



DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT

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DIALOGUE: A Journal of Mormon Thought
is an independent national quarterly
established to express Mormon culture
and examine the relevance of religion
to secular life. It is edited by
Latter-day Saints who wish to bring
their faith into dialogue with
human experience as a whole and to
foster artistic and scholarly
achievement based on their cultural
heritage. The Journal encourages a
variety of viewpoints; although every
effort is made to insure
accurate scholarship and responsible
judgment, the views expressed are
those of the individual authors and are
not necessarily those of the
Mormon Church or of the editors.

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Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought is published by the Dialogue Foundation. Editorial Office and Subscription Department, 900 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90024. Dialogue has no official connection with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or with any college or university. Second class postage paid at Los Angeles, California. Printed by The Ward Ritchie Press, Los Angeles. Contents copyright © 1973 by the Dialogue Foundation.

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Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought is published quarterly. Subscription rate in the United States is \$10 per year; single copies, \$3 (1973, No. 1, \$5); foreign subscription \$12. Subscription Department, 900 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90024. *Dialogue* welcomes articles, essays, poetry, fiction, notes and comments, and art work. Manuscripts should be sent in duplicate to the Editor, accompanied by return postage.

Letters to the Editor

dialogue on "the year of decision"

Dear Brother Price,

In view of the message regarding *Dialogue's* possible demise after this year, which we received with our last issue, it seemed appropriate to include some of my feelings along with our renewal. Although our financial situation doesn't allow us to become Dialogue Associates, we are sending a gift subscription and enclosing a token donation.

I care about *Dialogue's* future for selfish reasons: It gives me some belief that there is reason for me to maintain some affiliation with the Church, that perhaps there is still room for me in the Church and room for the Church in me. It was interesting to attend Relief Society and get my copies of *Dialogue* and *Ms.* all in the same day. It was representative of the diversity in my life, that I don't know where it's at for me yet, but only that I can't break totally with the traditional influences on my life nor can I ignore new concerns which typical Sunday School classes are unaware of or summarily dismiss. I find no one in the "Mormon" world with whom I feel I can discuss real concerns or feelings. I feel that for most Mormons I have encountered the safe answers are already given for every issue. Discussion is only a means for arriving at the "right" answers, not for exploring alternatives or ramifications. Whether the issue is education, women's position, blacks, life styles, etc., someone has already written a book published by Deseret Book which is viewed as an authoritative Church viewpoint, not to be argued with. The result for me? I attend Relief Society sporadically, teach my Jr. Sunday School class with enthusiasm for the children but not for all the rules, pay my tithing and keep my temple recommend current, remain quiet in Mormon groups and both envy and resent my husband's position which has moved considerably further from the Church than my own. With non-Mormon friends? I can discuss current issues and try to eliminate the Mormon authoritarian hang-ups from my thoughts, but find it impossible to do and thus I have difficulty getting my head together with that group either.

Somehow *Dialogue* exposes the possibility of a median position, and each time I receive an issue I feel some new hope for me, and a gratitude that there is a medium for dialogue

among Mormons. It would be interesting to me to know of other Dialogue readers in our area and to have an opportunity to meet and discuss issues of interest to readers.

Although this informal note hardly fits into the scientific survey it was said you are conducting to discover the value of *Dialogue* to its readers, it seemed appropriate to express my concern at this renewal time and to let you know that for me *Dialogue* provides sustenance for my spirit, "gut," and head.

Sincerely,

Cheryl D. Fuller
Carmichael, California



Prior to receiving my latest copy of *Dialogue* I was seriously considering letting my subscription expire. However, upon reading the article by Marden J. Clark, I have reconsidered my previous thinking that *Dialogue* had joined what Brother Clark called the "controlled press" of Church literature.

Sincerely,

Hans C. Johansen
Sacramento, California

On April 27, at the open house for *Dialogue* subscribers in Salt Lake City, I was struck by the question, "Has *Dialogue* served its

purpose and outlived its usefulness?" In my mind there is a clear answer to that question: as long as there are Mormons creating scholarly, stimulating, sensitive and artistically sound work, and as long as *Dialogue* is the only religiously uncensored journal in Mormondom, it will never outlive its usefulness.

I cherish my right and the rights of my fellow and sister Mormons to express opinions that are approved by the Church as well as those that are not. Were *Dialogue* to gain Church sanction, it would no longer be free to publish even mildly dissenting voices. I strongly agree with J. S. Mill's statement that "... the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race . . . , those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth, if wrong, they lose . . . the clearer perception and livelier perception of truth, produced by its collision with error."

I think *Dialogue* is a vital complement to Church-controlled literature. It publishes work which is on a high level intellectually, spiritually and artistically, and therefore it enriches and enlightens my life and strengthens my testimony in a way which no other publication can. Should *Dialogue* be radically changed or discontinued, I would feel a loss which would be deeply significant to me, and I am prepared to do whatever I can with my time, influence and money to insure that *Dialogue* lives.

Sincerely,

Mary M. Blanchard
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dialogue has been a source of gratification in many ways in our home: it affirms our faith in the efficacy of divergence and the strength of being unafraid to examine ideas. Besides that, you provide the only chance we get to laugh at ourselves in print. We talk you up everywhere. Thank you.

Emma Lou Thayne
Salt Lake City, Utah

There are two items to which I would call your attention relating to *Dialogue's* problem with declining subscriptions.

I have subscribed to *Dialogue* since its beginning and have found each issue most interesting and worthwhile. But it always seems to come late. The "Winter 1972" issue, for instance, arrived in mid-April. Whether or not this is viewed as late by the publish-

ers, it definitely gives a feeling of being late. This, coupled with the unquestionable lateness of a number of earlier issues has been repeatedly frustrating to me as a reader. I expect that a significant number of earlier subscribers have not renewed due to a similar frustration.

Dialogue is needed. It is important that there be a publication about Mormonism which is not censored by "The Brethren" and is open to diverse viewpoints. If there are not enough subscribers to support the publication at its present size and frequency, then I suggest it be reduced in one or both of these aspects to the level at which it can be supported. A semiannual publication of 25 to 50 pages would surely be preferable to a complete termination of publication.

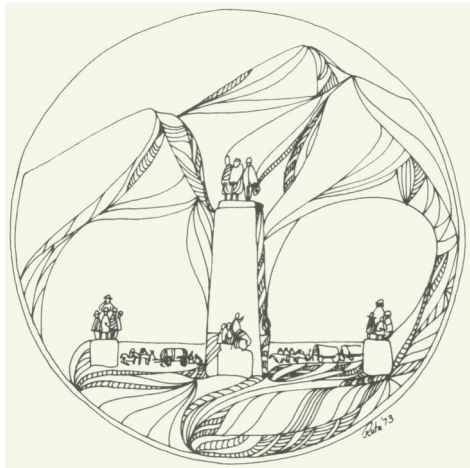
Sincerely,

Bruce S. Romney
Kinnaird, British Columbia

I have been a subscriber to *Dialogue* since its beginning, except for a brief time, and wish words could express my appreciation for this most delightful book. My only hope is that it will not flounder, that we LDS will appreciate its worth and support this worthy literary effort.

Very Sincerely,

Ingrid B. Rees
Omaha, Nebraska



I am confident that the key to all of your financial problems is wider circulation—and this will have to come primarily from Latter-day Saints.

It is my experience that many Mormons feel *Dialogue* is a radical, non-Mormon publication and that by reading it they might en-

counter some material which will be faith shattering.

I have had the experience in my high priest quorum on more than one occasion of having the thought or material denounced because the source given was *Dialogue*. As long as I didn't reveal the source it was acceptable—but *Dialogue*, I soon found out, was not acceptable to many of my friends. These denunciations came from some intelligent and educated individuals who ought to know better.

Somehow *Dialogue* must overcome this attitude toward it before it will be socially acceptable to many LDS readers. Can this be done?

Very truly yours,
David L. Robins
Arvada, Colorado

A very good question—Ed.

As one born and raised in the Church during its "Improvement Era" stage (when the admonitions of the D. & C. Section 88 regarding study and learning were taken seriously), I have found *Dialogue* to be the draught of cool water sustaining me, slacking my intellectual thirst, during the years of wandering in the present intellectual wasteland that our church meetings have become.

Recently I visited another ward—a beautiful and expensive chapel in a wealthy area—because I could not stand the "Junior Sunday School" Gospel Doctrine class of my own ward. The new ward had a High School Superintendent for a teacher, and I had hopes of some real intellectual food instead of the "cotton candy" stuff usually dispensed. Alas, I found them happily ruminating on what *their* reaction would have been if God had suddenly told them to build a 50,000 ton boat—and what would *you* take along if you had a tiny cabin only 6 x 10 feet?

Enclosed is my \$100 donation; soon to follow will be complimentary subscriptions for ten members who have enough honesty and intellect combined to appreciate *Dialogue*. Keep up the good work! Your influence for good is badly needed.

Lew W. Wallace, M.D.
Alhambra, California

Dialogue as a teaching tool

The enclosed contribution is my testimonial to the value of *Dialogue* articles for the past seven years of publication. I have been ad-

ressing MIA classes and Young Adult women recently and find how dependent I am on articles like Harold T. Christensen's "Stress Points in Mormon Family Culture" and on the Women's issue published earlier.

Best wishes for surmounting the cost problems.

Yours truly,
Cherry B. Silver
Santa Maria, California



science in Dialogue

As a subscriber to *Dialogue* from its inception let me add my voice to those in favor of keeping a strong *Dialogue* in operation. As a bishop in a university town I can testify that it is needed.

As a working scientist I would like to see a science section begun. Among the intellectual community of this nation there are probably more members of the Church in science than there are in the humanities. Perhaps one reason for a recent decline in interest is the impression that *Dialogue* is becoming just another humanities journal—even if it does focus on Mormon thought and customs. Is anyone else out there with me?

Sincerely,
Bruce N. Smith
Austin, Texas

A special issue on Science and Religion, edited by Professor James Farmer of BYU, is planned for publication later this year or early in 1974—Ed.

a catholic view

I am a Roman Catholic priest who spent 14 months in Utah back in 1956-57. I am very

interested in your periodical. I am stimulated by your thinking and especially by your urgency that more thought be given to the problems the Mormons face. I would find a lack in my general education, were the periodical to cease to exist.

It is unfortunate that I cannot be as generous in maintaining *Dialogue* as I should wish. The enclosed check, I trust, will ensure you of my good will and perhaps be of some small help in the pursuit of your laudable objectives.

You may in part thank Bishop Joseph L. Federal of Salt Lake City and Msgr. Jerome Stoffel of Logan for helping me come to my decision.

Sincerely yours,
Dr. John P. Weisengoff
Immaculate Conception Rectory
Chicago, Illinois 60632

and a protestant one

I'm a Protestant Campus Minister in an ecumenical setting and I think *Dialogue* is one of the fresh winds blowing in religious circles these days. Many Protestants and Roman Catholics would be interested in your outstanding journal. I'd be glad to talk more with you if you're interested.

Sincerely,
John Dodson
Reno, Nevada

get off my bach!

The review of *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* in the Winter 1972 issue of *Dialogue* is as ill-informed as it is ill-tempered and ill-written. Brother Jolley's description of the story of the book's inception ("a seagull. . . appeared to Richard Bach") is just plain false. As Richard Bach tells it, a *voice*, with no visible bodily source, told him the story, which he asserts he could not and would not have produced otherwise. Whoever the voice was, it was not Jonathan, since he is consistently referred to in the third person throughout the book. Personally, I believe Bach's statement—because he has publicly disagreed with some of the major premises of *JLS* (including what is perhaps the major premise: that it's the duty of the individual who has gone to greater worlds to return and help others do the same). But whether he is believed or not, he deserves not to have his version distorted malignantly. Furthermore, Jolley's description of J.S. looking like Heston is idiotic. The seagull looks like a seagull. He is described only in two passages: early in the story, as "all feather and

bone," and later as shining with a white light, in the summer of Gandalf and Moroni.

Brother Jolley's falsest statement is that Jonathan is meant to represent Jesus. Once, when presented with such a view, Richard Bach was quite startled. He had never thought of it. Then he went on to say that even if the interpretation was valid, *JLS* was no more the story of Jesus than the story of Charles Lindbergh, Christopher Columbus, the Mahatma Gandhi, or Martin Luther King.

The Messiah is represented allegorically in *JLS* by "the Son of Great Seagull" but Jonathan promptly and firmly denies that he is to be equated with this exalted being. Thus, Jonathan is clearly not Jesus. Who is he then? Consider the story. J.S. is a young, headstrong individual who goes off by himself a lot and drives himself hard in striving for perfection, causing much worry to his goodly parents. Finally, he is expelled from his group because of his unsocial activities. He withdraws, and eventually meets two individuals who shine with a beautiful white light and fly in perfect unison. They lead him on to a higher world. Soon, J.S. discovers there is an infinity of worlds, through which an individual may travel and thereby perfect himself or herself. But he decides to return to his former associates and teach them the way (as noted, Bach disagrees with this decision, but he wrote the story as it was told to him). J.S. organizes a group of disciples, at first only 6 in number, but steadily growing. After much excitement, J.S. departs, leaving behind a good friend who can carry on the work. This is the story, and now you know who J.S. is.

As for seagulls, they are indeed beautiful, and the sight of their flocks gliding above Utah Valley did often fill my heart with gladness. Yet I can also testify that they are very greedy and make clumsy landings. They could use some improvement.

Benjamin Urrutia

Clifton Holt Jolley's view of *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* appears to be a quick thirty minute thumb through in order to justify a review that was in all probability written to preconceived notions about Jonathan.

The book seems to say different things to different people. What people have to say about the book perhaps best expresses where they are "at," to put it in the vernacular, than where Jonathan is.

I cannot fault the book for one or two lines that some people deem anti-Christ; after all the author was not enlightened by revelation as we LDS understand the word.

I found, however, some affirmation of principles that LDS cannot lay sole claim to, but, it is to be hoped, think about and attempt to practice.

What can be wrong with a little book that suggests you seek your identity, become a self-actualized person that the flock may not influence you to and fro, seek knowledge and perceptions to enlighten your understanding, remain humble enough to always be teachable, be open to inspiration, always strive to achieve and never think you've "made it," be optimistic, share unselfishly the talents you've developed, become a teacher and a giver to others, that you have a freedom to choose, that you determine your own fate, that you can be in the world but not a part of it?

I think Mr. Jolley and I read the same book. I spent considerably more time than thirty minutes because I felt Jonathan was more than a story about a seagull who was some kind of Jesus to his flock. I would urge all who agree with Mr. Jolley's persuasion to please read Jonathan again and look between the lines at the book's deeper meaning. To me it was a soul-uplifting experience that I shall always treasure.

Gary R. Wight
Lawndale, California

I have been a subscriber since *Dialogue* began and its worth has been so much more than I have ever paid in subscriptions that I feel guilty in contributing so little so late.

I don't always agree with some of your articles but I value the opportunity to read other peoples opinions. Some articles have disturbed me but I realize neither the Church nor my testimony needs to be wrapped in a cocoon to survive.

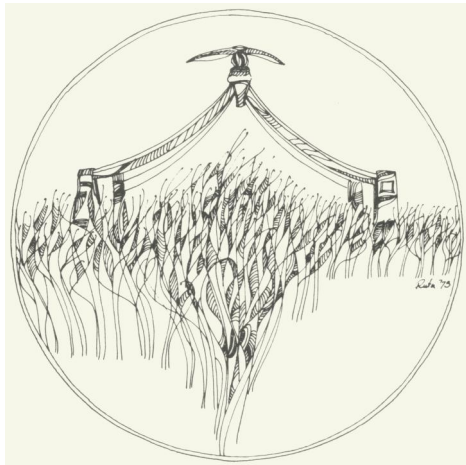
My major criticism is with some of your reviewers. I have the feeling that to prove their superiority they really do a put down on what they review. I think Clifton Jolley's review of Jonathan Livingston Seagull is disgusting. If there is one thing I have tried to do and have tried to teach my children it is not to live by the law of the pack. Just because a lot of people do something doesn't necessarily mean it's right, and that there's more to life and living than being one of the group. I am grateful to J.L. Seagull for pointing out so beautifully that it's possible and right to disagree and to seek after what you know is right.

I am not surprised at the subscription

drop. Having worked on many community and church projects I never cease to be amazed at the overwhelming and continually growing apathy. I think *Dialogue* must stand without official Church support. There are too many members who would be bewildered and overwhelmed by *Dialogue* (that's a sad commentary). I think if there were official support too many people would try to put pressure on the general authorities to bring down the quality by publishing according to *Church News* standards. I enjoy the *Church News* but I realize it's a world away from *Dialogue* (or maybe another level of consciousness—my apologies to Jolley). I don't know if *Dialogue* would survive some of the committees either—see the latest Relief Society Cultural Refinement lessons if you don't understand what I mean.

I love the Church and I love *Dialogue*. I have no doubts about the Church's surviving and I sincerely hope that *Dialogue* will survive, it has added immeasurably to the quality of my life.

Sincerely,
Sylvia F. Jutila
Fontana, California



Joseph Smith and historiography

Marvin S. Hill's review of Fawn Brodie's revised *No Man Knows My History* is a fine piece of work. Particularly impressive are his categorization of the shortcomings of various biographers of Joseph Smith and his analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of Mrs. Brodie's work. With this review by Hill, the B.Y.U. has come a long way since

Hugh Nibley's *No Ma'm, That's Not History*. In attempting to catch the spirit of Joseph Smith's times, Hill has discovered Brodie's principal weakness—viewing Joseph Smith through the secular-Freudian climate of opinion of the 1930's and 1940's. Hill has come to realize that the Jacksonian era had a perspective different from our own, and that Joseph Smith's religious perspective was quite in the fashion of his times. This allows Hill to believe that Joseph Smith was a sincere prophet, and not a conscious deceiver (as Mrs. Brodie would type him). But the last (and weakest) part of Hill's review reveals that Hill has not yet shed his particular bias—the assumption that Joseph Smith was what the Church and (especially) his BYU colleagues *presently* claim that he was. If he persists in this assumption when he writes his own biography of Joseph Smith, he will probably write another apology. Resurrecting the spirit of another era is almost impossible to do. Some of us would like to think Perry Miller did it with the 17th century American Puritans; but we know, somehow, that he didn't quite succeed. Nevertheless, we applaud any attempt to recapture the spirit of the past, for the result usually leads us a little closer to the truth.

Sincerely,
Joseph H. Jeppson
Champaign-Urbana, Illinois

personal glimpses of mahonri young

The interesting article on Mahonri Young in your last issue reminded me of my interviews with the famous sculptor at the Utah Centennial Celebration in 1946. As State Historian of Colorado I was given the honor to represent Colorado at the celebration. From my diary I copy:

"The program at 'This is the Place' monument was good. Afterward Ann and I walked around the monument; met and talked a bit with Mahonri Young, sculptor of the figures. It is a wonderful monument and a great credit to Mahroni Young. He says the Donner Party group is his masterpiece, and I agree. It is so full of action and so distinctive. . . .

"July 27th. Yesterday morning I contacted Mahonri Young and we had him and Lee Green Richards to lunch. Both are 70; interesting. Mahonri is sociable and common. Says he has no degrees.

"He did the figures of Joseph and Hyrum on the Temple grounds. They were intended for placement in the temple, instead of on

the grounds. He expects to do heroic size figures of them. We went to the seagull monument which he did in 1913. He said the reliefs were mere portrayals of the life of the pioneers. The woman on the south side is as good a figure as he has done, he says.

"The little piece of sagebrush beside the gulls is to help anchor them. One gull is attached only by this and the wing combined with that of the other gull. He says they gave him his choice of places for the monument and he chose the present location so that on entering the gate one sees the gulls against the clear sky. He is disgusted that many photograph it from the other side, against the temple as a background. Took pictures of him and us beside the monument."

I like *Dialogue* very much and appreciate the good work you folks are doing in producing it.

Cordially,
Le Roy R. Hafen

lesson from a friend

After having lost contact with *Dialogue* somewhere between Tokyo and Manila more than two years ago, my husband and I were happy to respond last winter to your subscription department's letter to former subscribers. We were even happier to receive last week our first issue of *Dialogue* in many months. We have missed it more than we realized.

We are concerned about your fear that continued publication of *Dialogue* is in doubt, and hope that we can recruit a few more subscribers here in the Philippines. In this connection, however, we might urge you to give increased attention to the present multi-national character of the Church, interested though we are in the largely historical and American-oriented current issues material on which *Dialogue* has placed much of its emphasis. With all due respect, *The Friend* has done much more in recent months to acquaint its readers with the Church in other countries than has *Dialogue*. Without intending to impugn the quality of the writing of frequent contributors to *Dialogue*, I also feel that a broader interest in the journal might be created by an active effort to recruit a larger number and wider variety of contributors. As a demonstration of my sincerity, please find some offerings [poems] enclosed.

Sincerely,
Margaret R. Munk
Manila, Philippines

mormons and divinity schools

Russel B. Swensen's "Mormons at the University of Chicago Divinity School" interested me for two reasons. First, my grandfather E. E. Ericksen, under influences similar to those described by Swensen, took his "mission" to study philosophy at Chicago a decade before the Divinity School group. His dissertation, "The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life," was published in 1922. He went on to found the Philosophy Department at the University of Utah and was Dean there for many years. The E. E. Ericksen Chair of Philosophy is currently held by Sterling McMurrin.

Secondly, motivated by beliefs and desires

described by my grandfather and Dr. Swensen, I am currently attending the Graduate Theological Union (Berkeley) in Biblical and historical studies. The first year has been an incredibly rigorous one both intellectually and spiritually. I would be interested to know if there are other Latter-day Saints attending Catholic or Protestant seminaries who might like to share struggles and hopes.

Enclosed please find a check for renewal of my subscription to your most stimulating and enjoyable publication.

Sincerely,

Scott G. Kenney
Berkeley, California



MORMONISM'S NEGRO DOCTRINE: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

LESTER E. BUSH, JR.

Negroes of African descent presently are denied ordination to the priesthood in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In the following article Lester E. Bush, Jr. discusses the genesis and development of that practice within the Restored Church through an examination of historical materials. Dialogue is impressed with the thoroughness of Mr. Bush's study and the responsibility with which he tries to interpret the materials to which he had access. Even though, as Bush states, the complete study of this subject is yet to be done, this article is an important beginning toward such a definitive study.

