states that the Book of Mormon teaches that Negroes are descended from Laman and Lemuel.

Cole, Harmon O. "The Status of the Negro in Utah." Symposium on the Negro in Utah, Utah Academy of


Peterson, Mark Edward. “Race Problems—As They Affect the Church.” Address given at Brigham Young University, 27 August 1957.


Richardson, Arthur M. “That Ye May Not Be Deceived.”


Blacks in Utah history, see pp. 497–580.


Personal experiences of a Black Mormon.


Booker T. Washington’s views of the Mormons, see pp. 149–53.


Chapter 20—Mormonism and the Negro, see pp. 488–506.


“Mormonism and the Negro,” see pp. 129–58.


Hawkins: Selective Bibliography

Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?


The Negro Establishment.


See chapter 16, "Mormonism and the Negro." pp. 245-57.

LDS Serial Publications

Bennion, Lowell L. "Religion and Social Responsibility 'Human Rights'."
Instructor 100 (October 1965): 391.


This was also printed in Improvement Era 73 (February 1970): 70-71.


Serials—General


Enrenstein, Herbert H. "Mormons and the Negro, Will their Policy Change?" Eternity 16 (December 1965): 7-8, 14.


“Mormons and the Negro.” Newsweek, 6 March 1967, 80.


Article includes letter from David O. McKay to John E. Denhalter.


Jane Manning James was a Black servant of Joseph Smith. This is a reprint of an article that appeared in Young Woman’s Journal 16 (December 1905): 521-23.


This is a review of The Church and the Negro by John Lewis Lund.


Vernon, Glenn M. “Racial Integration and the Church—A Comparative Note.” DIALOGUE 3 (Summer 1967): 148-49.

Newspapers


“Give Full Civil Rights to All; LDS Counselor Brown (Hugh B.) Asked.” Salt Lake Tribune, 7 October 1962, 1.


Story about Elijah Abel.


Theses and Dissertations


Dutson, Roldo W. “A Study of the Attitudes 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 1847-1865.” Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1964.


Unpublished Works

Brodie, Fawn, M. “Can We Manipulate the Past?” Lecture presented at the First Annual American West Lecture at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, 3 October 1970.

Eggerton, Lars E. “Can Negroes and Mormons Be Brothers?” BYU research paper, 1964. Church Archives.


McMurrin, Sterling Moss. “The Negroes Among the Mormons.” Address given at the Annual banquet, Salt Lake City Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 21 June 1968. Brigham Young University.


Anti-Negro Doctrine and the Negro in Mormon Theology, pp. 262-93.


1971-1977

Reexamination: The Questions of Scholars and of the Press

Books and Monographs


LDS Serial Publications


Serials—General


De Graaf, Lawrence B. "Recognition, Racism, and Reflection on the Writing of Western Black History." Pacific Historical Review 44 (February 1975): 21–51.


Newspapers


"Black Saint of the West." California Intermountain News, 29 July 1971, 5, 9. This article features Green Flake, Utah's black pioneer.


"Mormons Ease Ban on Blacks." San Francisco Chronicle, 8 April 1972, 38.


Theses and Dissertations


Unpublished Works
Sourcebook on Negroes and the Mormon Church.
Goff, David E. “Discussion concerning the socio-historical background of the doctrine and attitude of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) concerning the Negro and Priesthood.” Salt Lake City, Utah: David E. Goff, 1976.

1978
“TO ALL WORTHY MALES”:
SPENCER W. KIMBALL AND CONTINUING REVELATION

Books
Book deals entirely with the Mormon Church and Blacks.

LDS Serial Publications

Serials — General


Newspapers
This was reprinted 10 June 1978 in the same newspaper.
“Mormon Church Approves Black Males as Priests.” Chicago Tribune, 10 June 1978, 1.

“Mormon Church Opens Priesthood to Blacks.” Houston Post, 10 June 1978, 1a.