In keeping with Dialogue's commitment to dialogue, we have invited three individuals to respond to Mr. Bush's article from various perspectives. Gordon Thomasson discusses some of the historical questions raised by Bush; Hugh Nibley gives a scriptural and personal response; and Eugene England gives his own theological interpretation of Bush's findings. Each of these statements suggests areas for further study and together they reveal that there is still considerable research and thinking to be done before we have a complete picture of this sensitive matter, if indeed such a picture is possible. While some may question whether a discussion such as this is appropriate, Hugh Nibley reminds us that research and thinking are a necessary prelude to spiritual knowledge and confirmation, that we are to "exercise [our] own wits to the fullest, so that there must be place for the fullest discussion and explanation in the light of the Scriptures or any other relevant information."

I

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

W. W. PHELPS, 1833

There once was a time, albeit brief, when a "Negro problem" did not exist for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. During those early months in New York and Ohio no mention was even made of Church attitudes towards blacks. The Gospel was for "all nations, kindreds, tongues and peoples,"¹ and no exceptions were made. A Negro, "Black Pete," was among the first converts in Ohio, and his story was prominently reported in the local press.² W. W. Phelps opened a mission to Missouri in July, 1831, and preached to "all the families of the earth," specifically mentioning Negroes among his first audi-

ence.³ The following year another black, Elijah Abel, was baptized in Maryland.⁴

This initial period was ultimately brought to an end by the influx of Mormons into the Missouri mission in late 1831 and early 1832. Not long before the arrival of the Mormon vanguard, the "deformed and haggard visage" of abolitionism was manifest in Missouri; elsewhere Nat Turner graphically reinforced the southern phobia of slave insurrection.

At this time the Mormons were mostly emigrants from northern and eastern states, and were not slaveholders. In less than a year a rumor was afoot that they were "tampering" with the slaves. Not insensitive to this charge, the Mormons agreed to investigate and "bring to justice any person who might . . . violate the law of the land by stirring up the blacks to an insurrection, or in any degree dissuade them from being perfectly obedient to their masters."⁵ Their investigations proved negative as only one specific accusation was uncovered, and the elder accused had returned to the East; however the rumors continued unabated.⁶

One aspect of the slaveholders' paranoia not initially touched by the Mormon presence was the dictum that free Negroes promoted slave revolts. Ten years earlier Missouri had been delayed admission into the Union for barring free Negroes from the state. A modification in the state constitution was compelled which allowed entry to the few free blacks who were citizens of other states. Consequently free Negroes were rare in Missouri; Jackson County had none.

In the summer of 1833, the older settlers perceived a new threat to this status embodied in the Church's *Evening and Morning Star*. Because of special requirements in the Missouri law affecting the immigration of free Negroes into the state, Phelps had published the relevant material "to prevent any misunderstanding among the churches abroad, respecting free people of color, who may think of coming to the western boundaries of Missouri, as members of the Church."⁷ The Missourians interpreted the article as an invitation to "free negroes and mulattoes from other states to become 'Mormons,' and remove and settle among us."⁸ This interpretation was probably unfair to Phelps as he had stated twice that the subject was especially delicate, and one on which great care should be taken to "shun every appearance of evil." However, he also included a remarkably injudicious comment, "In connection with the wonderful events of this age, much is doing towards abolishing slavery, and colonizing the blacks, in Africa."⁹

The local citizenry immediately drafted a list of accusations against the Saints, prominently featuring the anti-slavery issue and Phelps' article. In response, Phelps issued an "Extra" explaining that he had been "misunderstood." The intention, he wrote, "was not only to stop free people of color from emigrating to this state, but to prevent them from being admitted as members of the Church" and stated that, furthermore, "none will be admitted into the Church."¹⁰ Since Phelps had stated in his first article that there was "no special rule in the Church, as to people of color," this new restriction was obviously an expedient adopted in Missouri. Incredibly, Phelps also reprinted his previous reflection on the "wonderful events . . . towards abolishing slavery."

The reversal of position on Negro membership had no discernible impact on the settlers; a redraft of their charges, with additional demands, was incorpo-

rated into several "propositions" which flatly rejected Phelps' explanation.¹¹ The subsequent events are well known—mob violence, the destruction of the *Star* press, and ultimately the expulsion of the Saints from Jackson County.

The Missouri accusations had gone "considerably the rounds in the public prints," so, on reestablishing the *Star* in Ohio, an extensive rebuttal was published. No Mormon, it was asserted, had ever been implicated on a charge of tampering with the slaves. And, in a broader context, the *Star* added,

All who are acquainted with the situation of slave States, know that the life of every white is in constant danger, and to insinuate any thing which could possibly be interpreted by a slave, that it was not just to hold human beings in bondage, would be jeopardizing the life of every white inhabitant in the country. For the moment an insurrection should break out, no respect would be paid to age, sex, or religion by an enraged, jealous, and ignorant black banditti. And the individual who would not immediately report any one who might be found influencing the minds of slaves with evil, would be beneath even the slave himself, and unworthy the privilege of a free Government.¹²

The Mormons had their own reasons for being alert to the possibility of slave insurrection (and their early publications reflect this preoccupation)—for back in late 1832 Joseph Smith had prophesied that a war was imminent pitting the South against the North, and that "after many days, slaves shall rise up against their masters."¹³

The Jackson County experience demonstrated the need for a clear statement of Church policy on slavery. In December, 1833, immediately following the expulsion from Jackson County, Joseph Smith received a revelation that seems to bear directly on this question. In part it declared that "it is not right that any man should be in bondage to another."¹⁴ Though the most recent Church pronouncement on the Negro (1969) tied this revelation to Negro slavery, it does not appear to have been used in early discourses on either side of the slavery question.¹⁵

The statement which did come to serve as the "official" Church position on slavery was adopted in August, 1835. This statement, worded so that it avoided comment on the morality of slavery *per se*, was part of a general endorsement of legal institutions. One section dealt with governments "allowing human beings to be held in servitude," and stated that under these circumstances the Church felt it to be "unlawful and unjust, and dangerous to the peace" for anyone "to interfere with bond-servants, neither preach the gospel to, nor baptize them contrary to the will and wish of their masters, nor to meddle with or influence them in the least to cause them to be dissatisfied with their situations in this life, thereby jeopardizing the lives of men. . . ."¹⁶

The restriction on proselyting was not felt to conflict with the universal calling of the Church. Any possible question on this point was eliminated the following month in a letter from Joseph Smith to the "elders abroad." In this the Prophet reaffirmed that the Church believed "in preaching the doctrine of repentance in all the world, both to old and young, rich and poor, bond and free. . . ." While the elders were instructed to teach slaves only with their master's consent, if this permission were denied "the responsibility be upon the head of the master of that house, and the consequences thereof, and the guilt of that house is no longer upon thy skirts. . . ."¹⁷

During the 1830's the national debate over slavery increased sharply. Aboli-

tionists shifted from a plea for gradual release of the slaves to a demand for immediate emancipation. Biblical arguments became more prominent as slaveholding was attacked as a sin, or defended with scriptural precedents. Anti-slavery evangelists travelled circuits proselyting northern communities, and in the spring of 1836 an abolitionist visited Kirtland, Ohio, and established a small anti-slavery society. The Mormons, in spite of their repeated denials, continued to be charged with anti-slavery activity in Missouri. Now these accusations were spreading to fertile missionary areas elsewhere in the South. It was not the best time for an abolitionist to visit Church headquarters.

Lest anyone gain "the impression that all he said was concurred in," the next issue of the *Messenger and Advocate* was devoted largely to a rebuttal of abolitionism.¹⁸ A lengthy article was contributed by Joseph Smith, and there were others from Warren Parrish and Oliver Cowdery. Together these essays constitute the most extensive discussion of slavery to appear during the first two decades of the Restoration, and they provide an invaluable insight into the thinking of Church leaders at that time.

At least five major objections to the abolitionist cause can be identified in Joseph Smith's discussion:

—First, he believed the course of abolitionism was "calculated to . . . set loose, upon the world a community of people who might peradventure, overrun our country and violate the most sacred principles of human society,—chastity and virtue. . . ."

—Second, any evil attending slavery should have been apparent to the "men of piety" of the South who had raised no objections to the institution.

—Third, the Prophet did "not believe that the people of the North have any more right to say that the South *shall not* hold slaves, than the South have to say the North *shall* . . ."; the signing of petitions in the North was nothing more than "an array of influence, and a declaration of hostilities against the people of the South. . . ."

—Fourth, the sons of Canaan (or Ham) whom Joseph Smith identified with the Negro were cursed with servitude by a "decree of Jehovah," and that curse was "not yet taken off the sons of Canaan, neither will be until it is affected by as great power as caused it to come . . . and those who are determined to pursue a course which shows an opposition . . . against the designs of the Lord, will learn . . . that God can do his work without the aid of those who are not dictated by his counsel. . . ."

—Fifth, there were several other biblical precedents for slavery (in the histories of Abraham, Leviticus, Ephesians, Timothy).

In concluding his article, the Prophet partially withdrew his previous stand on proselyting slaves, "It would be much better and more prudent, not to preach at all to the slaves, until after their masters are converted. . . ."

Parrish and Cowdery pursued similar arguments. Parrish's main points were that the Constitution was divinely inspired and had sanctioned slavery, and that the people should comply with the laws of the land. He also cited the curse on Ham, and declared that it would continue in effect until the Lord removed it, at which time He would "announce to his servants the prophets that the time has arrived. . . ." Until such time all the "abolition societies that now are or ever will be, cannot cause one jot or tittle of the prophecy to fail." Parrish concluded with

a comment on the danger to society if rebellion were fomented among the blacks.

Oliver Cowdery's article was more directly concerned with race. He touched on most of the points raised in the other two articles, but dwelt at much greater length on the problems of insurrection and the social implications of emancipation:

... Let the blacks of the south be free, and our community is overrun with paupers, and a reckless mass of human beings, uncultivated, untaught and unaccustomed to provide for themselves the necessities of life—endangering the chastity of every female who might by chance be found in our streets—our prisons filled with convicts, and the hangman wearied with executing the functions of his office! This must unavoidably be the case, every rational man must admit, who has ever travelled in the slave states, or we must open our houses, unfold our arms, and bid these degraded and degrading sons of Canaan, a hearty welcome and a free admittance to all we possess! A society of this nature, to us, is so intolerably degrading, that the bare reflection causes our feeling to recoil, and our hearts to revolt. . . .

He also saw little alternative to slavery:

... The idea of transportation is folly, the project of emansipation [sic] is destructive to our government, and the notion of amalgamation is devilish! . . . And insensible to feeling must be the heart, and low indeed must be the mind, that would consent for a moment, to see his fair daughter, his sister, or perhaps, his bosom companion, in the embrace of a NEGRO!¹⁹

At last an unequivocal position on Negro slavery had been taken. Should the question of Mormon attitudes arise, an unambiguous statement was now available that should satisfy the most ardent slaveholder. Questions did arise and the articles were put to use with mixed results.²⁰

A question immediately arises as to the basis for these statements. Originating with the Prophet and other prominent spokesmen of the Church, many Mormons have supposed that at least part of the information was doctrinal, or even revelatory. However, far from professing divine insight, the authors made it expressly clear that these were their *personal* views.²¹ Moreover, a comparative study will demonstrate that the ideas presented reflect a cross section of the popular arguments of the day in support of slavery.

The growth of the abolitionist movement in the mid-1830s had led to the wide circulation of anti-slavery literature. The proponents of slavery also became more active, and were equally prolific pamphleteers. Many and varied defenses of slavery were to appear over the next quarter century, and several themes were evident from the start. The natural inferiority and alleged sexual depravity of the blacks alluded to in all the *Messenger and Advocate* articles were rarely missing from any general defense of Negro slavery. States' rights and the Constitutional sanction of slavery provided the standard legal justifications; and *all* scriptural defenses of slavery cited Noah's curse on Canaan, and applied it directly to Negroes. Other scriptural "precedents" were generally cited as well.

Though none of these arguments were truly unique to this period, or even to the nineteenth century, their prominence in national debate was greatest during the years from 1830 to 1860. With very little effort one can duplicate the Mormon arguments to the most specific detail from these contemporary non-Mormon sources.²² To claim these ideas originated independently within the

Church would require considerable justification, none of which has ever been presented.

Because of its later prominence in Mormon history, one particular argument requires careful attention—the belief that Negroes were descended from Ham. Though particularly common in the first half of the nineteenth century this idea was actually very old. Recent studies have traced the association to at least 200 to 600 A.D. Jordan reports that early Jewish writings invoked Noah's curse to explain the black skin of the Africans. Among early Christian fathers, both Jerome and Augustine accepted the Ham genealogy for Negroes, and this belief is said to have become "universal" in early christendom. More recently the association is evident in the earliest English descriptions of Africans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. By the eighteenth century the connection had become common in the New World, where it was not infrequently cited in justification of black slavery.

However, there was always disagreement on the implications of Noah's curse. Those opposed to slavery contended that the Africans were related to Ham through Cush, rather than Canaan (or occasionally, through all four sons), and therefore a curse affecting Canaan could not be applied to the blacks as a group. Furthermore, it was argued, the curse *predicted* rather than *justified* enslavement. The fundamental association with Ham was not so frequently challenged. Even among nineteenth century anti-slavery elements the Ham genealogy was widely accepted, and among the pro-slavery forces the association was virtually axiomatic.²³

It is clear that Joseph Smith accepted this traditional genealogy. As early as 1831 he had noted parenthetically that Negroes were "descendants of Ham," and he again applied Noah's curse to Negro slavery in 1841.²⁴ There is no record of him "teaching" the Ham genealogy as Church doctrine. This would have been unnecessary, of course, as the association of Ham and the Negro was already common knowledge.

The first pointed reference to the Ham genealogy had actually come not with the articles in 1836 but rather a year earlier in a letter published in the *Messenger and Advocate*. W. W. Phelps proposed at that time that a lineage of blacks could be traced from Cain, through a black "Canaanite" wife of Ham, to Canaan.²⁵ The Cain genealogy had a somewhat less extensive tradition than the more straight-forward Ham thesis, though it also was widely reported and can be traced back several centuries, generally in connection with the enslavement of Africans.²⁶ It had the "advantage" of including all of Ham's sons within a cursed lineage. The problem of transmitting Cain's lineage through the flood was generally handled as Phelps did, through the wife of Ham; there have been some bizarre variants of his explanation.²⁷ Joseph Smith may also have believed that Negroes were descended from Cain, though the evidence for this claim is not very convincing. Certainly there is presently no case at all for the idea that he "taught" this genealogy.²⁸

It is significant, I believe, that in spite of the many discussions of blacks and slavery that had been published by 1836, *no* reference had been made to the priesthood. Yet, while there was not a written policy on blacks and the priesthood, a precedent had been established. Shortly before publication of the articles on abolitionism, a Negro was ordained to the Melchizedek priesthood. It

has been suggested, considerably after the fact, that this was a mistake which was quickly rectified. Such a claim is totally unfounded, and was actually refuted by Joseph F. Smith shortly after being put forth.²⁹ Elijah Abel was ordained an elder March 3, 1836, and shortly thereafter received his patriarchal blessing from Joseph Smith, Sr.³⁰ In June he was listed among the recently licensed elders,³¹ and on December 20, 1836, was ordained a seventy.³² Three years later, in June, 1839, he was still active in the Nauvoo Seventies Quorum,³³ and his seventy's certificate was renewed in 1841, and again after his arrival in Salt Lake City.³⁴ Moreover, Abel was known by Joseph Smith and reportedly lived for a time in the Prophet's home.³⁵

The charge that Abel was dropped from the priesthood originated with Zebedee Coltrin. It is unfortunate that his memory proved unreliable on this point, as he should have been in a position to provide valuable information—for it was he who ordained Abel to the office of seventy (two years after purportedly being told that Negroes were not to receive the priesthood).³⁶ The circumstances of Coltrin's account may be of some relevance. He claimed to have questioned the right of Negroes to hold the priesthood after a visit to the South. Abraham Smoot, the only other person to claim first-hand counsel from Joseph Smith on this subject also had asked about the situation in the South: "What should be done with the Negroes in the South as I was preaching to them? [The Prophet] said I could baptize them by the consent of their masters, but not to confer the priesthood upon them." Additionally, a second-hand account related by Smoot in which Smith allegedly gave the same advice was also directed at Negroes "in the Southern States."³⁷ Most, if not all, of the Negroes involved in these accounts were slaves. It may be, notwithstanding the lack of contemporary documentation, that a policy was in effect denying the priesthood to slaves or isolated free southern Negroes. In any case, a *de facto* restriction is demonstrable in the South, and empirical justification for the policy is not difficult to imagine.

After 1836 the Mormons largely ignored the subject of slavery for nearly six years. During this time they periodically reaffirmed that they were not abolitionists, but the charge was no longer common in Missouri, nor elsewhere in the South.³⁸ In spite of the small number of Negro converts, the Gospel was still proclaimed as universal. The first Mormon hymnal, printed in 1835, included a hymn exhorting the members to proclaim the message "throughout Europe, and Asia's dark regions, To China's far shores, and to Afric's black legions."³⁹ Another hymnal, in 1840, contained a new hymn by Parley P. Pratt, encouraging the Twelve to carry the Gospel throughout the world,

. . . India's and Afric's sultry plains
Must hear the tidings as they roll
Where darkness, death, and sorrow reign
And tyranny has held controll'd . . .⁴⁰

No discrimination was evident in the 1836 rules governing the temple in Kirtland, which provided for "old or young, rich or poor, male or female, bond or free, black or white, believer or unbeliever. . . ."⁴¹ Nor was a discriminatory policy projected for the Nauvoo temple when the First Presidency anticipated in 1840 that "we may soon expect to see flocking to this place, people from every land and from every nation, the polished European, the degraded Hottentot,

and the shivering Laplander. Persons of all languages, and of every tongue, and of every color; who shall with us worship the Lord of Hosts in his holy temple, and offer up their orisons in his sanctuary."⁴²

Early in 1842 Charles V. Dyer, a prominent Chicago physician, wrote to the mayor of Nauvoo, John C. Bennett, in an effort to gain Mormon support for the anti-slavery cause. Three abolitionists had recently been imprisoned in Missouri, and Dyer expressed indignation at the treatment received by abolitionists *and* Mormons in that state: "Have we not a right to sympathize with each other?" Bennett, at the height of a brief but exalted career with the Mormons, replied that he had considered the question of slavery "years ago" and was uncompromisingly for "UNIVERSAL LIBERTY, to every soul of man—civil, religious, and political." This exchange came to the attention of Joseph Smith, who wrote Bennett a short letter in apparent agreement: the subject of American slavery and the treatment of the three abolitionists made his "blood boil within me to reflect upon the injustices, cruelty, and oppression, of the rulers of the people—when will these things cease to be, and the Constitution and the Laws bear rule?"

Perhaps more unexpected than the contents of these letters was their subsequent publication by Joseph Smith in the March *Times and Seasons*, with an introduction that endorsed "UNIVERSAL LIBERTY" and characterized Bennett and Dyer as men of "brave and philanthropic hearts."⁴³ The anti-slavery sentiment in the letters was unmistakable, and their publication marked a virtual reversal of the published Mormon stance on slavery.

When and why this change occurred is not clear. Except for the relative silence of the preceding years there was no suggestion of an impending change. The circumstances were obviously much different in 1842 than they had been in 1836. The slavery issue was no longer threatening to the Mormons. Though the Church had previously received rough treatment at the hands of pro-slavery elements, it had no real prospect of returning to a slaveholding state. Illinois was theoretically a free state, and had only a small residual of "indentured" slaves. While abolitionist organizations and activities had declined markedly after 1837, anti-slavery sentiment was more widespread both nationally and in Illinois. This was in part through association with the issues of freedom of speech, press, and petition—all of which were important to the Mormons. Personalities had also changed in the Mormon hierarchy.⁴⁴ However, for all the conducive circumstances, we have no contemporary explanation for the dramatic change in attitude.

Some authors have attempted to minimize the importance of Joseph Smith's anti-slavery views, and to suggest that his opposition to slavery was superficial or politically motivated. He did, after all, continue to deny that he was an abolitionist, rather preferring to characterize himself as a "friend of equal rights and privileges to all men."⁴⁵ A careful review of published sources, however, fails to reveal any evidence of duplicity. Rather one finds consistent opposition to slavery from early 1842 until the Prophet's death in mid-1844. Even in private conversation, the Prophet advised that slaves owned by Mormons be brought "into a free country and set . . . free—Educate them and give them equal Rights."⁴⁶ He recorded a similar sentiment in his History, "Had I anything to do with the negro, I would . . . put them on a national equalization."⁴⁷ Many similar

expressions are to be found in 1843 and 1844, though his greatest attention to slavery was evident during the 1844 Presidential campaign. Joseph Smith's "Views on the Government and Policy of the U.S.," prepared in February as a campaign platform, included a plan for the elimination of slavery within six years through Federal compensation of slaveholders.⁴⁸ He later added that this might be accomplished a few states at a time, or with a provision that slave children be freed after a "fixed period."⁴⁹

The sincerity of the Prophet's anti-slavery statements was challenged for several reasons. Though he repeatedly expressed a desire to "abolish slavery," Joseph Smith condemned the abolitionists as self-seeking and destined for "ruin, infamy and shame." Actually the Prophet's paradoxical antipathy to both slavery and abolitionism was not atypical of churchmen of his day. In the preceding few years the majority of both the Protestant and Catholic clergy had opposed the abolitionist movement, and at the same time many also condemned slavery.⁵⁰ They particularly feared the divisive effect that the movement was having within their denominations. Those abolitionists who had advocated a compensated emancipation in the previous decade were now gone, and the current uncompromising polemics were clearly aggravating badly strained inter-sectional relations. The possibility of a Civil War was especially real to the Prophet; reiterating his warning of ten years before, he prophesied in 1843 that "much bloodshed" would "probably arise over the slave question."⁵¹

It also has been claimed that the Prophet planned to allow Mormon slaveholders to retain their chattel property. The growth of the Church in the South had led to the conversion of several slaveholders, at least three of whom moved to Nauvoo prior to the Prophet's death. Two of the three claimed to have freed their slaves before coming North, but also reported that eight "ex-slaves" had chosen to remain with their masters.⁵² Theoretically a permanent move to Illinois should have brought freedom regardless. It appears that they were indeed freed, for in April, 1844, the Prophet stated with some pride that in Nauvoo there was not a slave "to raise his rusting fetters and chains, and exclaim, O liberty where are thy charms?"⁵³ Oddly, some of these blacks, and a number of others who later lived briefly in Nauvoo, again appear to be slaves several years later in Utah.⁵⁴

It occurred to several prominent Mormons, working at the time in the Wisconsin pineries of the Church, that there ought to be some special provision for slaveholders in the Church. This idea was presented in two letters from a "Select Committee" to the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve proposing that the Gospel be carried to the "South-Western States, as also Texas, Mexico, Brazil, &c" ("from Green Bay to the Mexican Gulf"), and that Texas be established as a "place of gathering for all the South." Were this done, the Committee believed, thousands of rich planters "would embrace the Gospel, and, if they had a place to plant their slaves, give all the proceeds of their yearly labour, if rightly taught, for building up the kingdom. . . ." Moreover, the Committee was "well informed of the Cherokee and the Choctaw nations who live between the State of Arkansas and the Colorado of the Texans, owning plantations and thousands of slaves, and that they are also very desirous to have an interview with the Elders of this Church, upon the principles of the Book of Mormon. . . ."⁵⁵

Bishop George Miller, who delivered the letters, reported that the Prophet's response was favorable ("I perceive that the Spirit of God is in the pineries"), and that some preliminary steps were taken towards obtaining land in Texas.⁵⁶ Andrew Jenson later claimed that Joseph Smith himself made the suggestion that a place be established in the Southwest for slaveholding members of the Church.⁵⁷ As this was in March, 1844, in the midst of the Prophet's denunciations of slavery, a suggestion of duplicity is not unreasonable. The source of Jenson's statement was the Journal History copy of these letters. However, while the Prophet included them in his History, there is no indication of endorsement, and he never related them to the slavery issue. Unquestionably he favored the expansion of Mormon activities into the West, for within two weeks of receipt of the above letters he submitted a Memorial to Congress asking that he be authorized to organize a company of 100,000 men to police the West, specifically naming Oregon and Texas.⁵⁸

The rather lengthy treatment of slavery included in the Prophet's "Views" presented a remarkable contrast to his extensive discussion of 1836. For instance, the "Views" contained no reference to the social depravity of blacks. The "men of piety" of the South became "hospitable and noble" people who will help eliminate slavery "whenever they are assured of an equivalent for their property." States' rights was much less evident as both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were interpreted broadly to provide liberty for all "without reference to color or condition: *ad infinitum*."⁵⁹ There was no hint of divine endorsement of slavery through a biblical curse; rather, the Prophet lamented a situation in which "two or three millions of people are held as slaves for life, because the spirit in them is covered with a darker skin than ours." The only scripture invoked was in support of the idea that a "noble" nation should work to "ameliorate the condition of all: black or white, bond or free; for the best of books says, 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth.' " Moreover, the "Views" were promulgated much more actively than the earlier pro-slavery essays. Mormon missionaries were pressed into service to carry the Prophet's campaign and program throughout the country, and for a short while the Mormon Church could accurately be described as outspokenly against slavery.

In favoring "equal rights" for Negroes, Joseph Smith did not wish to remove all legal restrictions on that race. Nor should the impression be conveyed that he was completely free of nineteenth century prejudices. The aversion to miscegenation apparent in the articles in 1836 was later incorporated into the laws of Nauvoo;⁶⁰ and in the same breath that the Prophet advocated "national equalization" for Negroes, he expressed a desire that they be confined "by strict law to their own species." Not unexpectedly, a wide range of racial attitudes was manifest within the Church during this time. These ranged from the relatively progressive Willard Richards remark about a respected ex-slave, "A black skin may cover as white a heart as any other skin, and the black hand may be as neat and clean as the white one, and all the trouble arises from want of familiarity with the two";⁶¹ to the anonymous Mormon simile published in the *Elders' Journal* (Joseph Smith, editor) regarding an especially ungrateful and "mean" man: "One thing we have learned, that there are negroes who [wear] white skins, as well as those who wear black ones."⁶² More subtle, but nonethe-

less revealing, was a remark on the extensive actions taken by European nations to end the slave trade, "But what would those nations think, if they were told the fact that in America—Republican America, the boasted cradle of liberty and land of freedom—that those dealers in human flesh and blood, negro dealers and drivers, are allowed with impunity to steal white men. . . ." ⁶³ There are very few statements on race directly attributable to Joseph Smith. While negative value judgments are occasionally suggested by his remarks, the most extensive comment reveals that he did not share the majority opinion of his day on the innate racial inferiority of Negroes. ⁶⁴ The little that is recorded about his direct dealings with blacks is also more reflective of compassion than prejudice. ⁶⁵

In fourteen years Joseph Smith led the Church from seeming neutrality on the slavery issue through a period of anti-abolitionist, pro-slavery sentiment to a final position strongly opposed to slavery. In the process he demonstrated that he shared the common belief that Negroes were descendants of Ham, but ultimately his views reflected a rejection of the notion that this connection justified Negro slavery. There is no contemporary evidence that the Prophet limited priesthood eligibility because of race or biblical lineage; on the contrary, the



only definite information presently available reveals that he allowed a black to be ordained an elder, and later a seventy, in the Melchizedek priesthood. The possibility has been raised, through later testimony, that within the slave society of the South, blacks were not given the priesthood.

After the Prophet's death, most of his philosophy and teachings were effectively canonized. There was one significant subject on which this does not appear to have been the case—the status of the Negro. A measure of the influence of Joseph Smith's personal presence in shaping early Mormon attitudes on this subject can be obtained by contrasting the Church position prior to his death with the developments which followed.

II

... any man having one drop of the seed of [Cain] ... in him cannot hold the priesthood and if no other Prophet ever spake it before I will say it now in the name of Jesus Christ I know it is true and others know it ...

BRIGHAM YOUNG, 1852

The uncertainty which followed the martyrdom of Joseph Smith was not fully resolved for many months, and most of the efforts of the Church during this time were directed at self-preservation. Among the early changes to emerge, one of the most dramatic involved Mormon attitudes towards blacks and slavery. Joseph Smith's anti-slavery sentiment persisted for a short time, though this was partially due to delayed publications in the *Times and Seasons*. Several talks and letters advocating the Prophet's Presidency and program for the abolition of slavery were published during the summer months.⁶⁶ The talks actually delivered during that summer were more concerned with the dwindling freedom within the Mormons' own community. Brigham Young did recommend that the Saints remain aloof from the upcoming election until "a man is found, who, if elected, will carry out the enlarged principles, universal freedom, and equal rights and protection" advocated by Joseph Smith.⁶⁷

By the following Spring, however, a shift had again become evident in the Church position on slavery. A "Short Chapter" appeared in the *Times and Seasons* which reverted almost literally to the arguments of 1836:

History and common observation show [Noah's curse to] have been fulfilled to the letter. The descendants of Ham, besides a black skin which has ever been a curse that has followed an apostate of the holy priesthood, as well as a black heart, have been servants to both Shem and Japheth, and the abolitionists are trying to make void the curse of God, but it will require more power than man possesses to counteract the decrees of eternal wisdom. . . .⁶⁸

Why did this opinion re-emerge? The short interval since Joseph Smith's death and the acknowledged basis for the article ("history and common observation") suggest that the change may not have been one of opinion so much as one of personalities. One other development may also have been a factor. Several Protestant denominations had been divided by the slavery question; in particular, the division of the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches was covered at great length in the Mormon press. Though the articles were reprints from non-Mormon sources, comments were frequently appended, as the following example illustrates:

The inference we draw from such church jars among the sectarian world, is, that the glory which professing clergymen think to obtain for themselves by division on slavery, temperance, or any other matter of no consequence to pure religion, is "nothing but vanity and vexation of spirit."

Christ and his apostles taught men repentance, and baptism for remission of sins; faithfulness and integrity to masters and servants; bond and free, black and white . . .

Like the fable of the dog and the meat, the christian community are preparing to lose what little religion they may have possessed, by jumping after the dark shade of abolitionism.—So passes falling greatness.⁶⁹

The Mormon exodus to the Salt Lake Valley did not free the Saints from the slavery controversy, for much of the national debate was focused on the West. Southern congressmen were pressing for an extension of slavery into the new territories, while Northerners wanted the institution confined to the South. In this difficult situation the Saints organized the State of Deseret, and applied for national recognition. The Mormon lobbyists were aware of their delicate position and attempted to maintain complete neutrality on the slavery question. The Constitution of Deseret was intentionally without reference to slavery, and Brigham Young made it clear that he desired "to leave that subject to the operations of time, circumstances and common law. You might safely say that as a people we are averse to slavery, but we wish not to meddle with this subject, but leave things to take their natural course. . . ."⁷⁰ Congressional compromise eventually created the Territory of Utah in 1850, with no restriction on slavery. This was possible, according to lobbyist John Bernhisel, because northerners believed slavery was excluded from Utah "by the physical geography of the country and the laws of God."⁷¹ However, Bernhisel wrote, "If they had believed that there were even half a dozen slaves in Utah, or that slavery would ever be tolerated in it, they would not have granted us a Territorial organization."⁷²

Shortly thereafter the Mormons belatedly defined their position on slavery. Though no law authorized or prohibited slavery in Utah, there were slaves in the territory, and all appeared to be "perfectly contented and satisfied." They were fully at liberty to leave their masters if they chose. Slave owning converts were being instructed to bring their slaves west if the slaves were willing to come, but were otherwise advised to "sell them, or let them go free, as your conscience may direct you."⁷³ In fact the first group of Mormons to enter the Salt Lake valley were accompanied by three Negro "servants." By 1850 nearly 100 blacks had arrived, approximately two-thirds of whom were slaves. Bernhisel had performed his task well.⁷⁴

The official acceptance of slavery in the Mormon community extended fully to slave owners as well. Bishops, high councilmen, and even an apostle were ordained from their small number. However, by chance or design, a number of the slaveholders were sent to San Bernardino in 1851 to establish a Mormon colony, and in the process their slaves became free.⁷⁵

The "laissez-faire" approach to slavery in Utah was short-lived, and came to an end early in 1852. As the Mormons quickly learned, Mexicans had carried out slaving expeditions into the region for decades, buying Indians from local tribes who staged raids for "captives of war." Periodically children were offered for sale to the Mormons. The enslavement of Indians, a "chosen people" in Mormon theology, posed a much more serious problem than had Negro slavery.

Governor Brigham Young took action to stop the raiding parties, and in January, 1852, requested legislation on the slavery question.⁷⁶

In his request Brigham Young made a definite distinction between Indian and Negro. After condemning the Indian slave trade, he observed, "Human flesh to be dealt in as property, is not consistent or compatible with the true principles of government. My own feelings are, that no property can or should be recognized as existing in slaves, wither Indian or African." However, in view of the "present low and degraded situation of the Indian race" and their current practices of "gambling, selling, and otherwise disposing of their children," the Governor would condone a "new feature in the traffic of human beings"—"essentially purchasing them into freedom, instead of slavery." This was not simply buying the children and setting them free, but also caring for them and elevating them to "an equal footing with the more favored portions of the human race." There were, of course, certain economic considerations, and "if in return for favors and expenses which may have been incurred on their account, service should be considered due, it would become necessary that some law should provide the suitable regulations under which all such indebtedness should be defrayed."

Negro slavery was different:

It has long since ceased to become a query with me, who were the most amenable to the laws of righteousness; those who through the instrumentality of human power brought into servitude human beings, who naturally were their own equals, or those who, acting upon the principle of nature's law, brought into this position or situation, those who were naturally designed for that purpose, and whose capacities are more befitting that, than any other station in society. Thus, while servitude may and should exist, and that too upon those who are naturally designed to occupy the position of 'servant of servants' yet we should not fall into the other extreme, and make them as beasts of the field, regarding not the humanity which attaches to the colored race; nor yet elevate them, as some seem disposed, to an equality with those whom Nature and Nature's God has indicated to be their masters, their superiors. . . .⁷⁷

The suitable regulations were shortly forthcoming, and within a few weeks Young signed into law acts legalizing both Negro and Indian slavery.⁷⁸ Though Negro slaves could no longer choose to leave their masters, some elements of consent were included. Slaves brought into the Territory had to come "of their own free will and choice;" and they could not be sold or taken from the Territory against their will.⁷⁹ Though a fixed period of servitude was not prescribed for Negroes, the law provided "that no contract shall bind the heirs of the servant . . . for a longer period than will satisfy the debt due his [master]. . . ." Several unique provisions were included which terminated the owner's contract in the event that the master had sexual intercourse with a servant "of the African race," neglected to feed, clothe, shelter, or otherwise abused the servant, or attempted to take him from the Territory against his will. Some schooling was also required for slaves between the ages of six and twenty.

By contrast the more liberal act on Indian servitude required persons with Indian servants to demonstrate that they were "properly qualified to raise or retain said Indian," and limited the indenture to a maximum of twenty years. Masters were also required to clothe their "apprentices . . . in a comfortable and becoming manner, according to his, said master's, condition in life." Yearly

schooling was mandatory between the ages of seven and sixteen, and the total education requirement was significantly greater than for Negroes.

No other territory legalized both Indian and Negro servitude. New Mexico eventually legalized slavery in 1859, but census figures the following year listed slaves only in Utah among the western territories. Actually the Negro population throughout the West was negligible, and several territorial legislatures even banned Negro immigration. A recent study has argued convincingly that anti-slavery sentiment in frontier territories was in part reflective of racial prejudice, and was designed to exclude Negroes from the region.⁸⁰ Brigham Young interpreted Utah's anomalous pro-slavery legislation as accomplishing this same end. In a message commending the legislature late in 1852, he observed, "... the law of the last session so far proves a salutary measure, as it has nearly freed the territory, of the colored population; also enabling the people to control all who see proper to remain, and cast their lot among us."⁸¹

Other more obvious factors contributed to the legalization of Negro slavery in Utah. Without the influx of southern converts with their slaves, no legislation would have been required. Perhaps the most fundamental factor was the declaration by Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders that the Lord had willed that Negroes be servants to their "superiors." During his tenure as head of the Church, Young showed none of the variability on this subject manifest under Joseph Smith. He fully accepted the traditional genealogy of the Africans through Canaan and Ham to Cain, and repeatedly taught that this connection gave divine sanction to the servile condition of the Negroes. Nonetheless, he did not claim new information on the subject. As early as "our first settlement in Missouri . . . we knew that the children of Ham were to be 'servant of servants,' and no power under heaven could hinder it, so long as the Lord should permit them to welter under the curse, and those were known to be our religious views concerning them. . . ."⁸²

Though Brigham Young clearly rejected Joseph Smith's manifest belief that the curse on Ham did not justify Negro slavery, possibly an even greater difference of opinion is reflected in the importance Young ascribed to the alleged connection with Cain. "The seed of Ham, which is the seed of Cain descending through Ham, will, according to the curse put upon him, serve his brethren, and be a 'servant of servants' to his fellow creatures, until God removes the curse; and no power can hinder it;"⁸³ or,

[T]he Lord put a mark upon [Cain], which is the flat nose and the black skin. Trace mankind down to after the flood, and then another curse is pronounced upon the same race—that they should be the "servant of servants;" and they will, until that curse is removed; and the Abolitionists cannot help it, nor in the least alter that decree.⁸⁴

Brigham Young derived a second far-reaching implication from the genealogy of the Negro. Asked what "chance of redemption there was for the Africans," Young answered that "the curse remained upon them because Cain cut off the lives of Abel. . . . [T]he Lord had cursed Cain's seed with blackness and prohibited them the Priesthood." The Journal History account of this conversation, dated February 13, 1849, is the earliest record of a Church decision to deny the priesthood to Negroes.⁸⁵ At the time practical implications of the decision were limited. Though reliable information is very scanty, there appear to have been

very few Negro Mormons in 1849. Only seven of the twenty thus far identified were men, and three of these were slaves; two of the four freemen had already been given the priesthood.⁸⁶

Though Brigham Young reaffirmed his stand on priesthood denial to the Negro on many occasions, by far the most striking of the known statements of his position was included in an address to the Territorial legislature, January 16, 1852, recorded in Wilford Woodruff's journal of that date. In this gubernatorial address, Young appears to both confirm himself as the instigator of the priesthood policy, and to bear testimony to its inspired origin:

. . . any man having one drop of the seed of [Cain] . . . in him cannot hold the priesthood and if no other Prophet ever spake it before I will say it now in the name of Jesus Christ I know it is true and others know it . . .

This clearly is one of the most important statements in the entire history of this subject.

Placed in a fuller context, these remarks are part of one of several discussions of slavery and Negro capability by Governor Young in conjunction with the enactment of Utah's slavery codes in February and March of 1852. Other significant points in the address include Young's statement, "The Negro cannot hold one part of Government" (this immediately followed the above quotation); he would "not consent for the seed of [Cain] to vote for me or my Brethren"; "the Canaanite cannot have wisdom to do things as white man has"; miscegenation required blood atonement (offspring included) for salvation; and the curse would some day be removed from the "seed of Cain."

While it will be seen that the Church eventually abandoned a number of Young's contentions, and though one hesitates to attribute theological significance to a legislative address, were this account to be unequivocally authenticated it would present a substantial challenge to the faithful Mormon who does not accept an inspired origin for Church priesthood policy. That such statements exist and have not appeared in previous discussions of this problem, either within the Church or without, is an unfortunate commentary on the superficiality with which this subject traditionally has been approached.

Though it is now popular among Mormons to argue that the basis for the priesthood denial to Negroes is unknown, no uncertainty was evident in the discourses of Brigham Young. From the initial remark in 1849 throughout his presidency, every known discussion of this subject by Young (or any other leading Mormon) invoked the connection with Cain as the justification for denying the priesthood to blacks. "Any man having one drop of the seed of Cain in him cannot receive the priesthood . . ." (1852);⁸⁷ "When all the other children of Adam have had the privilege of receiving the Priesthood . . . it will be time enough to remove the curse from Cain and his posterity" (1854);⁸⁸ "Until the last ones of the residue of Adam's children are brought up to that favourable position, the children of Cain cannot receive the first ordinances of the Priesthood" (1859);⁸⁹ "When all the rest of the children have received their blessings in the Holy Priesthood, then that curse will be removed from the seed of Cain" (1866).⁹⁰

A more specific rationale is suggested by the foregoing extracts. Cain, in murdering Abel, had "deprived his brother of the privilege of pursuing his

journey through life, and of extending his kingdom by multiplying upon the earth." Cain had reportedly hoped thereby to gain an advantage over Abel—the number of one's posterity somehow being important in the overall scheme of things. Brigham Young further explained that those who were to have been Abel's descendants had already been assigned to his lineage, and if they were ever to come "into the world in the regular way, they would have to come through him." In order that Cain's posterity not gain an advantage the Lord denied them the priesthood until such time as "the class of spirits presided over by Abel should have the privilege of coming into the world." Those spirits formerly under Cain's leadership were reportedly aware of the implications of this decision, yet "still looked up to him, and rather than forsake him they were willing to bear his burdens and share the penalty imposed upon him."⁹¹

Unfortunately Brigham Young gave no indication as to when Abel's "strain" would receive their entitlement; certainly it was not foreseen in the near future:

When all the other children of Adam have the privilege of receiving the Priesthood, and of coming into the kingdom of God, and of being redeemed from the four quarters of the earth, and have received their resurrection from the dead, then it will be time enough to remove the curse from Cain and his posterity . . .⁹²

While none in the Church saw fit to question the connection of the Negroes to Cain or Ham, it did occur to several that if men were not responsible for Adam's transgressions, the restriction on the Negro could not consistently be attributed solely to his genealogy. As early as 1844 Orson Hyde had explained the status of the "accursed lineage of Canaan" in terms of the pre-existence:

At the time the devil was cast out of heaven, there were some spirits that did not know who had authority, whether God or the devil. They consequently did not take a very active part on either side, but rather thought the devil had been abused, and considered he had rather the best claim to government. These spirits were not considered worthy of an honorable body on this earth. . . . Now, it would seem cruel to force pure celestial spirits into the world through the lineage of Canaan that had been cursed. This would be ill appropriate, putting the precious and vile together. But those spirits in heaven that lent an influence to the devil, thinking he had a little the best right to govern, but did not take a very active part any way, were required to come into the world and take bodies in the accursed lineage of Canaan; and hence the Negro or African race . . .⁹³

Several years later Orson Pratt also attempted to explain why "if all the spirits were equally faithful in their first estate," they "are placed in such dissimilar circumstances in their second estate," and concluded, "Among the two-thirds who remained [after the Devil was cast out], it is highly probable, that, there were many who were not valient [sic] in the war, but whose sins were of such a nature that they could be forgiven. . . ."⁹⁴ Hyde and Pratt were primarily concerned with an explanation of the debased status of the Negro race in these early speculations, and not specifically with the priesthood.

The pre-existence "hypothesis" gained wide acceptance among the Mormons, and was even included in non-Mormon accounts of Church teachings.⁹⁵ Brigham Young, however, did not feel it necessary to appeal beyond the curse on Cain to the pre-existence. When asked "if the spirits of negroes were neutral in Heaven," he answered, "No, they were not, there were no neutral [spirits] in Heaven at the time of the rebellion, all took sides. . . . All spirits are pure that

came from the presence of God. The posterity of Cain are black because he committed murder. He killed Abel and God set a mark upon his posterity. But the spirits are pure that enter their tabernacles. . . ."⁹⁶

A second fundamental assumption supported Mormon beliefs. This was their unqualified acceptance of the innate inferiority of the Negro—the undeniable evidence of the curse on that race. In significant contrast to Joseph Smith's optimistic evaluation of Negro potential, the Church under Brigham Young characterized the blacks as "uncouth, uncomely, disagreeable in their habits, wild, and seemingly deprived of nearly all the blessings of the intelligence that is bestowed upon mankind";⁹⁷ as potentially "blood-thirsty," "pitiless" and a "stranger to mercy when fully aroused," and "now seemingly tame and almost imbecile."⁹⁸ In the fullest treatment of race to appear in a Church publication in the nineteenth century, the Negro was characterized as,

. . . the lowest in intelligence and the most barbarous of all the children of men. The race whose intellect is the least developed, whose advancement has been the slowest, who appear to be the least capable of improvement of all people. The hand of the Lord appears to be heavy upon them, dwarfing them by the side of their fellow men in every thing good and great. . . .⁹⁹

Moreover, they were black, and for Mormons "blackness" was no mere literary figure. Two Church scriptures had recounted blackness befalling people in divine disfavor, and this was understood to extend beyond the metaphorical to a real physical change.¹⁰⁰ Nor was this phenomenon just an historical curiosity, for apostates from the Latter-day church were seen to darken noticeably, while more dramatic changes could still be viewed in the African and Indian races.¹⁰¹ What clearer sign that they were cursed?