“Mormon Church President Kimball Opens Way for Blacks in Priesthood.” San Francisco Chronicle, 10 June 1978, 1.


“Mormon Church to End Exclusion of Coloureds from Inner Temples and Priesthood.” London Times, 16 June 1978, 6e.


Thesis


Unpublished Works


McConkie, Bruce R. “All Are Alike Unto God.” Address before the Book of Mormon Symposium, Church Educational System, Brigham Young University, 7 August 1978.

———. “All Are Alike Unto God.” Address to Seminary and Institute of Religion personnel, Brigham Young University, 18 August 1978.


1979-1980

ADJUSTMENT: THE CHURCH ACCEPTS CHANGE

Books and Monographs


Black pioneers in Utah, see pp. 215–21.


Personal experiences of a Black Mormon.


Negroes, see pp. 526–28; Cain, see pp. 108–9; and Harn, see p. 343.


Chapter 12, "Moments of Sublimity: Blacks Receive the Priesthood," see pp. 95–104.


LDS Serial Publications


Story about the life of an early Black Mormon woman.

Serials – General


Kunz, Phillip R. "Blacks and Mormonism: A Social Distance Change." Psychological Reports 45 (August 1979): 81–82.


Russell, Tom D. "A Priestly Role for a Prophetic Church: RLDS Church and Black Americans." DIALOGUE 12 (Summer 1979): 37–49.


Newspapers

"Black Mormons Comment on Change in Priesthood Policy." Atlanta Daily Wall, 22 June 1979, 2.

Dissertation


1981–1990
TOWARD A WORLD-WIDE CHURCH

Books and Monographs


Biographical information regarding Elijah Abel and sources to locate, see p. 1.


Story of a Black LDS woman.


Chapter 6—“The Transformation of Racial Thoughts and Practice,” see pp. 179–204.


Kimball, Spencer W., and Edward L. Kimball, ed. The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball, 12th President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982.


Blacks and the Mormon Church, see pp. 140–54.


Green Flake is in chapter on the Black colony, see pp. 46–58.


Discusses slavery and Blacks who were early settlers of Wellsville, Utah, see pp. 50–59.

LDS Serial Publications


“LDS Youth Help Spruce Up Other Church’s Meetinghouse.” Church News, 2 January 1982, 8–9.


Story of Phyllis Wheatley, a well-known Black poet.

Serials—General


Cherry, Alan. “Silent Songs We’ve Never Heard.” This People 9 (Summer 1988): 24–27.


“Debate Continues on Whether Mormon Leader Spencer W. Kimball Had Revelation Against Black Discrimination or If It Was Expedient Politically to Maintain Tax-exempt Status.” Chicago Tribune, 2 June 1988, 5.


Kirkham, Kate L. "Can Whites 'Do' Integration?" Sunstone 13 (October 1989): 28–32.


Schweitzer, Albert L. "Update on Progress of Blacks as Members of the Mormon Church—Ten Years After Historic Opening of Faith's Lay Priesthood to Black Men." Chicago Defender, 11 June 1988, 10.

Dissertations


Unpublished Works

Bringham, Newell G. "Fawn M. Brodie As a Critic of Mormonism's Policy Towards Blacks—A Reassessment and Some Personal Observations." College of the Sequoias, 6 July 1990.


Gerlach, Larry R. "Vengeance Vs. the Law: The Lynching of Sam Joe Harvey in Salt Lake City," Address given at the Charles Redd Center of Western Studies Lecture Series, 16 March 1982 at Brigham Young University.


Minnie Lee Haynes was the granddaughter of Samuel D. Chambers, an early black Mormon.


Abner Howell's father, Paul Cepas Howell, was the first black policeman in Salt Lake City and a friend of Wilford Woodruff, who baptized him into the Church.

LDS African-American Oral History Project, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies Oral History Program, Brigham Young University. Interviews of Black Latter-day Saints regarding their conversions and experiences in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