Notwithstanding the repeated denunciations of racism by the modern Church, the evidence for "racist" attitudes among nineteenth century Mormon leaders is indisputable. Despite the implications of these attitudes for modern Mormonism, their significance in the nineteenth century was negligible. "Mormon" descriptions of Negro abilities and potential can as readily be obtained from the publications of their learned contemporaries. Such a book, not atypical of this era, could be found in Brigham Young's library—*Negro-Mania: Being an Examination of the Falsely Assumed Equality of the Various Races of Men*. . . .¹⁰² Though blatantly racist by any modern standard, this work cited men of acknowledged intellect from a variety of fields—Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Baron Cuvier, Champollion, Samuel G. Morton, Rosellini, George Gliddon, Samuel Stanhope Smith, Thomas Jefferson, to name but a few. Brigham Young could find ample support for his racial views in this collection alone, and it was by no means exhaustive. Many others could have been included. The American scientific community though divided on the question of slavery was virtually unanimous in ascribing racial inferiority to the Negroes. So also did Louis Agassiz, Count de Gobineau, statesmen of the North as well as the South, abolitionists (excepting Garrison and a few others), slaveholders, ministers, and university presidents. In short, the "laws of nature" were interpreted in essentially the same way by most nineteenth century Americans, Mormons included.¹⁰³ Possibly Brigham Young never read his copy of *Negro-Mania*; even today the book reveals little evidence of usage. It is nonetheless important to realize that those few enlightened individuals who anticipated the

mid-twentieth century understanding of race were not generally termed “enlightened” for their racial insight a century ago.

This is not meant to minimize the prejudices of the period, nor of the leaders of the Church during that time. The regrettably uniform racial attitudes of white America from colonial to modern times have been no source of pride to anyone who has studied the subject. Nor can one mistake the implicit racial judgments conveyed in many Church statements. Consider, for example, the implications of the following simile from Brigham Young: “Here are the Elders of Israel who have got the Priesthood, who have to preach the Gospel. . . . They will stoop to dance like nigers. I don’t mean this as debasing the nigers by any means.”¹⁰⁴

During the 1850s the Mormons were finally able to observe the national slavery controversy with some detachment, no longer as part or pawn of the struggle. Yet even as the prophesied war became more and more probable, there were remarkably few expressions of concern for the welfare of the Union. Jedediah M. Grant said, “They are threatening war in Kansas on the slavery question, and the General Government has already been called upon to send troops



there. Well, all I have to say on that matter is, 'Success to both parties'. . . ."¹⁰⁵ The long harassed Mormons had come to view the anticipated conflict not only as the fulfilment of prophecy, but also as divine retribution upon the heads of those who had persecuted the people of the Lord.¹⁰⁶

One thing was certain, no act of man was going to free the slaves. Late in 1859 Brigham Young again reiterated that those who have been cursed to be "servant of servants" would continue to be, "until that curse is removed; and the Abolitionists cannot help it, nor in the least alter the decree."¹⁰⁷ Two years of war and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation failed to change his opinion:

. . . Will the present struggle free the slave? No; but they are now wasting away the black race by thousands . . .

Treat the slaves kindly and let them live, for Ham must be the servant of servants until the curse is removed. Can you destroy the decrees of the Almighty? You cannot. Yet our Christian brethren think they are going to overthrow the sentence of the Almighty upon the seed of Ham. They cannot do that, though they may kill them by thousands and tens of thousands.¹⁰⁸

President Young's confidence may have stemmed from more than his interpretation of the curse on Ham. Mormon discourses during the Civil War convey the impression that the Saints did not anticipate the United States surviving the war. Rather the conflict was to spread until it had "poured out upon all nations." Moreover, the expectation was high that the Saints would shortly return to Jackson County and begin work on the New Jerusalem. In such a context the entire slavery debate was somewhat academic.¹⁰⁹

Though war's end found the Mormons still in Utah and the slaves apparently freed, the belief persisted for some time that the peace was to be short-lived, and that the Saints "would most certainly return and build a temple [in Jackson County] before all the generation who were living in 1832, have passed away."¹¹⁰ Brigham Young, in a slight shift of emphasis, acknowledged in 1866 that slavery may have been abolished:

One of the twin relics—slavery—they say, is abolished. I do not, however wish to speak about this; but if slavery and oppression and iron-handed cruelty are not more felt by the blacks to-day than before, I am glad of it. My heart is pained for that unfortunate race of men . . .¹¹¹

However, while the war had unexpectedly ended legalized slavery, President Young left no doubt of its impact on the Negro priesthood policy. In the same speech, he affirmed once again, "They will go down to death. And when all the rest of the children have received their blessings in the Holy Priesthood, then that curse will be removed from the seed of Cain, and they will come up and possess the priesthood."

As it became apparent that the War was indeed over, and Congress acted to extend Constitutional rights to all, irrespective of race, the subject of Canaan's curse of servitude disappeared from Mormon discourses. Racial restrictions were eliminated from the constitution of Utah,¹¹² and for the last decade of Brigham Young's presidency the Negro was less frequently discussed in Mormon discourses. Though in retrospect the Church leadership had misread the implications of the biblical curse, no explanation was put forth for the error. There were more pressing problems at hand, for as one of the "twin relics of barbarism" was eliminated, national attention was turned to the other.

Through three decades of discourses, Brigham Young never attributed the policy of priesthood denial to Joseph Smith, nor did he cite the Prophet's translation of the Book of Abraham in support of this doctrine. Neither, of course, had he invoked Joseph Smith on the slavery issue. Nor had any other Church leader cited the Prophet in defense of slavery or priesthood denial. It is perhaps not surprising then that shortly after the departure of President Young's authoritative voice, questions arose as to what Joseph Smith had taught concerning the Negro.

III

With reference to the [Negro] question President [Joseph F.] Smith remarked he did not know that we could do anything more in such cases than refer to the rulings of Presidents Young, Taylor, Woodruff and other Presidencies on this question . . .

COUNCIL MINUTES, 1908

When John Taylor assumed the leadership of the Church there was no real question as to the basic Mormon policy towards Negroes. Brigham Young had made it quite clear that blacks, as descendants of Cain, were not entitled to the priesthood. It shortly became apparent, however, that all the related questions had not been resolved. In fact, decisions made during the next four decades were nearly as critical for modern Church Negro policy as those made by Brigham Young.

By virtue of his role as first prophet of the Restoration, Joseph Smith has always been especially revered, and it is a rare Church doctrine that has not been traced, however tenuously, to the Prophet to demonstrate his endorsement. It was therefore no mere curiosity when just two years after Brigham Young's death, a story was circulated that Joseph Smith had taught that Negroes could receive the priesthood. As these instructions were allegedly given to Zebedee Coltrin, John Taylor went for a first hand account.

When presented with the story Coltrin replied that on the contrary Joseph Smith had told him in 1834 that "the Spirit of the Lord saith the Negro had no right nor cannot hold the Priesthood." Though Coltrin acknowledged washing and anointing a Negro, Elijah Abel, in a ceremony in the Kirtland temple after receiving these instructions, he stated that in so doing he "never had such unpleasant feelings in my life—and I said I never would again Anoint another person who had Negro blood in him. [sic] unless I was commanded by the Prophet to do so." Coltrin did not mention ordaining Abel a seventy (at the direction of Joseph Smith?), but he did state that he was a president of the seventies when the Prophet directed that Abel be dropped because of his "lineage." Abraham Smoot, at whose home the 1879 interview took place, added that he had received similar instructions in 1838.¹¹³

President Taylor reported the account to the Quorum the following week, and Joseph F. Smith disagreed. Abel had not been dropped from the seventies, for Smith had seen his certifications as a seventy issued in 1841 and again in Salt Lake City. Furthermore, Abel had denied that Coltrin "washed and anointed" him, but rather stated that Coltrin was the man who originally ordained him a seventy. Moreover, "Brother Abel also states that the Prophet Joseph told him he was entitled to the priesthood." Abel's patriarchal blessing

was read, verifying among other things that he was an elder in 1836.¹¹⁴

The question under discussion was not whether the Negro should be given the priesthood, but rather what had been the policy under Joseph Smith. Significantly, John Taylor, an apostle under the Prophet for over five years, added no corroboration to the claims of Coltrin or Smoot. Rather, he observed that mistakes had been made in the early days of the Church which had been allowed to stand, and concluded that "probably it was so in Brother Abel's case; that he, having been ordained before the word of the Lord was fully understood, it was allowed to remain."¹¹⁵

Abel's case was further complicated by a corollary to the Negro policy. Brigham Young had not viewed the curse on Cain's lineage as limited solely to social and biological factors, and ineligibility to the priesthood; he further believed that blacks should not participate in Mormonism's most important ordinances—the temple ceremonies. To devout Negro Mormons this restriction was even more serious than the policy of priesthood denial, for in Mormon theology these ordinances were necessary for ultimate exaltation in the life hereafter.¹¹⁶ This was not an unexpected restriction for the men, as only Mormon men holding the Melchizedek priesthood were eligible for the ordinances. However, Brigham Young had to appeal directly to the curse on Cain to extend the restriction to black women, for women normally needed only be in "good standing" to gain access to the temple.¹¹⁷ Elijah Abel, the anomalous black who had been ordained to the priesthood was also excluded by President Young because of the curse.¹¹⁸

Abel was convinced of his right to the priesthood, and felt that he should be eligible for the temple ordinances. Consequently, on the death of Brigham Young, he appealed his case to John Taylor. Not only had the Prophet knowingly allowed him to hold the priesthood, Abel argued, but his patriarchal blessing also promised him that he would be "the welding link between the black and white races, and that he should hold the initiative authority by which his race should be redeemed."¹¹⁹ His patriarchal blessing had come close to this sentiment, "Thou shalt be made equal to thy brethren, and thy soul be white in eternity and thy robes glittering; thou shalt save thy thousands, do much good, and receive all the power that thou needest to accomplish thy mission. . . ."¹²⁰ Nonetheless, John Taylor upheld Brigham Young's ruling. Undaunted, Abel repeatedly renewed his application, until Taylor referred the case to the Quorum of the Twelve, who sustained the President's decision.¹²¹ In 1883 John Taylor finally called the 73-year-old Abel on a mission (from the Third Quorum, to which he had been ordained some 46 years prior). After a year on his mission Abel became ill and returned to Utah, where he died, December 25, 1884.¹²² With Abel's death the Church lost the only tangible evidence of priesthood-Negro policy under Joseph Smith.

Even after his death, Abel continued to be a recurring problem for the Church leadership, particularly when they reconsidered Joseph Smith's alleged teachings on the subject. Ten years later Wilford Woodruff was faced with repeated applications for temple ordinances from another black Mormon, Jane James. He eventually took the matter to the Quorum, and asked "the brethren if they had any ideas favorable to her race." Once again Joseph F. Smith pointed out that Elijah Abel had been ordained a seventy "under the direction of the

Prophet Smith."¹²³ However, on this occasion a new voice was heard. George Q. Cannon countered with the pronouncement that Joseph Smith had "taught" this doctrine:

That the seed of Cain could not receive the priesthood nor act in any offices of the priesthood until the seed of Abel should come forward and take precedence over Cain's offspring; and that any white man who mingled his seed with that of Cain should be killed, and thus prevent any of the seed of Cain coming in possession of the priesthood.¹²⁴

This is startling information. Even Wilford Woodruff, apostle under the Prophet for five years, had said nothing about Joseph Smith's views. Actually, it was not first-hand information, for when Cannon repeated these sentiments in 1900, it had become, "he understood that the Prophet had said. . . ."¹²⁵ Nor did the latter version include the reference to miscegenation; in the interim Cannon had attributed this idea to John Taylor ("he understood Prest. Taylor to say that if the law of the Lord were administered upon him he would be killed and his offspring").¹²⁶ A more likely origin for these "quotations" was Brigham Young, who expressed similar sentiments on many occasions without reference to Joseph Smith.¹²⁷

Another problem was considered that year. Two Negroes were discovered who had been given the priesthood, and local leaders wanted to know what should be done. Once again George Q. Cannon spoke up: "President Young held to the doctrine that no man tainted with negro blood was eligible to the priesthood; that President Taylor held to the same doctrine, claiming to have been taught it by the Prophet Joseph Smith." President Snow expressed the thought that the subject needed further consideration, to which Cannon replied "that as he regarded it the subject was really beyond the pale of discussion, unless he, President Snow, had light to throw upon it beyond what had already been imparted."¹²⁸

Perhaps more than any other during this time, George Q. Cannon's confident pronouncements influenced Church decisions on the Negro. At his instigation a "white" woman *formerly* married to a Negro was denied the sealing rites to her second husband, because it would be "unfair" to admit the mother but not her daughters by the previous marriage and because "Prest. Cannon thought, too, that to let down the bars in the least on this question would only tend to complications. . . ."¹²⁹ Similarly, Cannon on another occasion was instrumental in a decision that denied the priesthood to a white man who had married a Negro.¹³⁰

Notwithstanding George Q. Cannon's assertions, the Council was never presented with a direct quotation from Joseph Smith, nor is there any record of Presidents Taylor or Wilford Woodruff (both Apostles under Joseph Smith) citing the Prophet as author of the priesthood policy. There are, however, records of several meetings where the Prophet was discussed in relation to the priesthood-Negro matter, and in which they did *not* attribute the doctrine to Joseph Smith. Lorenzo Snow, who asked Brigham Young about the "Africans" in 1849, and who received at some point a lengthy explanation of the subject from Young, also avoided attributing the doctrine to Joseph Smith.¹³¹

Joseph F. Smith, on becoming president of the Church in 1901, faced problems similar to those of his predecessors. In discussing eligibility for the priest-

hood in 1902, Smith reviewed the rulings of Brigham Young and John Taylor, and once again remarked that Elijah Abel had been “ordained a seventy and received his patriarchal blessing in the days of the Prophet Joseph.”¹³² In 1908 the Council heard President Smith recount the story for at least the fourth time—but this time the story was different. Though Abel had been ordained a seventy, “this ordination was declared null and void by the Prophet himself.”¹³³ With this statement the “problem” of Elijah Abel was finally put to rest. Why Joseph F. Smith should come forth with this information after testifying to the contrary for nearly thirty years remains a mystery. Perhaps he was influenced by others who by then had invoked Joseph Smith on behalf of the priesthood policy for nearly twenty years,¹³⁴ and who were now citing the Book of Abraham as a major justification for the policy. Perhaps his memory lapsed, for he erred in other parts of the account as well—he contradicted his earlier (correct) report that Abel was ordained by Zebedee Coltrin, and he further said that Presidents “Young, Taylor, and Woodruff” had all denied Abel the temple ordinances, even though Woodruff did not become president until five years after Abel’s death. Beyond the historical inconsistencies, President Smith also described a situation he defined that same year as a doctrinal impossibility. In answering “whether a man’s ordination to the priesthood can be made null and void, and he still be permitted to retain his membership in the Church,” President Smith wrote that “once having received the priesthood it cannot be taken . . . except by transgression so serious that they must forfeit their standing in the Church.”¹³⁵

With Abel out of the way, the Prophet Joseph Smith increasingly became the precedent maker for priesthood denial. In 1912 George Q. Cannon’s second-hand account of the Prophet’s views was cited in a First Presidency letter on Church policy,¹³⁶ and slightly over a decade later Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith could write, simply but definitively, “It is true that the negro race is barred from holding the Priesthood, and this has always been the case. The Prophet Joseph Smith taught this doctrine, and it was made known to him. . . .”¹³⁷

A second emerging theme can be traced almost in parallel with the beliefs concerning Joseph Smith. Writing in the *Contributor* in 1885, B. H. Roberts had speculated on the background of the priesthood restriction on blacks, and drew heavily on the recently canonized Pearl of Great Price:

Others there were, who may not have rebelled against God [in the war in heaven], and yet were so indifferent in their support of the righteous cause of our Redeemer, that they forfeited certain privileges and powers granted to those who were more valiant for God and correct principle. We have, I think, a demonstration of this in the seed of Ham. The first Pharaoh-patriarch-king of Egypt—was a grandson of Ham: . . .” [Noah] *cursed him as pertaining to the Priesthood . . .*”

Now, why is it that the seed of Ham was cursed as pertaining to the Priesthood? Why is it that his seed “could not have right to the Priesthood?” Ham’s wife was named “Egyptus, which in the Chaldaic signifies Egypt, which signifies that which is forbidden; . . . and thus from Ham sprang that race which preserved the curse in the land.” . . . Was the wife of Ham, as her name signifies, of a race which those who held the Priesthood were forbidden to intermarry? Was she a descendant of Cain, who was cursed for murdering his brother? And was it by Ham marrying her, and she being saved from the flood in the ark, that “the race which preserved the curse in the land” was perpetuated? If so, then I believe that race is the one through which it is ordained those spirits that were not valiant in the great rebellion in heaven should come; who through their indifference or lack of integrity to righteousness, rendered themselves

unworthy of the Priesthood and its powers, and hence it is withheld from them to this day."¹³⁸

Several years later George Q. Cannon repeated the essentials of this explanation (excluding the references to the pre-existence) in the *Juvenile Instructor*,¹³⁹ and by 1900 Cannon was citing the Pearl of Great Price in First Presidency discussions.¹⁴⁰ This explanation appeared again in the *Millennial Star* in 1903,¹⁴¹ and in *Liahona, the Elders' Journal* in 1908.¹⁴² Additional allusions were also evident in First Presidency and Council discussions,¹⁴³ and by 1912 this relatively new argument had become a foundation of Church policy. Responding to the inquiry, "Is it a fact that a Negro cannot receive the priesthood, and if so, what is the reason?" the First Presidency wrote, "You are referred to the Pearl of Great Price, Book of Abraham, Chapter 1, verses 26 and 27, going to show that the seed of Ham was cursed as pertaining to the priesthood; and that by reason of this curse they have no right to it."¹⁴⁴

When fully developed the Pearl of Great Price argument went as follows: Cain became black after murdering his brother Abel; among his descendants were a people of Canaan who warred on their neighbors, and were also identified as black.¹⁴⁵ Ham, Noah's son, married Egyptus, a descendant of this Cain-Canaan lineage; Cain's descendants had been denied the priesthood, and thus Ham's descendants were also denied the priesthood; this was confirmed in the case of Pharaoh, a descendant of Ham and Egyptus, and of the Canaanites, and who was denied the priesthood; the modern Negro was of this Cain-Ham lineage, and therefore was not eligible for the priesthood.¹⁴⁶

Actually a careful reading of the Pearl of Great Price reveals that the Books of Moses and Abraham fall far short of so explicit an account. Negroes, for instance, are never mentioned. Though Cain's descendants are identified as black at one point before the Flood, they are never again identified. The people of Canaan are not originally black and are thus unlikely candidates for Cain's "seed." There is no explicit statement that Ham's wife was "Egyptus"; rather the account reads that there was a woman "who was the daughter of Ham, and the daughter of Egyptus." In patriarchal accounts this would not necessarily imply a literal daughter, as individuals are not infrequently referred to as sons or daughters of their grandparents, or even more remote ancestors. Within Abraham's own account an "Egyptus" is later referred to as the "daughter of Ham," and the Pharaoh who has been identified as "Egyptus' eldest son" is elsewhere seemingly the son of Noah. Moreover, the Book of Moses records that Ham was a man of God prior to the Flood, and that the daughters of the sons of Noah were "fair." The effort to relate Pharaoh to the antediluvian people of Canaan is especially strained, for in characterizing Pharaoh as a descendant of Egyptus and the "Canaanites" there is no suggestion that this latter group was any other than the people of Canaan descended from Ham's son, Canaan (who also had been cursed).¹⁴⁷

How then was the Pearl of Great Price put to such ready use in defense of the policy of priesthood denial to Negroes? Very simply, the basic belief that a lineage could be traced from Cain through the wife of Ham to the modern Negro had long been accepted by the Church, independently of the Pearl of Great Price. It was a very easy matter to read this belief into that scripture, for if one *assumes* that there was a unique continuous lineage extending from Cain

and Ham to the present, and that this is the lineage of the contemporary Negro, then it must have been accomplished essentially as B. H. Roberts proposed.

A better question is, why wasn't the Pearl of Great Price invoked earlier on this matter?¹⁴⁸ Most probably there was no need. The notion that the Negroes were descended from Cain and Ham was initially common enough knowledge that no "proof" or corroboration of this connection had been necessary. This belief remained in evidence throughout the nineteenth century, and as late as 1908 a Mormon author could write:

That the negroes are descended from Ham is generally admitted, not only by latterday Saint writers but by historians and students of the scriptures. That they are also descended from Cain is also a widely accepted theory, though the sacred history does not record how this lineage bridged the flood.¹⁴⁹

In reality these ideas were not nearly so widespread at this time as they had been a half century before. Fewer and fewer scientists were subscribing to a literal Flood, and the evidence they presented was convincing an increasing number of laymen that there had not been a general destruction as recently as Genesis suggested. Evolutionary theories even challenged Adam's position as progenitor of the human family. This dwindling "external support" probably accounts in part for the increased attention to the Pearl of Great Price evident during this time, for the traditional beliefs regarding both Cain and the Flood were essential to the Church's Negro doctrine.

The shift of the rationale ("doctrinal basis") for the Negro policy on to firmer or at least more tangible ground developed not only at a time when traditional beliefs concerning Cain and Ham were fading from the contemporary scene, but also as fundamental assumptions concerning the Negro's social and intellectual status were being challenged. Even within the Church this change can easily be identified. As early as 1879 Apostle Franklin D. Richards departed significantly from antebellum Mormon philosophy in a discussion of slavery and the Civil War, ". . . without any argument as to whether slavery should be justified or condemned . . . [The Negro's] ancestor said they should be servant of servants among their brethren, making their servitude the fulfilment of prophecy, whether according to the will of God or not."¹⁵⁰ Twenty years later the Church's *Deseret News* was not only questioning the old notions of racial inferiority, but had become somewhat of a champion of Negro political rights.¹⁵¹ An ironic extreme was achieved in 1914 when a Mormon writer for the *Millennial Star* concluded, "Even the mildest form of slavery can never be tolerated by the one true church. . . . [T]he slavery of Catholic Rome must be looked upon as one great proof of apostacy."¹⁵² There were reservations, and even in the midst of its "liberal" period, the *Deseret News* still felt the need for "some wise restrictions in society, that each race may occupy the position for which it was designed and is adapted."¹⁵³ Similarly, a seventy's course in theology could quote extensively from "perhaps the most convincing book in justification of the South in denying to the negro race social equality with the white race."¹⁵⁴ However, the very need for "evidence" reveals a significant change from the assumptions of an earlier time.

Notwithstanding the initial failure to cite Joseph Smith on Church Negro policy, there had never been any question among the leadership as to the lineage of the blacks, nor of the implications of this genealogy. John Taylor had been

editor of the *Times and Seasons* in 1845 when the "Short Chapter" marked the return of the Church to the "hardline" on the curse of Ham.¹⁵⁵ He accepted the traditional genealogy for the blacks,¹⁵⁶ and as president of the Church denied them access to the temple because of their lineage. Also while president, he made the unique observation that this lineage had been preserved through the Flood "because it was necessary that the devil should have a representation upon the earth as well as God. . . ."¹⁵⁷

Wilford Woodruff, an apostle to Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and John Taylor before becoming president, believed fully in the Cain genealogy. At one point he went so far as to cite the "mark of darkness" still visible on the "millions of the descendants of Cain" as evidence for the Bible.¹⁵⁸ As with his two predecessors, Woodruff denied blacks the temple ordinances as one of the "disadvantages . . . of the descendants of Cain."¹⁵⁹ Nonetheless he authorized the compromise allowing Jane James into the temple for an unusual sealing ordinance.

Less information is available on Lorenzo Snow. His concern for the subject is reflected in his early inquiry into the "chance of redemption" for the Africans.¹⁶⁰ As a senior apostle he proposed that a man ruled ineligible for the priesthood for marrying a black be allowed "to get a divorce . . . and marry a white woman, and he would be entitled then to the priesthood."¹⁶¹ While President of the Church he upheld the decisions of his three predecessors, citing as they had the curse on Cain.¹⁶²

Greater attention was focused on the Negro doctrine while Joseph F. Smith was president than at any time since the presidency of Brigham Young. Though several changes are evident in Mormon teachings during his administration, President Smith relied very heavily on the rulings of his predecessors in determining the fundamentals of Church policy ("he did not know that we could do anything more in such cases than refer to the rulings of Presidents Young, Taylor, Woodruff and other Presidencies . . .").¹⁶³

The most important of the new developments were the incorporation of Joseph Smith and the Pearl of Great Price into the immediate background of the Negro policy. There were also several important decisions. In 1902 the First Presidency received an inquiry concerning the priesthood restriction to a man who had one Negro great-grandparent. The basic question was what defined a "Negro" or "descendant of Cain." There were precedents for a decision, and Joseph F. Smith recounted that Brigham Young applied the restriction to those with any "Negro blood in their veins." Even so, Apostle John Henry Smith "remarked that it seemed to him that persons in whose veins the white blood predominated should not be barred from the temple." It is not clear exactly what Apostle Smith had in mind, but if he meant cases in which there were more Caucasian grandparents, for instance, than Negro, he would have been much more liberal in his definitions than the vast majority of his contemporaries.¹⁶⁴ It had long been the peculiar notion of American whites that a person whose appearance suggested any Negro ancestry was to be considered a Negro, notwithstanding the fact that perhaps fifteen of his sixteen great-great-grandparents were Caucasians. This was particularly so if it were known that there was a black ancestor. Theoretically the presence of a "cursed lineage" should have been discernible to a Church patriarch. However, a previous Council had al-

ready been faced with a problem which arose when a patriarch assigned a man of "some Negro blood" to the lineage of Ephraim.¹⁶⁵ Joseph F. Smith's answer to the proposal by Apostle John Henry Smith was unusually revealing:

President Smith . . . referred to the doctrine taught by President Brigham Young which he (the speaker) said he believed in himself, to the effect that the children of Gentile parents, in whose veins may exist a single drop of the blood of Ephraim, might extract all the blood of Ephraim from his parents' veins, and be actually a full-blooded Ephraimite. He also referred to the case of a man named Billingsby, whose ancestors away back married an Indian woman, and whose descendants in every branch of his family were pure whites, with one exception, and that exception was one pure blooded Indian in every branch of the family. The speaker said he mentioned this case because it was in line with President Young's doctrine on the subject; and the same had been found to be the case by stockmen engaged in the improvement of breeds. Assuming, therefore, this doctrine to be sound, while the children of a man in whose veins may exist a single drop of negro blood, might be entirely white, yet one of his descendants might turn out to be a pronounced negro. And the question in President Smith's mind was, when shall we get light enough to determine each case on its merits? He gave it as his opinion that in all cases where the blood of Cain showed itself, however slight, the line should be drawn there; but where children of tainted people were found to be pure Ephraimites, they might be admitted to the temple. This was only an opinion, however; the subject would no doubt be considered later.¹⁶⁶

By 1907 the First Presidency and Quorum had reconsidered, and ruled that "no one known to have in his veins negro blood, (it matters not how remote a degree) can either have the priesthood in any degree or the blessings of the Temple of God; no matter how otherwise worthy he may be."¹⁶⁷ The doctrinal concept related by Joseph F. Smith is virtually identical to the now outdated theory of "genetic throwback." Though once a widely accepted phenomena, modern geneticists doubt that such cases ever existed.¹⁶⁸

Another important decision made during this period involved missionary work. Under the Prophet Joseph Smith the Church repeatedly claimed that its mission was to everyone, and in the year of the Prophet's death over 500 missionaries were set apart to carry forth the Gospel. The trials faced by the Saints after 1844 were such that it was nearly fifty years until that level was again attained. Nonetheless, under Brigham Young the Church's universal call was a common theme, and this was particularly the case in the days prior to the Civil War.¹⁶⁹

Notwithstanding Joseph Smith's early instructions and the concern under Brigham Young that the Gospel at least symbolically be carried to all nations, a new understanding was evident after 1900. A former South African Mission president reported an unusual problem—"An old native missionary" had been converted to Mormonism, and was anxious to begin missionary work among the natives, as was the recently converted son of a Zulu chief. Should the Gospel be preached to native tribes? The Quorum in response cited rulings of the First Presidency that "our elders should not take the initiative in proselyting among the negro people. . . ."¹⁷⁰ The rationale was set forth in response to an inquiry from another South African mission president who wrote in 1910 to ask if "a promiscuously bred white and Negro" could be "baptized for his dead," adding that "he did not wish it to be inferred that he and his fellow missionaries were directing their work among the blacks, as they were not, he having instructed the elders to labor among the white race."¹⁷¹ In reply the First Presidency noted the policy of discrimination, and stated,

... this is as it should be, and we trust that this understanding will be clearly had by all of our missionaries laboring in South Africa, and who may be called there hereafter. In the Book of Moses (Pearl of Great Price) Chapter 7, verse 12, we learn that Enoch in his day called upon all the people to repent save the people of Canaan, and it is for us to do likewise.¹⁷²

Once instituted this policy remained in effect for over fifty years.

What of Negroes being baptized for the dead? President Smith could see "no reason why a negro should not be permitted to have access to the baptismal font in the temple to be baptized for his dead, inasmuch as negroes are entitled to become members of the Church by baptism." Consequently, the First Presidency informed the mission president that while it was not the current practice, they did not "hesitate to say that Negroes may be baptized and confirmed" for the dead.¹⁷³ With this the temple was once again opened to Negro Mormons.

One additional area of doctrinal import was considered during this period. In spite of Brigham Young's statement to the contrary, the notion that the curse on Negroes was somehow related to their relative neutrality in the War in Heaven had gained in popularity. It was evident in B. H. Roberts' *Contributor* article in 1885, and by 1912 the idea was being advanced by many elders as Church doctrine. In response to an inquiry as to the authority for this belief, the First Presidency wrote, "... there is no revelation, ancient or modern, neither is there any authoritative statement by any of the authorities of the Church . . . [in support of the idea] that the negroes are those who were neutral in heaven at the time of the great conflict or war, which resulted in the casting out of Lucifer and those who were led by him. . . ."¹⁷⁴ An explanation based solely on an ancestral connection still must have been unsatisfying, for the Presidency later wrote, "Our preexistence, if its history were fully unfolded, would no doubt make the subject much plainer to our understanding than it is shown at present."¹⁷⁵

Though most studies of the Church's Negro policy ignore the decades from 1880 to 1920, it is apparent that few periods have been as important for modern Church teachings. During this time the Church adjusted to the effective loss of two external rationales for the priesthood policy—the general acceptance of the Negro's biblical lineage and his inherent inferiority. In their place were introduced the much more substantial evidences of the Pearl of Great Price, and the increasing weight (or inertia) of Church rulings that could now be traced through six presidents to the very earliest days of the Restoration. In addition the policy had been elaborated and refined to such a point that no real modifications were felt necessary for nearly fifty years.

IV

The attitude of the Church with reference to Negroes remains as it has always stood . . .

THE FIRST PRESIDENCY, 1949

No major changes in Church Negro policy were evident during the second quarter of the twentieth century. Both Heber J. Grant, and his successor, George Albert Smith, continued to base the priesthood restriction ultimately on the curse on Cain, and both cited the Pearl of Great Price as concrete evi-

dence of the divine origin of this practice.¹⁷⁶ There were a few new developments of theoretical significance.

Joseph Fielding Smith's *The Way to Perfection* was published in 1931, and it contained by far the most extensive treatment of the Negro policy to date (and remains even today the only comparable work by a general authority). Through the influence of this book, and other publications, Apostle Smith became very closely identified with the Negro policy, perhaps more so than any other figure of the twentieth century. In his writings, he effectively summarized Church policies under his father, Joseph F. Smith, and at the same time provided a theoretical foundation for these policies based on his understanding of history and the Pearl of Great Price. In many ways his works constitute the fullest development of Mormon thought on the Negro, and they were considered by many to be the definitive background study.¹⁷⁷ Where the progress of science and popular sentiment had left the Church almost totally without support for its assumed genealogy of the black ("There is no definite information on this question in the Bible, and profane history is not able to solve it."), Apostle Smith put forward "some definite instruction in regard to this matter" from the "Pearl of Great Price and the teachings of Joseph Smith and the early elders of the Church who were associated with him." In so doing he moved confidently through the negligible evidence concerning the Prophet's views, and concluded, "But we all know it was due to his teachings that the negro today is barred from the Priesthood."¹⁷⁸

His most significant contribution to the Negro doctrine may well have involved the "pre-existence hypothesis." Apostle Smith was aware that both Brigham Young and Joseph F. Smith had denounced the idea that Negroes were "neutral" in the war in heaven, and that Young had particularly objected to the implication that the spirits of Negroes were tainted before entering their earthly bodies. On the other hand, Smith also knew that other prominent Mormons had felt it necessary to appeal beyond this life to some previous failing for ultimate justification of the present condition of the blacks.¹⁷⁹ *The Way to Perfection* seemingly reconciled these two positions. Treading a fine line, Apostle Smith distinguished between the neutrality condemned by Brigham Young, and another condition comprised of those "who did not stand valiantly," who "were almost persuaded, were indifferent, and who sympathized with Lucifer, but did not follow him. . . ." The "sin" of this latter group "was not one that merited the extreme punishment which was inflicted on the devil and his angels. They were not denied the privilege of receiving the second estate, but were permitted to come to the earth-life with some restrictions placed upon them. That the negro race, for instance, have been placed under restrictions because of their attitude in the world of spirits, few will doubt. . . ."¹⁸⁰ With regard to Brigham Young's comment that "all spirits are pure that came from the presence of God," Smith wrote, "They come innocent before God so far as mortal existence is concerned."¹⁸¹

As with those previously proposing this general explanation, Apostle Smith viewed the priesthood restriction as evidence for his thesis, rather than the reverse—"It cannot be looked upon as just that they should be deprived of the power of the Priesthood without it being a punishment for some act, or acts, performed before they were born. . . ."¹⁸² After 1931 the "pre-existence hypoth-

esis" was presented with increasing frequency and confidence until 1949 when it formed a major portion of the first public statement of Church policy towards blacks to be issued by the First Presidency.¹⁸³

The decision to deny the priesthood to anyone with Negro ancestry ("no matter how remote"), had resolved the theoretical problem of priesthood eligibility,¹⁸⁴ but did not help with the practical problem of identifying the "blood of Cain" in those not already known to have Negro ancestry. The need for a solution to this problem was emphasized by the periodic discovery that a priesthood holder had a black ancestor. One such case came to the attention of the Quorum in 1936. Two Hawaiian members of the priesthood who had performed "some baptisms and other ordinances," were discovered to be "one-eighth negro" and the question arose, what should be done? A remarkably pragmatic decision was reached. The case was entrusted to senior apostle George Albert Smith who was shortly to visit the area, with instructions that if he found that their ordinances involved "a considerable number of people . . . that ratification of their acts be authorized . . . ; [but] should [he] discover that there are only one or two affected, and that the matter can be readily taken care of, it may be advisable to have re-baptism performed."¹⁸⁵ A decade later similar cases were reported from New Zealand, and it was "the sentiment of the Brethren" on this occasion that "if it is admitted or otherwise established" that the individuals in question had "Negro blood in his veins," "he should be instructed not to attempt to use the Priesthood in any other ordinations."¹⁸⁶

The growth of the international Church was clearly bringing new problems. Brazil was particularly difficult. Later that year J. Reuben Clark, First Counselor to George Albert Smith, reported that the Church was entering "into a situation in doing missionary work . . . where it is very difficult if not impossible to tell who has negro blood and who has not. He said that if we are baptizing Brazilians, we are almost certainly baptizing people of negro blood, and that if the Priesthood is conferred upon them, which no doubt it is, we are facing a very serious problem."¹⁸⁷ No solution was proposed, though the Quorum once again decided on a thorough review. Elsewhere the problem was not so complicated. South African "whites" had simply been required to "establish the purity of their lineage by tracing their family lines out of Africa through genealogical research" before being ordained to the priesthood.¹⁸⁸ Polynesians, though frequently darker than Negroes, were not generally considered to be of the lineage of Cain.¹⁸⁹ Within the United States cases in which there was no acknowledged Negro ancestry were ultimately determined on the basis of appearance. Responding to an inquiry about a physical test for "colored blood," the First Presidency wrote that they assumed "there has been none yet discovered. People in the South have this problem to meet all the time in a practical way, and we assume that as a practical matter the people there would be able to determine whether or not the sister in question has colored blood. Normally the dark skin and kinky hair would indicate but one thing."¹⁹⁰

In spite of the progressive editorials of a few decades before, Utah joined the nation in segregating blacks in hotels, restaurants, movie theaters, bowling alleys, etc., and in otherwise restricting their professional advancement in many fields.¹⁹¹ Following the Second World War the general movement to guarantee more civil rights to blacks was also manifest in Utah. Though Church and civic



leaders spoke in favor of "equal rights" during this time, this was in the context of the "separate equality" of *Plessy vs. Ferguson*,¹⁹² and between 1945 and 1951 the Utah legislature killed public accommodation and fair employment bills on at least four occasions.¹⁹³ As elsewhere, the ultimate argument advanced against a change in policy was that it would lead to miscegenation. While there was no published instruction from the First Presidency on this matter, their response to a personal inquiry is illuminating. A member had written from California to inquire whether "we as Latter-day Saints [are] required to associate with the Negroes or talk the Gospel to them. . . ." Their answer, in part:

. . . No special effort has ever been made to proselyte among the Negro race, and social intercourse between the Whites and the Negroes should certainly not be encouraged because of leading to intermarriage, which the Lord has forbidden.

This move which has now received some popular approval of trying to break down social barriers between the Whites and the Blacks is one that should not be encouraged because inevitably it means the mixing of the races if carried to its logical conclusion.¹⁹⁴

An aversion to miscegenation has been the single most consistent facet of Mormon attitudes towards the Negro. Though the attitudes towards the priesthood, slavery, or equal rights have fluctuated significantly, denunciations of

interracial marriage can be identified in discourses in virtually every decade from the Restoration to the present day. Though these sentiments can never be said to have dominated Mormon thought, they did become a major theme in the years following the Second World War and are to be found in both published and private remarks, generally in connection with the civil rights discussion.¹⁹⁵ The Church viewed miscegenation from the unique perspective of the priesthood policy, but was, of course, by no means unique in its conclusions; in fact, the leadership generally invoked "biological and social" principles in support of their conclusions on the subject.¹⁹⁶

Within the Church segregation was not a major concern. Occasionally the few Negro members did pose a problem, and, not unexpectedly, these difficulties were resolved after the manner of their contemporaries. Responding to a situation in Washington, D.C., in which some Relief Society sisters had objected to being seated with "two colored sisters who are apparently faithful members of the Church," the First Presidency advised:

It seems to us that it ought to be possible to work this situation out without causing any feelings on the part of anybody. If the white sisters feel that they may not sit with them or near them, we feel sure that if the colored sisters were discretely approached, they would be happy to sit at one side in the rear or somewhere where they would not wound the sensibilities of the complaining sisters. . . .¹⁹⁷

It is, of course, no more justified to apply the social values of 1970 to this period than it was to impose them on the nineteenth century, and the point to be made is not that the Church had "racist" ideas as recently as 1950. No one who has lived through the past two decades can doubt but that the racial mood of America has been transformed, as it has been on a grander scale in the past two centuries; these changes greatly complicate the assessment of the ethics of earlier times. On the other hand, from our present perspective it is impossible to mistake the role of values and concepts which have since been rejected in the formulation of many aspects of previous Church policy. The extent to which such influences may have determined present policy is clearly an area for very careful assessment.

This was not the view twenty-five years ago. In spite of the numerous reviews of Church policy towards the Negro that had taken place since 1879, the First Presidency could write as recently as 1947, "From the days of the Prophet Joseph until now, it has been the doctrine of the Church, *never questioned* by any of the Church leaders, that the Negroes are not entitled to the full blessings of the Gospel"¹⁹⁸ (emphasis mine). The reevaluations have always started with the assumption that the doctrine was sound.

In 1949 the Church issued its first general statement of position on the Negro, and thereby provided an "official" indication of current thinking at the end of this phase of the history. Four basic points can be identified in the statement. First, there was no question as to the legitimacy of the doctrine, as it was asserted that the practice of priesthood denial dated "from the days of [the] organization" of the Church and was based on a "direct commandment of the Lord." Second, though no rationale for the practice was given, there was a short quotation from Brigham Young on the "operation of the principle" which stated that a "skin of blackness" was the consequence of "rejecting the power of the holy priesthood, and the law of God," and that "the seed of Cain" would not

receive the priesthood until the "rest of the children have received their blessings in the holy priesthood." Third, Wilford Woodruff was quoted as stating that eventually the Negro would "possess all the blessings which we now have." (Woodruff had actually been quoting Brigham Young.) The largest portion of the statement was devoted to a fourth point which presented the "doctrine of the Church" that "the conduct of spirits in the premortal existence has some determining effect upon the conditions and circumstances under which these spirits take on mortality. . . ." As the priesthood restriction was such a handicap, there was "no injustice whatsoever involved in this deprivation as to holding the priesthood by the Negroes."¹⁹⁹

One cannot help but wonder why, in view of the hundreds of millions of men who have been denied the priesthood either because it had not been restored or because of their inaccessibility to the Gospel, a relatively insignificant additional handful should be singled out for the same restriction based on the elaborate rationales that have accompanied the Negro policy. Though Church leaders have frequently spoken of the millions who have been denied the priesthood because of the curse on Cain, Negroes were really no less likely to receive the priesthood prior to the Restoration than anyone else, nor are they presently any less likely to receive the priesthood than the majority of mankind.²⁰⁰ Ironically, the few men who have been denied the priesthood *only* because they were Negroes are the rare blacks who have accepted the Gospel; yet acceptance of the Gospel is frequently cited as a sign of "good standing" in the pre-existence when the individual is not a Negro.

The "fourth period" in the history of the Negro in Mormonism has not been especially eventful. Changes were again evident in the stated rationale for the priesthood restriction, and though the curse on Cain and Pearl of Great Price arguments were still considered relevant, they were superseded to a significant degree by the new emphasis on the role of Negroes in the pre-existence. Basic Church policy, however, remained essentially unchanged, and while the Church confronted new social and anthropological problems, these problems were generally dealt with in the context of previously established policy.

V

. . . Negroes [are] not yet to receive the priesthood, for reasons which we believe are known to God, but which He has not made fully known to man . . .

THE FIRST PRESIDENCY, 1969

The most widely publicized development of the past two decades has been the transformation of the segregationist sentiments of the Forties and early Fifties into an official endorsement of a civil rights movement associated with the elimination of a segregated society. As a result (or in spite) of the persistent and publicized pressure of the Utah NAACP, Hugh B. Brown read the following statement in 1963, on behalf of the Church:

During recent months, both in Salt Lake City and across the nation, considerable interest has been expressed on the matter of civil rights. We would like it to be known that there is in this Church no doctrine, belief, or practice, that is intended to deny the enjoyment of full civil rights by any person regardless of race, color, or creed.

We say again, as we have said many times before, that we believe that all men are the children of the same God, and that it is a moral evil for any person or group of per-

sons to deny any human being the right to gainful employment, to full educational opportunity, and to every privilege of citizenship, just as it is a moral evil to deny him the right to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience.

. . . We call upon all men, everywhere, both within and outside the Church, to commit themselves to the establishment of full civil equality for all of God's children. . . .²⁰¹

Though dissenting voices were heard from within the Church hierarchy, it has become evident that this was not a temporary change of position. In December, 1969, the First Presidency issued a statement which said in part that "we believe the Negro, as well as those of other races, should have full Constitutional privileges as a member of society, and we hope that members of the Church everywhere will do their part as citizens to see that these rights are held inviolate."²⁰²

Less well publicized, but of greater doctrinal significance was the decision to open the first mission to blacks. In a virtual reversal of the policy laid down a half century before, David O. McKay announced in 1963 that missionaries were shortly to be sent to Nigeria, Africa, "in response to requests . . . to learn more about Church doctrine."²⁰³ This was not a decision made without lengthy deliberation. Requests for missionaries for Nigeria had been received for over 17 years, and an in-depth assessment had been under way for several years prior to the 1963 announcement.²⁰⁴ Sadly, the Nigeria government became more fully aware of the scope of Mormon teachings on the blacks, and denied the Church resident visas.²⁰⁵ This decision was appealed, and the Church negotiated for over two years in an effort to establish the mission as planned. These efforts were finally terminated shortly before the outbreak of the Nigerian civil war. The initial plan envisioned the creation of a large number of independent Sunday schools to be visited periodically by the missionaries to teach and administer the sacrament and other ordinances. Estimates for the number of "Nigerian Mormons" who would have been involved ranged from 10,000 to 25,000, nearly all of whom were Biafrans.²⁰⁶

Receiving no publicity, though possibly of greater significance than the foregoing developments, were subtle indications of a new flexibility in the basic Negro doctrine itself. With the concurrence of President McKay, a young man of known Negro ancestry was ordained to the priesthood after receiving a patriarchal blessing which did not assign him to a "cursed" lineage.²⁰⁷ In another case, President McKay authorized two children with Negro ancestry to be sealed in the temple to the white couple who had adopted them.²⁰⁸ Additionally, the last vestige of discrimination based solely on skin color was eliminated, as priesthood restrictions were removed from all dark races in the South Pacific.²⁰⁹ Finally, it became evident that still another policy had been supplanted as the rare members of the priesthood who married blacks were not debarred from their offices.

President David O. McKay, the man who presided over these developments, was widely acclaimed at his death as a man of unusual compassion who had truly loved all his fellowmen.²¹⁰ With regard to the priesthood policy, it was frequently said that he had been greatly saddened that he never felt able to remove the racial restriction. Curiously a somewhat different claim had been made by Sterling McMurrin in 1968. He reported that President McKay told him in 1954 that the Church had "no doctrine of any kind pertaining to the

Negro," and that the priesthood restriction was "a practice, not a doctrine, and the practice will some day be changed."²¹¹ Though there was never an official statement of McKay's views as President of the Church, many have doubted that he expressed the latter sentiment exactly in the form McMurrin presented it.²¹² Just a few years prior to his alleged comments to McMurrin, McKay had endorsed the First Presidency statement of 1949 to the effect that the priesthood restriction was "not a matter of the declaration of a policy but of a direct commandment from the Lord, on which is founded the doctrine of the Church . . . to the effect that Negroes . . . are not entitled to the Priesthood at the present time. . . ."²¹³

Some of the confusion over President McKay's opinion may be attributable to word choice. A clearcut distinction between "practice," "policy," "doctrine," and "belief" has not always been maintained in the history of this subject. Normally a "doctrine" is a fundamental belief, tenet, or teaching, generally considered within the Church to be inspired or revealed. A "policy" is a specific program or "practice" implemented within the framework of the doctrine. Some policies or practices are so loosely tied to their doctrinal base that they may be changed administratively; other policies or practices are so closely tied to a doctrine as to require a revision of the doctrine before they can be changed. The First Presidency statement in 1949 was emphasizing that there was more to giving the Negroes the priesthood than an administrative decision to change the practice or policy. The McMurrin quotation cited above may reflect a rejection by President McKay of the previous "doctrinal" bases for the priesthood restriction, without at the same time questioning the appropriateness of the practice.

If one reads "no known doctrinal basis" in place of McMurrin's reported "no doctrine," then the sentiment is very similar to the view previously expressed by McKay in 1947.²¹⁴ Responding to the question of "why the Negroid race cannot hold the priesthood," he had written that he could find no answer in "abstract reasoning," that he knew of "no scriptural basis . . . other than one verse in the Book of Abraham (1:26)," and that "I believe . . . that the real reason dates back to our pre-existent life." There is no hint of a "Negro doctrine" here, but McKay had made it even clearer when he explained that the "answer to your question (and it is the only one that has ever given me satisfaction) has its foundation in faith . . . in a God of Justice . . . [and] in the existence of an eternal plan of salvation." In so many words, he had expressed his dissatisfaction with an explanation limited to a curse on Cain, or quotations from the Book of Abraham. Yet he did not reject a Church policy extending back well over a hundred years, and which was believed to have originated with the first prophet of the Restoration. Rather he chose to place his trust in God's justice, and (as he later elaborates) his belief that earthly limitations are somehow related to the pre-existence.

In dissociating the priesthood restriction from its historical associations, McKay anticipated the current belief that there is no known explanation for the priesthood policy. President McKay was too ill to sign his endorsement to the First Presidency statement of 1969; however, it is surely no mere coincidence that after eighteen years under his leadership the Church would state that the Negro was not yet to receive the priesthood, "for reasons which we believe

are known to God, but which He has not made fully known to man. . . ."215 Unlike the First Presidency statement of twenty years before, there was now no reference to a "doctrine," but rather the practical observation that "Joseph Smith and all succeeding presidents of the Church have taught. . . ."

As relieved as the educated Mormon may be at not having to stand squarely behind the curse on Cain or a non sequitur from the Pearl of Great Price, nor ultimately to defend a specific role for blacks in the pre-existence (e.g., "indifferent," "not valiant"), there is little comfort to be taken in the realization that the entire history of this subject has been effectively declared irrelevant. For if the priesthood restriction now stands independently of the rationales that justified its original existence, the demonstration that these rationales may have been in error becomes an academic exercise.

There have been no official statements on the Negro since President McKay's death. Though Joseph Fielding Smith had previously left little doubt as to his views on the subject, he did not reiterate them as president of the Church. He did continue the progressive policies of his predecessor, and authorized still another innovation—the formation of the black "Genesis Group."²¹⁶

During the few months that Harold B. Lee has led the Church, he has been quoted in the national press as explaining the priesthood restriction in terms of the pre-existence.²¹⁷ In spite of the precedent established while President McKay led the Church for scrutinizing such remarks from all angles, it does not seem indicated to speculate on future possibilities based on this type of "evidence."

A few final remarks should be made regarding a relatively new variant on the pre-existence theme. For over a century those who dealt with the pre-existence hypothesis derived the idea that Negroes had performed inadequately in the pre-existence from either the assumed inferiority of the race or the policy of priesthood denial. Recently, however, one finds that a critical transposition has been made which transforms the earlier belief that Negroes were sub-standard performers in the pre-existence *because* they had been denied the priesthood into the claim that Negroes are denied the priesthood *because* of their status in the pre-existence. Thus, one who questions the priesthood policy must now, by extension, involve himself in the speculative maze of premortal life. This development has probably been encouraged by an error in context found in the last First Presidency statement, which reads:

Our living prophet, President David O. McKay, has said, "The seeming discrimination by the Church toward the Negro is not something which originated with man; but goes back into the beginning with God . . .

"Revelation assures us that this plan antedates man's mortal existence extending back to man's pre-existent state." . . .²¹⁸

Beyond the fact that McKay was a Counselor when he made these observations, two false impressions are conveyed. The initial quotation was not a "pronouncement," but rather was the conclusion of his reasoning that if the Lord originated the priesthood restriction, and if the Lord is a "God of Justice," then there must be an explanation that "goes back into the beginning with God. . . ." The paragraph which preceded the second quotation is also relevant:

Now if we have faith in the justice of God, we are forced to the conclusion that this

denial was not a deprivation of merited right. It may have been entirely in keeping with the eternal plan of salvation for all of the children of God.

Revelation assures us that this plan . . .²¹⁹

President McKay had not said that a revelation assured us that the Negro was denied the priesthood as part of the plan of salvation. *We* have assured ourselves that this is the case.

VI

Mormon attitudes towards blacks have thus followed an unexpectedly complex evolutionary pattern. When first apparent, these beliefs were sustained by the widely accepted connection of the Negro with Ham and Cain, the acknowledged intellectual and social inferiority of the Negro, his black skin, and the strength of Brigham Young's testimony and/or opinion. With the unanticipated termination of the curse of slavery on Canaan, the death of Brigham Young, increased evidence of Negro capability, and the decline of general support for the traditional genealogy of the blacks, justification of Church policy shifted to the Pearl of Great Price (and an interpretation derived from earlier beliefs), and the belief that the policy could be traced through all the presidents of the Church to the Prophet Joseph Smith. By the middle of the twentieth cen-



tury little evidence remained for the old concepts of racial inferiority; skin color had also lost its relevance, and the Pearl of Great Price alone was no longer considered a sufficient explanation. Supplementing and eventually surpassing these concepts was the idea that the blacks had somehow performed inadequately in the pre-existence. Most recently all of these explanations have been superseded by the belief that, after all, there is no specific explanation for the priesthood policy. Significantly this progression has not weakened the belief that the policy is justified, for there remains the not inconsiderable evidence of over a century of decisions which have consistently denied the priesthood to blacks.

No one, I believe, who has talked with leaders of the contemporary Church can doubt that there is genuine concern over the "Negro doctrine." Nor can there be any question that they are completely committed to the belief that the policy of priesthood denial is divinely instituted and subject only to revelatory change. The not infrequent assumption of critics of Church policy that the demonstration of a convincing historical explanation for modern Church teachings would result in the abandonment of the Negro doctrine is both naive and reflective of a major misunderstanding of the claims of an inspired religion. Yet, among the parameters of revelation, careful study has been identified as a conducive, if not necessary, preliminary step (D&C 9:7, 8). A thorough study of the history of the Negro doctrine still has not been made. In particular, three fundamental questions have yet to be resolved:

First, do we really have any evidence that Joseph Smith initiated a policy of priesthood denial to Negroes?

Second, to what extent did nineteenth century perspectives on race influence Brigham Young's teachings on the Negro, and through him, the teachings of the modern Church?

Third, is there any historical basis, from ancient texts, for interpreting the Pearl of Great Price as directly relevant to the Negro-priesthood question, or are these interpretations dependent upon more recent (e.g., nineteenth century) assumptions?

For the faithful Mormon a fourth question, less amenable to research, also poses itself: Have our modern prophets received an unequivocal verification of the divine origin of the priesthood policy, regardless of its history?

The lack of a tangible answer to the fourth question emphasizes even more the need for greater insight into the first three. We have the tools and would seem to have the historical resource material available to provide valid answers to these questions. Perhaps it's time we began.

NOTES

I

¹The injunction was found in many places in the recently published Book of Mormon (e.g., 1 Nephi 19:17; 1 Nephi 22:28; 2 Nephi 30:8; Mosiah 27:25; Alma 29:8; 3 Nephi 28:29; similarly, 1 Nephi 17:35; 2 Nephi 26:26-28,33; Mosiah 23:7; Alma 26:37), and was reaffirmed in a revelation to Joseph Smith, February 9, 1831, published the following July: "And I give unto you a commandment that ye shall teach them unto all men; for they shall be taught unto all nations, kindreds, tongues and peoples" (*Evening and Morning Star* [hereafter *E&MS*], July, 1832; presently D&C 42:58).

²*Ashtabula Journal*, February 5, 1831, and *Albany Journal*, February 16, 1831. These papers attribute the account to the *Painesville Gazette*, and *Geauga Gazette*, respectively.

³*Manuscript History* of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, entry undated. Last preceding dated entry was from June, 1831, though an intervening reprint from July suggests that the account originated in the latter month.

⁴Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: 1901-1936), 3:577.

⁵"Outrage in Jackson County, Missouri," *E&MS*, 2 (January, 1834), 122.

⁶A discussion of this problem is to be found in Warren A. Jennings, "Factors in the Destruction of the Mormon Press in Missouri, 1833," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 35 (1967), 59-76.

⁷"Free People of Color," *E&MS*, 2 (July, 1833), 109.

⁸"The Manifesto of the Mob," as recorded in *John Whitmer's History*, p. 9; also found in Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (hereafter DHC), B. H. Roberts, ed. (Salt Lake City: 1902-1912), 1:378.

⁹*E&MS*, 2 (July, 1833), 111.

¹⁰*E&MS* "Extra" reprinted in *Times & Seasons* (hereafter T&S) 6:818; also DHC, 1:378.

¹¹"Contemporaneous with the appearance of this article, was the expectation among the brethren here, that a considerable number of this degraded caste were only awaiting this information before they should set out on their journey." T&S, 6:832-3, which cites the *Western Monitor* of August 2, 1833, though Jennings, *op. cit.*, dates the *Monitor* article August 9, 1833.

¹²"Outrage in Jackson County, Missouri," *E&MS*, 2 (January, 1834), 122.

¹³D&C 87, received December 25, 1832, as quoted in the 1851 edition of the Pearl of Great Price. Though not published until 1851, Orson Pratt reported in 1870 that this prophecy was in circulation in 1833, and that when "a youth of nineteen . . . I carried forth the written revelation, foretelling this contest, some twenty-eight years before the war commenced." (*Journal of Discourses* [hereafter JD], 13:135; also JD 18:224) Wilford Woodruff also reported early familiarity with the prophecy (JD 14:2).

¹⁴The present D&C 101:77-79, revealed December 16, 1833, and included in the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants.

¹⁵"In revelations received by the first prophet of the Church in this dispensation, Joseph Smith (1805-1844), the Lord made it clear that it is 'not right that any man should be in bondage one to another.' These words were spoken prior to the Civil War. From these and other revelations have sprung the Church's deep and historic concern with man's free agency and our commitment to the sacred principles of the Constitution.

"It follows, therefore, that we believe the Negro, as well as those of other races, should have his full Constitutional privileges as a member of society. . . ." First Presidency statement of December 15, 1969, from the *Church News*, January 10, 1970.

¹⁶D&C 134:12, "adopted by unanimous vote at a general assembly" in Kirtland. Though some claim that this was the work of Oliver Cowdery, the statement was supposed to have been drafted by a committee composed of Joseph Smith, Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams. The statement was included in the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants as section 102.

¹⁷Published in the September and November, 1835, issues of the *Messenger and Advocate* (1:180-181; 2:210-211).

¹⁸*M&A*, 2 (April, 1836), 289-301.

¹⁹*M&A*, 2:299-301.

²⁰In July, 1836, Wilford Woodruff and Abraham Smoot, on being charged as "abolitionists" in Tennessee, "read the seventh number of the *Messenger and Advocate* to them, which silenced the false accusations" (L. C. Berrett, "History of the Southern States Mission," p. 117); similar charges were made the same month in Missouri, and the First Presidency advised, "Without occupying time here, we refer you to the April (1836) No. of the 'Latter Day Saint's Messenger and Advocate'. . ." (Letter of July 25, 1836, published in the *M&A*, 2:354).

²¹Joseph Smith wrote in his article that these were the "views and sentiments I believe, as an individual"; and Oliver Cowdery said, "We speak as an individual and as a man in this matter."

²²While the correlation is most startling in the primary sources, the following more recent studies also demonstrate the extent to which the views were circulated: J. Oliver Buswell, *Slavery, Segregation, and Scripture* (Grand Rapids, 1964); William S. Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, 1935); Eric L. McKittrick, ed., *Slavery Defended: The Views of the Old South* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1963); Louis Ruchames, *Racial Thought in America*, Vol I (Amherst, 1969); H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image, But . . . : Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910* (Durham, N.C., 1972); Caroline Shanks, "The Biblical Anti-slavery Argument of the Decade 1830-1840," *Journal of Negro History*, 15:132-157; Charles H. Wesley, "The Concept of Negro Inferiority in American Thought," *Journal of Negro History*, 25:540-560. A more limited study that makes a direct comparison to Mormon views is Naomi F. Woodbury, "A Legacy of Intolerance: Nineteenth Century Pro-slavery Propaganda and the Mormon Church Today" (Master's thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, 1966).

²³For the early history, see Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-1812* (Baltimore, 1968), pp. 18, 36, and Part I in general; also, David B. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, New York, 1966), pp. 450-1. Most of the references cited in Note 22 deal with the eighteenth century as well as the nineteenth. Regarding the curse on Ham, the noted anti-slavery evangelist Theodore Weld wrote in 1838, "The prophecy of Noah is the *vade mecum* of slaveholders, and they never venture abroad without it" (as quoted in H. Shelton Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 130).

It remains a disappointment to me that Hugh Nibley in his recent treatments of the Book of Abraham has not commented on the Ham genealogy or Negro doctrine believed by so many Mormons to be based on this scripture. See, however, his *The World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City, 1952), pp. 160-164.

²⁴The parenthetical reference, to "Negroes-descendants of Ham," is found in the *Manuscript History* following the date June 19, 1831. The remark made in 1841 was rather arresting: "I referred to the curse of Ham for laughing at Noah, while in his wine, but doing no harm. . . . [W]hen he was accused by Canaan, he cursed him by the priesthood which he held, and the Lord had respect to his word, and the priesthood which he held, notwithstanding he was drunk, and the curse remains upon the posterity of Canaan until the present day." (DHC, 4:445-6) The Prophet also modified the account in Genesis to read that Canaan had "a veil of darkness . . . cover him, that he shall be known among all men" (Genesis 9:50; *The Holy Scriptures*, Independence, Mo., 1944); the implications of the "Inspired Version" of Genesis may not be as evident as some have suggested, for Joseph Smith characterized the non-Negro Lamanites in very similar terms (2 Nephi 5:21; Jacob 3:5, 8-9; Alma 3:6-9; 3 Nephi 2:14-15; Mormon 5:15).

²⁵The letter, written February 6, 1835, was published in M&A, 1:82. As the Book of Abraham papyri were not in the possession of the Church at this time, the idea that Ham had a black "Canaanite" wife must have been based on the extant Book of Moses (7:8) reference to an antediluvian people of Canaan who became black.

²⁶All the books cited in Notes 22 and 23 have references to this belief.

²⁷Charles B. Thompson, who left the Church after the death of Joseph Smith and subsequently started his own group, claimed that the Negroes ("Nachash") were intelligent sub-human servants who had been taken onto the Ark among the other animals. Ham's "illicit union with the female" Nachash resulted in "three half-breed sons, Canaan, Mizraim, and Nimrod. . . ." Interestingly, Thompson's linguistic pseudo-scholarship was accepted by the prominent southern slavery advocate, Samuel A. Cartwright, who characterized Thompson as "a star in the East," "a Hebrew scholar of the first-class," and incorporated his thesis into an article, "Unity of the Human Race Disproved by the Hebrew Bible," published in *De Bow's Review* (August, 1860). De Bow published a second article presenting the same claim in the October, 1860 issue of his review.

Another variant was presented by Joseph F. Smith, while president of the Church. He recounted an idea which "he had been told . . . originated with the Prophet Joseph, but of course he could not vouch for it," to the effect that Ham's wife was illegitimately pregnant "by a man of her own race" when she went aboard the Ark, and that Cainan [sic] was the result of that illicit intercourse." First Presidency meeting, August 18, 1900, minutes in the Adam S. Bennion papers, Brigham Young University, or George Albert Smith papers, University of Utah. Smith was First Counselor at this time, but repeated the comment eight years later, as president. See Council Meeting minutes of August 26, 1908, in Bennion or Smith papers.

²⁸The sum total of the evidence presently available that the Prophet accepted this connection is one parenthetical statement: "In the evening debated with John C. Bennett and

others to show that the Indians have greater cause to complain of the treatment of the whites, than the negroes or sons of Cain" (*Manuscript History*, January 25, 1842; also *DHC*, 4:501.) There is no known reference in which the Prophet applied the Book of Moses comment that "the seed of Cain were black" (Moses 7:22) to the Negro.

In addition to Phelps' letter there were other references to Cain in the mid-1830's. Apostle David Patten reportedly claimed to have "met with a very remarkable personage who had represented himself as being Cain" while on a mission in Tennessee in 1835. Patten, who described the "strange personage" as "very dark," "covered with hair," and wearing "no clothing," appears to have taken the claim seriously, and eventually "rebuked him" and "commanded him to go hence." The account was reported over fifty years later by Abraham Smoot; see Lycurgus Wilson, *Life of David Patten, the First Apostolic Martyr* (Salt Lake City, 1904), pp. 45-47. About 1836 a non-Mormon traveller reports being told by a Mormon "... that the descendants of Cain were all now under the curse, and no one could possibly designate who they were ..." See Edmund Flagg, *The Far West or A Tour Beyond the Mountains* ... (New York, 1838), 2:111.

²⁹From the Council Meeting minutes of June 4, 1879 (Bennion papers), five days after Coltrin related his account: "Brother Joseph F. Smith said he thought Brother Coltrin's memory was incorrect as to Brother Abel being dropped from the quorum of Seventies, to which he belonged, as Brother Abel has in his possession, (which also he had shown Brother J.F.S.) his certificate as a Seventy, given to him in 1841, and signed by Elder Joseph Young, Sen., and A. P. Rockwood, and a still later one given in this city. Brother Abel's account of the persons who washed and anointed him in the Kirtland Temple also disagreed with the statement of Brother Coltrin, whilst he stated that Brother Coltrin ordained him a Seventy. Brother Abel also states that the Prophet Joseph told him he was entitled to the priesthood."

³⁰Date of ordination from Andrew Jenson, *op. cit.*, 3:577. The patriarchal blessing is found in Joseph Smith's Patriarchal Blessing Record, p. 88, without date, and is headed, "A blessing under the hands of Joseph Smith, Sen., upon Elijah Abel, who was born in Frederick County, Maryland, July 25, 1808." No lineage was assigned. It is clear that the blessing was given after Abel's ordination, for the Patriarch states, "Thou hast been ordained an Elder. . . ."

³¹*M&A*, 2:335.

³²"Minutes of the Seventies Journal," kept by Hazen Aldrich, December 20, 1836. Abel was one of several ordained by Zebedee Coltrin to the 3rd Quorum of Seventy. Aldrich and John Young, who with Coltrin were presidents of the seventies, also ordained several seventies that evening. This journal is found in the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

³³*Ibid.*, June 1, 1839, records:

"Elder J. M. Grant communicated to the council a short history of the conduct of Elder Elijah Able [sic] and some of his teachings etc such as teaching that there would be stakes of Zion in all the world, that an elder was a High Priest and he had as much authority as any H.P., that he commanded some of the brethren from Canada to flee from there by such a time saying that if they did not cross the river St. Lawrence then they could not get into the States and that in addition to threatening to [knock] down Elder Christopher Merkley on their passage up Lake Ontario, he publicly declared that the elders in Kirtland make nothing of knocking down one another. This last charge was substantiated by the written testimony of Elder Zenos H. Gurley, most of the charges Elder Grant testified to the truth of and referred to Moses Smith, John and George Beckstead, Robert Burton and Zebedee Coltrin for testimony, for the substantiation of the remainder."

No action was reported. "Pres. Joseph Smith Jr. S. Rigdon and Hyrum Smith were also present and most of the twelve."

³⁴Council Meeting minutes, June 4, 1879, see Note 29. Kate B. Carter, *The Negro Pioneer* (Salt Lake City, 1965), p. 15, reports that Abel came to Utah in 1847. Andrew Jenson, *op. cit.*, 3:577, assumed incorrectly that the certification in 1841 was the date of Abel's initial ordination.

³⁵Jenson, *op. cit.*, 3:577, states that Abel "was intimately acquainted with the Prophet Joseph Smith"; Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 15, claims, "In Nauvoo he lived in the home of Joseph Smith." See also *DHC*, 4:365 for a passing reference to Abel by the Prophet in June, 1841.

³⁶See Notes 32 and 113; Coltrin claimed to have been instructed not to ordain Negroes in 1834.

³⁷Journal of L. John Nuttal, May 31, 1879, typewritten copy at Brigham Young University, Vol. 1, 1876-1884, pp. 290-293; a copy is also included in the Council Meeting minutes for

June 4, 1879 (Bennion papers). Smoot attributed the second-hand accounts to W. W. Patten, Warren Parrish, and Thomas B. Marsh.

³⁸In July, 1838, the *Elders' Journal*, Joseph Smith, editor, answered the question, "Are the Mormons abolitionists," with "We do not believe in setting the Negroes free." In 1839, John Corrill published his *Brief History . . . of the Church*, with his reasons for leaving, and commented that "the abolition question is discarded by them, as being inconsistent with the decrees of Heaven, and detrimental to the peace and welfare of the community" (St. Louis, 1839; pp. 47-48).

³⁹"There's a feast of fat things for &c," Hymn number 8, in *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of the Latter Day Saints*, selected by Emma Smith (Kirtland, 1835).

⁴⁰"Ye Chosen Twelve," by Parley P. Pratt, in *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in Europe*, selected by Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt, and John Taylor, 1840. This hymn remains in the LDS hymnal in a slightly modified form.

⁴¹DHC, 2:368-9.

⁴²"Report of the Presidency" at General Conference, October 3-5, 1840, in *T&S*, 1:188, or DHC, 4:213. Though "washing and anointing" was performed in Kirtland, the ordinances presently denied Negroes were not announced until 1841 (sealing) and 1842 (endowments), and were not performed in the Nauvoo Temple until 1846 and 1845, respectively.

⁴³*T&S*, 3 (March 1, 1842), 722-725; Joseph Smith was then editor. By contrast, the Mormon *Northern Times*, published briefly in Kirtland, Ohio, announced in October, 1835, that they had received "several communications . . . for insertion, in favor of anti-slavery . . ." and "[t]o prevent any misunderstanding on the subject, we positively say, that we shall have nothing to do with the matter—we are opposed to abolition, and what ever is calculated to disturb the peace and harmony of our constitution and country. Abolition does hardly belong to law or religion, politics or gospel, according to our ideas on the subject." (October 9, 1835) A strongly anti-abolitionist letter had been published in the *Messenger and Advocate* (2:312-3) in May, 1836.

⁴⁴Willard Richards and John C. Bennett expressed opinions that were significantly more "liberal" on this subject than had Oliver Cowdery. For a brief discussion of the new directions of anti-slavery, see C. Vann Woodward, *American Counterpoint: Slavery and Racism in the North-South Dialogue* (Boston, 1971), p. 147.

⁴⁵*T&S*, 3:808 (June 1, 1842). This was in specific response to the charge that the letters published in March showed him to be an abolitionist. He referred to himself similarly in July, 1843 (DHC, 5:498); December, 1843 (*General Joseph Smith's Appeal to the Green Mountain Boys—Times and Seasons Extra*); and in February, 1844, developed his position at much greater length in his "Views" on government (see Note 48 below).

⁴⁶December 30, 1842, in Joseph Smith's Journal, kept by Willard Richards; copy at Church Historical Department.

⁴⁷January 2, 1843 (DHC, 5:217).

⁴⁸"Gen. Smith's Views on the Government and Policy of the U.S." (See *T&S*, 5:528-533) He subsequently spoke against slavery on March 7, 1844 (DHC, 6:243); April 14, 1844 (*T&S*, 5:508-510); and May 13, 1844 (letter published June 4, 1844 in *T&S*, 5:545). Another indication of his interest in this subject were entries in his History in February, 1843, on a John Quincy Adams petition against slavery (DHC, 5:283), and in May, 1843, on the abolition of slavery in the "British dominions in India" (DHC, 5:379); in November of that year the *Times and Seasons* carried the full text of a Papal Bull "Relative to Refraining from Traffic in Blacks" (*T&S*, 4:381-2).

⁴⁹This idea was expressed March 7, 1844 (see DHC, 6:243, and Matthias Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff*, Salt Lake City, 1909, p. 203). There is some uncertainty as to what the Prophet planned to do with the freed slaves. At times he spoke of national equalization or equal rights; on this occasion he stated, "As soon as Texas was annexed, I would liberate the slaves in two or three States, indemnifying their owners, and send the negroes to Texas, and from Texas to Mexico, where all colors are alike."

⁵⁰C. Vann Woodward, *op.cit.*, p. 153. Just a few days before his death, Joseph Smith published one of his most outspoken comments on slavery, and included an almost sympathetic allusion to the abolitionists. From a letter to Henry Clay, written May 13, 1844, and published June 4, 1844 (*T&S*, 5:545): "True greatness never wavers, but when the Missouri compromise

was entered into by you, for the benefit of *slavery*, there was a mighty shrinkage of *western honor*; and from that day, Sir, the sterling Yankee, the struggling Abolitionist, and the staunch Democrat, with a large number of liberal minded Whigs, have marked you as a *black-leg* in politics. . . ."

⁵¹D&C 130:12-13, dated April 2, 1843.

⁵²James M. Flake and John H. Redd both report freeing their slaves; Henry Jolly, the third slave owner, also reported that his slaves wanted to stay with him; however, he sold all except one child whose parents had died (see Carter, *op.cit.*, pp. 4-6, 25, 44-45).

⁵³T&S, 5:508-510.

⁵⁴Carter, *op.cit.*, and Jack Beller, "Negro Slaves in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* (2:122-26), provide considerable information on the early Negroes in Utah. The problem of identifying slaves, normally complicated by the use of the term "servant" regardless of a Black's legal status, is even more complex during the initial few years in Utah—during which time "slaves" were theoretically at liberty to leave their masters if they chose.

⁵⁵*Journal History* of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, entries dated March 10, 1844, and March 11, 1844. The letters were published in the *Millennial Star* [hereafter MS] some years later (23:103-4, 117-19), and most of the text is found in DHC, 6:256ff, 259ff. Apostle Lyman Wight was among those who signed the letters.

The Committee was at least partially correct. The slave holdings of the Cherokee and Choctaw nations together totalled several thousands. The Chickasaw, Creeks, and Seminoles also had Negro slaves. See Wyatt F. Jeltz, "The Relations of Negroes and Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians," *Journal of Negro History*, 33:24ff; and Kenneth W. Porter, "Relations Between Negroes and Indians Within the Present Limits of the United States," *Journal of Negro History*, 17:287ff.

⁵⁶Letter of January 27, 1855, to *The Northern Islander*, included in *Correspondence of Bishop George Miller . . .*, compiled by Wingfield Watson (Burlington, Wisconsin, 1916), p. 20. See also Robert B. Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana, 1965), pp. 290-295.

⁵⁷Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1941), p. 870.

⁵⁸*Millennial Star*, 23:165-7, or DHC, 6:275-7.

⁵⁹His change of opinion was especially marked on this point. In 1836, in addition to arguing that the North had no right to impose its will on the South, he had further characterized the interest of the free states as being based on "the mere principles of equal rights." By 1844 he had obviously reconsidered the importance of equal rights; regarding states' rights, he advised John C. Calhoun that ". . . God . . . will raise your mind above the narrow notion that the General Government has no power, to the sublime idea that Congress, with the President as Executor, is as almighty in its sphere as Jehovah is in His." (See T&S, 5:395, January 1, 1844.)

⁶⁰In January, 1844, Mayor Joseph Smith fined two Negroes "for attempting to marry white women" (DHC, 6:210).

⁶¹Letter of February 15, 1838, as quoted in Carter, *op.cit.*, pp. 3-4.

⁶²*Elders' Journal*, 1:59, August, 1838.

⁶³From a *Nauvoo Neighbor* editorial included in Joseph Smith's History (DHC, 6:113). A similar parallel was drawn on other occasions (e.g., T&S, 4:375-6).

⁶⁴"[T]hey came into the world slaves, mentally and physically. Change their situation with the whites, and they would be like them. . . . Go into Cincinnati or any city, and find an educated negro, who rides in his carriage, and you will see a man who has risen by the powers of his own mind to his exalted state of respectability. The slaves in Washington are more refined than the Presidents, and the black boys will take the shine off many of those they brush and wait on . . ." (MS, 20:278; DHC, 5:217, presents a slightly different version).

Joseph Smith's passing reference to "nigger drivers" or "niggers" (T&S, 4:375-6; 5:395) are less readily evaluated. This epithet is said to have been less derogatory in the early nineteenth century; even then it was without any connotation of racial respect.

⁶⁵Of the four Negro Mormons who claimed to have lived in the Prophet's home (Elijah Abel, Jane James, Isaac James, and Green Flake), I have seen the reminiscences only of Jane James. She had arrived destitute in Nauvoo and was taken into the Smith home along with

her eight-member family. She eventually became the housekeeper, and lived in the Smith home until the Prophet's death. Her account depicts Joseph Smith as benevolent and fatherly towards her, and conveys her great respect for the Prophet (*Young Woman's Journal*, 16:551-2; reprinted in *Dialogue*, 5 [Summer 1970], 128-130). On another occasion he is said to have given a Negro a horse to use to purchase the freedom of a relative (*Young Woman's Journal*, 17:538). In still another case, Willard Richards, with Joseph Smith's knowledge, hid a Negro who had been beaten for an alleged robbery; subsequently the Prophet spoke out "fearlessly" against the way the case was handled (*DHC*, 6:281, 284).

II

⁶⁶See the April, 1844 conference talk of John Taylor, and a letter from "HOSPES" dated June 8, 1844, both published July 15, 1844 (*T&S*, 5:577-579, 590); and the conference minutes of May 27, 1844, published August 1, 1844 (*T&S*, 5:506).

⁶⁷"An Epistle of the Twelve to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, in Nauvoo and all the world," August 15, 1844 (*T&S*, 5:618-620). Another article in the same issue added, ". . . as a people we will honor the opinions and wisdom of our martyred General; and, as a matter of propriety, we cannot vote for, or support a candidate for the presidency, till we find a man who will pledge himself to carry out *Gen. Smith's view* . . . as he published them . . ." (*T&S*, 5:617-8).

⁶⁸"A Short Chapter on a Long Subject," *T&S*, 6:857 (April 1, 1845).

⁶⁹"Trouble Among the Baptists," *T&S*, 6:858 (April 1, 1845). Other articles were carried October 1, 1844 (*T&S*, 5:667-8), April 15, 1845 (*T&S*, 6:877-8), May 1, 1845 (*T&S*, 6:889-890), and June 1, 1845 (*T&S*, 6:916-7, 924). The theme remained evident in Mormon discourses for several decades (e.g., *JD*, 9:5; *JD*, 10:124; *JD*, 14:169; *JD*, 23:85, 296-7).

⁷⁰Letter from Brigham Young to Orson Hyde, *Journal History*, July 19, 1849; see also letter of Willard Richards to Thomas Kane, *Journal History*, July 25, 1849; and the *Journal History* entry of November 26, 1849, reporting an interview of Wilford Woodruff and John Bernhisel with Thomas Kane.

⁷¹Letter from John Bernhisel to Brigham Young, *Journal History*, September 7, 1850.

⁷²Letter from John Bernhisel to Brigham Young, *Journal History*, November 9, 1850.

⁷³*Frontier Guardian*, December 11, 1850; also reprinted in the *Millennial Star* 13:63 (February 15, 1851). J. W. Gunnison, who lived in Utah at this time, recorded that ". . . involuntary labor by negroes is recognized by custom; those holding slaves, keep them as part of their family, as they would wives, without any law on the subject. . . ." J. W. Gunnison, *The Mormons, or, Latter-Day Saints, in the valley of The Great Salt Lake* . . . (Philadelphia, 1853), p. 143.

⁷⁴The figures are my own estimate, based largely on accounts included in *Carter, op.cit.*, pp. 9, 13, 15-33, 38-9, 44; and Bellar, *op.cit.*, p. 125. The official census figures for Utah in 1850 report 50 Negroes, of which 24 were slaves. See *Negro Population 1790-1915* (Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C., 1918), p. 57.

⁷⁵Apostle Charles C. Rich was one of at least eight slaveholders to be sent on the mission to San Bernardino. Most of the "ex-slaves" continued to be "servants" for their masters, and several appear to have returned electively to Utah when the mission was recalled. At least one of the slaveowners, Robert M. Smith (of the San Bernardino bishopric), attempted to take his slaves to Texas, but was prevented from doing so by the sheriff of Los Angeles County. See W. Sherman Savage, "The Negro in the Westward Movement," *Journal of Negro History*, 25:537-8. Also, Bellar, *op.cit.*, pp. 124-6; Andrew Jenson, "History of San Bernardino 1851-1938" (unpublished manuscript, Church Historical Department), p. 10; and Joseph F. Wood, "The Mormon Settlement in San Bernardino 1851-1857," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1967), pp. 150-152.

Apostle John Taylor and N. H. Felt were later cited as informing a "Chicago Paper" that "[s]ome slaves had been liberated . . . since they were taken to Utah; others remain slaves. But the most of those who take slaves there pass over with them in a little while to San Bernardino [sic]. . . . How many slaves are now held there they could not say, but the number relatively was by no means small. A single person had taken between forty and fifty, and many had gone in with small numbers." *MS*, 17:62-63 (January 27, 1855).

⁷⁶"Governor's Message, to the Legislative Assembly of Utah Territory, January 5, 1852," copy in the Church Historical Department. This was the organizational meeting of the legislature.

The Mormons turned down the first two children offered for sale in the winter of 1847-48;

when the Indians threatened to kill them if they weren't purchased, one was bought, and the other was killed. Two others brought shortly thereafter were also purchased. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1889, 1964 edition), p 278. See also Orson Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1892), 1:508-511; Daniel W. Jones, *Forty Years Among the Indians* (Salt Lake City, 1890, 1960 edition), pp. 48-51; several articles in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 2 (July, 1929), 67-90; and Brigham Young's comments (e.g. *JD*, 1:104, 170-1; 6:327-9).

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁷⁸"An Act in relation to Service," approved February 4, 1852; "A Preamble and An Act for the further relief of Indian slaves and prisoners," approved March 7, 1852.

⁷⁹"... the consent of the servant given to the probate judge in the absence of his master..." The only exception was "in case of a fugitive from labor."

A number of slaves had escaped from their Mormon masters enroute to Utah, and Hosea Stout records an episode in which a slave attempted to run away while in Utah. In the latter case his master was tried and acquitted on kidnapping charges after he recaptured the "fugitive." *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861*, Juanita Brooks, ed. (Salt Lake City, 1965), 2:597. Stout adds, "There was a great excitement on on [sic] this occasion. The question naturally involving more or less the Slavery question and I was surprised to see those latent feeling [sic] aroused in our midst which are making so much disturbance in the states."

⁸⁰Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery: Western Anti-Negro Prejudice and the Slavery Extension Controversy* (Urbana, 1967).

⁸¹"Message to the Legislature of Utah from Governor Brigham Young," December 13, 1852, in *MS*, 15:422.

⁸²*JD*, 2:172 (February 18, 1855).

⁸³*JD*, 2:184 (February 18, 1855); a separate discourse from Note 82.

⁸⁴*JD*, 7:290-1 (October 9, 1859). Brigham Young cited the curse on Ham or Canaan on many occasions in addition to those cited in the text. E.g., his 1852 address to the Legislature (Note 76), "The seed of Canaan will inevitably carry the curse which was placed upon them, until the same authority which placed it there, shall see proper to remove it..."; his comments in early 1855 reported in the May 4, 1855, *New York Herald*, p. 8, "You must not think, from what I say, that I am opposed to slavery. No! the negro is damned, and is to serve his master till God chooses to remove the curse of Ham..."; an interview with Horace Greeley, July 13, 1859, "We consider [slavery] of divine institution, and not to be abolished until the curse pronounced on Ham shall have been removed from his descendants" (in Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859*, New York, 1860, pp. 211-212; also see *MS*, 21:608-611).

⁸⁵The possibility exists that a policy of priesthood restriction had been set forth shortly prior to this time. William Appleby made the following journal entry while travelling in New York, May 19, 1847: "In this Branch there is a coloured Brother, An Elder ordained by Elder Wm. Smith while he was a member of the Church, contrary, though[,] to the order of the Church on the Law of the Priesthood, as Descendants of Ham are not entitled to that privilege..." (Journal of William I. Appleby, Church Historical Department). However, the question of priesthood entitlement does not appear to have been fully clear to Appleby, for he then wrote to Brigham Young asking "if this is the order of God or tolerated, to ordain negroes to the Priesthood and allow amalgamation. If it is, I desire to know it as I have yet got to learn it" (*Journal History*, June 2, 1847).

Though the priesthood restriction appears to have been open knowledge in the early 1850s, the first published record of which I am aware was not until April, 1852 ("To the Saints," *Deseret News*, April 3, 1852). Gunnison, who had resided in Utah in 1851, also referred to the policy in recounting his experiences the following year (Gunnison, *op.cit.*, p. 143).

⁸⁶Estimates based largely on Carter, *op.cit.* The members included Elijah Abel, his wife and four children; Jane James and six children; Francis and Martha Grice; Walker Lewis; a slave, "Faithful John"; and three "servants," Green, Allen, and Liz Flake.

The two priesthood holders were Elijah Abel (who had been recertified a seventy at least as late as 1847), and "a colored brother by the name of Lewis" who was ordained by Apostle William Smith (*Journal History*, June 2, 1847; the date of the ordination is not given). Two other free Negroes had left the Church by this time. Black Pete, the first known Negro convert, was among those who claimed to receive revelations in Kirtland prior to leaving the Church. There was also a "big, burley, half Indian, half Negro, formerly a Mormon who

has proclaimed himself Jesus Christ . . ." and who had a following of about sixty "fanatics" in Cincinnati (*The Gazette*, St. Joseph, Missouri, December 11, 1846). This may be the William McCairey, or McGarry, who visited the Mormon pioneer camps in the Spring of 1847, and "induced some to follow him. . . ." See Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier* . . . , 2:244, and footnote 37. Black Pete was referred to in Mormon discussions on several occasions in later years (e.g., *T&S*, 3:747; *JD*, 11:3-4); see also Stanley S. Ivins' Notebooks 7:134-5 (Utah State Historical Society) for an additional excerpt on Pete.

⁸⁷Matthias Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff* (Salt Lake City, 1909), p. 351.

⁸⁸*JD*, 2:142-3, December 3, 1854.

⁸⁹*JD*, 7:290-1, October 9, 1859.

⁹⁰*JD*, 11:272, August 19, 1866. The belief that Ham's descendants through Canaan were to be servants would also seem to exclude them from the priesthood. This point was not emphasized under Brigham Young; the following observation was made several years later, "Now the priesthood is divine authority to preside, and to say of a race that they shall be servants forever is equivalent to saying that they shall not hold authority, especially divine authority. Hence the curse of Noah necessarily means that the race upon which it rests cannot hold the priesthood." *Liahona*, *The Elders' Journal*, 5:1164-7 (1908).

⁹¹The initial quotation is from December 3, 1854 (*JD*, 2:142-3); a comparable statement accompanies virtually every discussion of the curse on Cain during this time. The elaboration which follows in the text is from an explanation attributed to Young by Lorenzo Snow in a Council Meeting, March 11, 1900. The minutes of this meeting are among both the Bennion papers and the George Albert Smith papers (the latter in the University of Utah library; abbreviated GAS papers below).

Another explanation has also been attributed to Brigham Young, though indirectly, "to the effect that [Negroes] did not possess sufficient innate spiritual strength and capacity to endure the responsibility that always goes with the priesthood, and to successfully resist the powers of darkness that always oppose men who hold it; and that, were they to be clothed with it, evil agencies would harrass [sic] and torment them, frighten them with spiritual manifestations from a wrong source, and so destroy their rest and peace that the priesthood instead of being a blessing to them would be the reverse." *Liahona*, *The Elders' Journal*, 5:1164-7 (1908).

⁹²*JD*, 2:142-3 (December 3, 1854). The prospects seemed equally remote in 1859 (*JD*, 7:290-1), and 1866 (*JD*, 11:272).

⁹³From a speech to the High Priests' Quorum in Nauvoo, September, 1844. See Joseph Smith Hyde, *Orson Hyde* (Salt Lake City, 1933), p. 56.

⁹⁴*The Seer*, 1:54-56 (April, 1853).

⁹⁵John S. Lindsay, writing in the *Mormon Tribune*, April 23, 1870, on "The Origin of Races," attributed to "orthodox Mormonism" the teaching that "the black race are such as, at the time of the great warfare in heaven when Lucifer and his hosts were cast out, played an ignoble part, not evincing loyalty on the one hand, nor yet possessing sufficient courage to join with Satan and his band of rebels. To use a homely phrase, now current here, they were 'astraddle the fence' . . ."

T.B.H. Stenhouse reported essentially the same belief in 1873, attributing it to "the modern prophet." *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York, 1873), pp. 491-2.

⁹⁶*Journal History*, December 25, 1869, citing "Wilford Woodruff's Journal."

⁹⁷*JD*, 7:290-1 (October 9, 1859). A similar sentiment was implied in the 1852 address to the Utah legislature (see text and Note 77), and was repeated on a number of other occasions: ". . . northern fanaticism [should learn] . . . that there is but little merit in . . . substituting their own kindred spirit and flesh to perform the offices allotted by superior wisdom to the descendants of Cain . . ." (Whites, he went on, "should tread the theater of life and action, in a higher sphere"), in *Millennial Star*, 15:442; or, "In the providences of God their ability is such that they cannot rise above the position of a servant, and they are willing to serve me and have me dictate their labor . . ." (*JD*, 10:190). These quotations are all from Brigham Young.

Not unexpectedly, Utah joined most of the nation in excluding free Negroes from the right to vote or hold office; blacks were also excluded from the Utah militia.

⁹⁸*Millennial Star* editorial, October 28, 1865 (*MS*, 27:682-3), Brigham Young, Jr., editor.

⁹⁹"From Caucasian to Negro," *Juvenile Instructor*, 3:142 (1868). The author continues, "The Negro is described as having a black skin, black, woolly hair, projecting jaws, thick

lips, a flat nose and receding skull. He is generally well made and robust; but with very large hands and feet. In fact, he looks as though he had been put in an oven and burnt to a cinder before he was properly finished making. His hair baked crisp, his nose melted to his face, and the color of his eyes runs into the whites. Some men look as if they had only been burned brown; but he appears to have gone a stage further, and been cooked until he was quite black."

The excerpt is from a series of seven articles, "Man and his Varieties," by "G.R.," which presented an interesting combination of Mormon concepts and nineteenth century science. Though the author rejects the chain of being, he is willing to rank the races of men—with the Caucasian at the top, and the Negro at the bottom. Racial differences are attributed to "climate, variety of food, . . . modes of life, . . . combined with the results of the varied religions existing among men," and ("the greatest of all") "the blessing or curse of God." These factors had led to such diversification since the days of Adam that a permanent race could no longer arise "from people so wide apart as the Anglo-Saxon and Negro . . . [a]nd further, . . . it is proof of the mercy of God that no such race appears able to continue for many generations." (*Juvenile Instructor*, 3:165).

¹⁰⁰Reference has already been made to the Book of Mormon, and Book of Moses accounts (Notes 24, 25, 28). Two contemporary interpretations: ". . . a black skin . . . has ever been a curse that has followed an apostate of the holy priesthood, as well as a black heart . . ." (T&S, 6:857); "we must come to the conclusion that it is not climate alone that has made the Negro what he is [referring to skin color], but must ascribe it to the reason already given: that it is the result of the race suffering the displeasure of Heaven . . ." (*Juvenile Instructor*, 3:166). Brigham Young was equally specific, "Why are so many of the inhabitants of the earth cursed with a [skin] of blackness? It comes in consequence of their fathers rejecting the power of the Holy Priesthood, and the law of God." (*JD*, 11:272).

¹⁰¹As late as 1891, "Editorial Thoughts" in the *Juvenile Instructor* (26:635-6) could observe, "It has been noticed in our day that men who have lost the spirit of the Lord, and from whom His blessings have been withdrawn, have turned dark to such an extent as to excite the comments of all who have known them. . . ." More recently, Hugh Nibley has concluded that the "blackness" of the Book of Mormon groups was symbolic, though again he has not referred to the Negro doctrine. See *Since Cumorah* (Salt Lake City, 1967), pp. 246-251.

¹⁰²John Campbell (Philadelphia, 1851). The copy from President Young's office is now in the DeGolyer Foundation Library, Southern Methodist University.

¹⁰³In addition to the references cited in Notes 22 and 23, see also, William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America, 1815-59* (Chicago, 1960); John S. Haller, Jr., *Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority, 1859-1900* (Urbana, 1971); and George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York, 1968).

¹⁰⁴Spelling as in original. See *Journal History*, May 29, 1847. The account originated with William Clayton, official recorder for the 1847 crossing, and is also to be found in Howard Egan's Diary, *Pioneering the West 1846 to 1878* (Richmond, Utah, 1917), p. 57, as well as in various editions of the *Clayton Journal*.

¹⁰⁵March 2, 1856 (*JD*, 3:235).

¹⁰⁶For expressions of this sentiment from Young, Kimball, Woodruff, Hyde, and others, see *JD*, 8:322-4; 9:54-5; 10:15, 46; 12:119-120; and *MS*, 23:60, 100, 401; 25:540, 805. As to the specific culprits, Young observed in 1864, "The Abolitionists—the same people who interfered with our institutions, and drove us out into the wilderness—interfered with the Southern institutions, till they broke up the Union. But it's all coming out right,—a great deal better than we could have arranged it for ourselves. The men who flee from Abolitionist oppression come out here to our ark of refuge, and people the asylum of God's chosen. . . ." See Fitz-Hugh Ludlow, "Among the Mormons," *Atlantic Monthly*, 13 (April, 1864), 489.

¹⁰⁷*JD*, 7:290-1 (October 9, 1859).

¹⁰⁸*JD*, 10:250 (October 6, 1863). For a Mormon view of the Proclamation, see *MS*, 25:97-101.

¹⁰⁹I am unaware of any published study of Mormon expectations in the Civil War; my understanding derives in part from the following references from Brigham Young, Kimball, Taylor, Hyde, Pratt, and others: *JD*, 5:219; 8:322-4; 9:5, 7, 142-3; 11:26, 38, 106, 154; and *MS*, 23:52, 300, 396; 24:158, 456; 25:540; 26:836; 27:204-5; as well as *Deseret News* of July 10, 1861, and March 26, 1862. Boyd L. Eddins, "The Mormons and the Civil War" (master's

thesis, Utah State University, 1966), deals with this question to some extent. Fitz-Hugh Ludlow, *op.cit.*, p. 489, reported after a visit to Utah in early 1864, "I discovered, that, without a single exception, all the saints were inoculated with a prodigious craze, to the effect that the United States was to become a blighted chaos, and its inhabitants Mormon proselytes and citizens of Utah within the next two years—the more sanguine said, "next summer."

¹¹⁰Orson Pratt, *MS*, 28:518. Pratt held the same opinion five years later, in 1871 (*JD*, 14:275).

¹¹¹*JD*, 11:269 (August 19, 1866). The preceding year, Heber Kimball reviewed the situation, and came to a similar conclusion: "'Thou shalt not interfere with thy neighbor's wife, nor his daughter, his house, nor his man servant, nor his maid servant.' Christ said this; but our enemies don't believe it. That was the trouble between the North and the South. The Abolitionists of the North stole the niggers and caused it all. The nigger was well off and happy. How do you know this, Brother Heber? Why, God bless your soul, I used to live in the South, and I know! Now they have set the nigger free; and a beautiful thing they have done for him, haven't they?" From a talk September 24, 1865, reported in the *New York Daily Tribune*, November 10, 1865, p. 8.

In fact, while Brigham Young had believed that Negroes were justifiably condemned to servitude, he had also spoken out repeatedly against the abuses of slavery, and encouraged slaveowners to treat the blacks "like servants, and not like brutes." (See *JD*, 1:69, 2:184, 10:111, 190, 250.) Even so, President Young's view of states' rights led him to conclude, "If we treated our slaves in an oppressive manner," it would still be "none of [the] business" of the President or Congress, and "they ought not to meddle with it" (*JD*, 4:39-40).

¹¹²Brigham Young wrote Thomas Kane in 1869 that the constitution of the State of Deseret had been amended, February 4, 1867, to eliminate the words "free, white, male" from voting requirements by a vote of "14,000 for, & 30 against." (Letter of October 26, 1869, in Brigham Young papers, Church Historical Department.)

III

¹¹³Journal of John Nuttal, I (1876-1884): 290-93, from a typewritten copy at the Brigham Young University Library. The interview took place May 31, 1879. A corrected copy of the account is included in the minutes of the Council Meeting of June 4, 1879 in the Bennion papers.

¹¹⁴Minutes of the Council of the Twelve, June 4, 1879, in the Bennion papers. An extensive excerpt from these minutes has been included in Note 29. This subject had been discussed the previous week, May 28, 1879, though the minutes of that meeting are not among the Bennion or the George Albert Smith papers.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹¹⁶Though not theoretically synonymous, temple marriages or sealings were generally equated with Mormon plural marriages, and thus the former received considerable attention in the years prior to the Manifesto. Angus M. Cannon, one time Salt Lake Temple president, in denouncing the candidacy of a man who "has not the courage" to live up to Gospel principles, observed: "I had rather see a colored man, who is my friend here, sent to Washington, because he is not capable of receiving the priesthood, and can never reach the highest celestial glory of the kingdom of God. This colored man could go and stand upon the floor of Congress as the peer of every man there, and would be able to say conscientiously that he had not accepted the doctrine of plurality, because he could not . . ." *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 5, 1884.

Several years later the Church received national publicity when a patriarch speaking at a funeral remarked that as Elijah Abel was the only Negro to have received the Melchizedek priesthood, he was the only one of "his race who ever succeeded in gaining entrance within the pearly gates." The report, from the hostile *Tribune* (November 1, 1903) was probably inaccurate in some parts. Nonetheless, when the story was picked up by Eastern papers, the Church felt it necessary to issue denials on two occasions through the *Deseret News*. In both cases, however, the editors avoided comment on the subtlety of Mormon theology which allowed the belief that a Negro could go to heaven as part of his "salvation," but could not attain the highest degree of glory therein ("exaltation") because of the priesthood restriction. See *Deseret News*, "Salvation for the Negro," November 28, 1903; and "Negroes and Heaven," December 17, 1903, both included in the *Journal History* for those dates.

¹¹⁷In practice Negro women would have been excluded from sealings regardless, as the husband would not have held the priesthood. However, many single women have received

their endowments. Later the blacks were described as ineligible for the "blessings of the Priesthood," an expression encompassing the priesthood and temple restrictions, but somehow without reference to the other ordinances requiring the priesthood for which the Negroes were eligible.

¹¹⁸See Council Meeting minutes, August 26, 1908, Bennion papers (or GAS papers).

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*

¹²⁰See Council Meeting minutes, June 4, 1879, Bennion papers.

¹²¹Recounted in Council Minutes, January 2, 1902, Bennion papers (or GAS papers).

¹²²Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:577. While on his mission, Abel reportedly "was not authorized to confer . . . the holy priesthood . . ." (First Presidency letter to David McKay, March 16, 1904).

¹²³Council Minutes, August 22, 1895, Bennion (and GAS) papers. On this occasion Joseph F. Smith stated that Abel "had been ordained a Seventy and afterwards a High Priest." I have found no evidence for the latter claim.

A previous appeal to Wilford Woodruff by "Aunt Jane" was reported in Matthias Cowley, *op.cit.*, p. 587. An appeal to John Taylor is recorded in the "Gardo House Office Journal" for March 20, 1883, included in the Bennion papers. Jane James' appeal to Wilford Woodruff in 1895 was denied, but she was later offered a remarkable alternative to her desires. George Q. Cannon, First Counselor to Woodruff, suggested that while she was not eligible for the traditional ceremonies, a special temple ceremony might be prepared—to adopt her into the family of Joseph Smith "as a servant" (she having been the Prophet's housekeeper). With the approval of President Woodruff this was done, and Jane James thereby became the first black knowingly allowed into a Mormon temple since Elijah Abel had been anointed in Kirtland, Ohio, nearly fifty years before.

This special dispensation was not so major a concession as it may appear, as true "exaltation" was still impossible without the traditional ordinances. This fact was not lost on Sister James, and though she was apparently satisfied for a time, she shortly renewed her plea to participate in the regular temple ceremonies. See Council minutes for January 2, 1902, and August 26, 1908, in Bennion (or GAS) papers.

¹²⁴Council minutes, August 22, 1895, Bennion (or GAS) papers.

¹²⁵Council minutes, March 11, 1900, Bennion (or GAS) papers. Cannon had joined the Church in 1840, but was not ordained an apostle until sixteen years after the Prophet's death, in 1860.

¹²⁶Council minutes, dated December 16, 1897 in Bennion papers (dated December 15, 1897 in the GAS papers). During Taylor's presidency, Utah passed an anti-miscegenation law prohibiting marriages between a "negro" or "mongolian" and a "white person" (passed March 8, 1888).

¹²⁷"Shall I tell you the law of God in regard to the African race? If the white man who belongs to the chosen seed mixes his blood with the seed of Cain, the penalty, under the law of God is death on the spot." Brigham Young, March 8, 1963 (*JD*, 10:110); see also Young's address to the legislature, January 16, 1852, in the Journal of Wilford Woodruff for a more graphic discussion. Most of Young's discussions of the curse on Cain emphasized that it would not be lifted until all of the "other children of Adam" had received their entitlement.

¹²⁸Council minutes, August 18, 1900, Bennion (or GAS) papers. Cannon was then First Counselor to Snow.

¹²⁹Council minutes, August 22, 1895, Bennion (or GAS) papers. By 1908 this policy had been reversed, and a temple sealing was approved in a comparable case.

¹³⁰Council minutes, December 16, 1897, Bennion papers. See also Note 123.

¹³¹*Journal History*, February 13, 1849, for the original inquiry; Council minutes of March 11, 1900 reveals the question in Snow's mind as to the author of the policy. There are two versions of these minutes which should be compared. The Bennion and GAS papers have virtually identical accounts, but George F. Gibbs, secretary to the First Presidency, reported a slightly different version in a private letter to John M. Whitaker, January 18, 1909 (Whitaker papers, University of Utah Library). The latter account suggests that Snow believed the explanation of the policy could have been based on the "personal views" of Brigham Young.

¹³²Council minutes, January 2, 1902, Bennion (or GAS) papers.

¹³³Council minutes, August 26, 1908, Bennion (or GAS) papers. A more extensive excerpt: "In this connection President Smith referred to Elijah Abel, who was ordained a Seventy by Joseph Young, in the days of the Prophet Joseph, to whom Brother Young issued a Seventies certificate; but this ordination was declared null and void by the Prophet himself. Later Brother Abel appealed to President Young for the privilege of receiving his endowments and to have his wife and children sealed to him, a privilege President Young could not grant. Brother Abel renewed his application to President Taylor with the same result; and still the same appeal was made to President Woodruff afterwards who of course upheld the position taken by Presidents Young and Taylor. . . ." Compare this with Smith's earliest account, quoted in Note 29.

¹³⁴In addition to George Q. Cannon, Apostle Franklin D. Richards had also attributed Church policy ultimately to Joseph Smith (*Journal History*, October 5, 1896). Richards, who joined the Church in 1838, was ordained an apostle in 1849; there is no indication from his remarks that he was claiming first-hand information. Joseph Smith's History was also published about this time, and it contained the lone direct quote by the Prophet relating the Negro to Cain (without reference to the priesthood); (*DHC*, 4:501).

¹³⁵*Improvement Era*, 11:465-66, as quoted in *Gospel Doctrine*, Vol. 1, pp. 234-5, the Melchizedek Priesthood Quorum Manual, 1970-1. President Smith allowed for an alternative which appears more applicable to the situation he described in the Council Meeting, "To prevent a person, for cause, from exercising the rights and privileges of acting in the offices of the priesthood may be and has been done, and the person so silenced still remains a member of the Church, but this does not take away from him any priesthood that he held."

¹³⁶First Presidency letter from Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, and Charles W. Penrose to Milton H. Knudson, January 13, 1912, Bennion papers. The Presidency wrote: ". . . the Prophet Joseph Smith is said to have explained it in this way . . ."; Cannon was not referenced, and the statement on miscegenation was deleted.

A question remains as to the specific timing of these developments. Though Joseph F. Smith is not known to have "explained" the situation with Elijah Abel prior to 1908, he had accepted Joseph Smith as the original author of the priesthood policy at least as early as 1904. That year the First Presidency wrote, without reference, "the Prophet Joseph taught the doctrine in his day that the seed of Cain would not receive the priesthood . . ." (Letter to David McKay, March 16, 1904, copy in my possession).

¹³⁷"The Negro and the Priesthood," *Improvement Era*, 27:564-5, April, 1924.

¹³⁸*The Contributor*, 6:296-7; Roberts' italics. Erastus Snow, in 1880, discussed the priesthood restriction on the descendants of Cain, and the passage of this curse through the Flood, in a manner suggestive of the Pearl of Great Price account, but he does not present nearly so developed a case as Roberts. His explanation was attributed to revelation ("as revelation teaches"), which presumably referred to the Book of Abraham, as no other "revelation" has ever been cited on the subject (*JD*, 21:370).

¹³⁹*Juvenile Instructor*, 26:635-6 (October 15, 1891).

¹⁴⁰Council minutes for March 11, 1900, and August 18, 1900, both in Bennion (or GAS) papers. In the latter meeting, "President Cannon read from the Pearl of Great Price showing that negroes were debarred from the priesthood. . . ."

¹⁴¹"Are Negroes Children of Adam?" 65:776-8 (December 3, 1903).

¹⁴²"The Negro and the Priesthood," 5:1164-7 (April 18, 1908).

¹⁴³E.g., Council minutes, August 26, 1908; letter from Joseph F. Smith and Anthon H. Lund to Rudger Clawson, November 18, 1910, both in Bennion papers.

¹⁴⁴Letter of January 13, 1912, from Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, and Charles W. Penrose, to Milton H. Knudson, in the Bennion papers. A similar sentiment was included in another letter, dated May 1, 1912, to Ben E. Rich (Bennion papers), "... the Pearl of Great Price gives particulars on this point that are very pertinent to the subject (See Book of Abraham 1:21,27). These texts show that while men of the negro race may be blessed of the Lord both temporally and spiritually . . . yet they are not eligible to the Priesthood. . . ."

Orson Whitney also included the Pearl of Great Price explanation in his *Saturday Night Thoughts* on doctrine in 1921, and several years later Joseph Fielding Smith began his extensive discussions of the subject.

¹⁴⁵These first two statements were based on the Book of Moses, revealed to Joseph Smith in December, 1830, and published in August, 1832. The remainder of the argument derives

from the Book of Abraham which was first published in 1842. The two books were combined into the Pearl of Great Price in 1851.

¹⁴⁶The specific verses most widely cited:

"Cain rose up against Abel, his brother, and slew him." (Moses 5:32, Genesis 4:8)

"And I the Lord set a mark upon Cain . . ." (Moses 5:40, or Genesis 4:15)

"the seed of Cain were black" (Moses 7:22)

"the people of Canaan . . . shall go forth in battle array . . ." (Moses 7:7)

"a blackness came upon all the children of Canaan" (Moses 7:8)

"Egypt being first discovered by a woman, who was the daughter of Ham, and the daughter of Egyptus" (Abraham 1:23)

"Pharaoh, the eldest son of Egyptus, the daughter of Ham" (Abraham 1:25)

"the king of Egypt was a descendant from the loins of Ham, and was a partaker of the blood of the Canaanites by birth" (Abraham 1:25)

"and thus the blood of the Canaanites was preserved in the land" (Abraham 1:22)

"and . . . from Ham, sprang the race which preserved the curse in the land" (Abraham 1:24)

"[Pharaoh was] cursed . . . as pertaining to the Priesthood" (Abraham 1:26).

The "complete" version of the Pearl of Great Price argument can be found in published sources after 1903 (e.g., *MS*, 65:776-8); and can be pieced together from earlier discussions after 1884.

¹⁴⁷The term "Canaan" (or "Canaanite") appears six times in the Book of Abraham. The first two are the well-known, "Now this king of Egypt was a descendant from the loins of Ham, and was a partaker of the blood of the Canaanites by birth. From this descent sprang all the Egyptians, and thus the blood of the Canaanites was preserved in the land" (Abraham 1:21-22). In the third instance Abraham records, "Therefore I left the land of Ur, of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan . . ." (Abraham 2:4). The remaining three references also speak of this land, "I . . . came forth in the way to the land of Canaan . . ."; ". . . as we journeyed . . . to come to the land of Canaan . . ."; ". . . and we had already come into the borders of the land of the Canaanites, . . . the land of this idolatrous nation" (Abraham 2:15-16, 18). The last four of these references relate ultimately to the son of Ham, Canaan, and the people traditionally descended from him. Except for its convenient use in the priesthood argument, there is no apparent reason for relating the first two uses of "Canaanite" to a different group by the same name who lived before the Flood, and who were not otherwise mentioned by Abraham.

Another particularly weak point in the Pearl of Great Price argument is the importance which must be attributed to the spellings of "Cainan" and "Canaan." Not only is it essential that there be separate antediluvian and post-flood "Canaans," but more importantly a clear distinction must be maintained between the "good" people and land of "Cainan" from whence came the prophet Enoch, and the "bad" people of "Canaan" incorporated into the cursed lineage. The spellings in the current Pearl of Great Price are consistent, and permit a distinction to be made. However, previously published versions and the original manuscripts on which these were based demonstrate that there is a significant question about the correctness of the present spellings. Variations were evident throughout the nineteenth century (which explains the frequent "incorrect" spellings found in the Council minutes during that time), and the earliest manuscripts suggest that Enoch may well have come from the land of "Canaan." While it is not practical to include a full discussion of this problem at present, it should be clear that the history of these works seriously undermines any argument based on a particular spelling being correct. See Richard P. Howard, "Variants in the Spelling of Canaan (Cainan) in the Original Manuscripts of the 'Inspired Version' of the Bible, as found in Genesis, Chapters 6 and 7" (manuscript, Historians Office, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints), or my own unpublished "Compilation on the Negro in Mormonism," Appendix I.

¹⁴⁸The correlation surely was apparent much earlier. Orson Pratt seems to have had reference to the Book of Abraham in 1853 when he wrote, ". . . African negroes or [those] in the lineage of Canaan whose descendants were cursed, *pertaining to the priesthood*" (*The Seer*, 1:56). Similarly, the *Juvenile Instructor* series on "Man and His Varieties" in 1868 included in the section on "The Negro Race" the comment, "We are told in the Book of Abraham . . . that Egypt was first discovered by a woman, who was a daughter of Ham, the son of Noah. This was probably the first portion of Africa inhabited after the flood." See also Note 138.

¹⁴⁹"The Negro and the Priesthood," *Liahona, The Elders' Journal*, 5:1164-7.

¹⁵⁰*JD*, 20:310-13 (October 6, 1879). Three years later Erastus Snow carried this sentiment one step further: ". . . the extreme excesses perpetrated under [the system of slavery in the

Southern States], in many particulars, were very great wrongs to mankind, and very grievous in the sight of heaven and of right-thinking people. And changes were determined in the mind of Jehovah, and have been affected . . ." (JD, 23:294, October 8, 1882).

Though Joseph Smith's "Views" in opposition to slavery had been dropped rather quickly after his death, they were resurrected during the Civil War at a time when the Union was considered "hopelessly and irremediably broken" with the suggestion that the rejection of the Prophet's plan was in part responsible for the current state of affairs (MS, 25:97-101, February 14, 1863). After the death of Brigham Young the "Views" were cited more frequently. Erastus Snow, for instance, referred to the proposals on slavery on two occasions in 1882, as "the voice of the Lord through the Prophet Joseph Smith . . ." (JD, 23:91), and as "the true policy and counsel of heaven to our nation" (JD, 23:296-7).

¹⁵¹" . . . disenfranchisement of a class, on the ground that it is not entitled to human rights because of the color of the skin, cannot be justified by any arguments from the Scriptures." See "The Colored Races," *Deseret Evening News*, March 14, 1908, in *Journal History* of this date; also, the earlier editorials, e.g., "Status of the Negro," May 17, 1900; "Political Rights of Negroes," May 8, 1903; "The Negro Problem," September 9, 1903.

¹⁵²"Slavery and Apostacy," by Frank H. Eastmond, MS, 76:269-71 (April 23, 1914).

¹⁵³"The Negro Problem," editorial of May 12, 1903. The editor quoted at length the "pertinent remarks" from a Southerner who said, in part, "I cannot say that I believe in the doctrine 'that education ruins the negro,' for while it may unfit him in a sense for being a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, it should, if education means anything, force him to an intellectual condition wherein he should more firmly realize his position and recognize the inherent restrictions of his race in regard to the social conditions of mankind." Similarly, the *News*, some fifteen years earlier, had reported a projection of Negro population growth that would have reached 96,000,000 in 1960, and observed that it "is not cheering to Anglo-Saxons to contemplate subjugation to the African race . . ."; two years later the projections had proved ill-founded, and the *News* reported that the Negro "forebodes no numerical danger to the country" (from the editions of January 4, 1888, and July 22, 1891, both included in the *Journal History*).

¹⁵⁴William Benjamin Smith, *The Color Line*. The thesis of this author was that social equality would lead to intermarriage, and "that the comingling of inferior with superior must lower the higher is just as certain as that the half-sum of two and six is four." The quotation was included in B.H. Roberts, *Seventy's Course in Theology, First Year*, Outline History of the Seventy and A Survey of the Books of Holy Scripture (Salt Lake City, 1907; reprinted, 1931).

¹⁵⁵T&S, 6:857 (April 1, 1845). With other Mormon leaders, Taylor had denounced both "Southern fire-eaters" and "rabid abolitionists" in the days before the Civil War, but his less restrained remarks were more often directed at the latter, with whom he had greater familiarity. Horace Greeley, for instance, was "a great man to talk about higher law, which means, with him, stealing niggers . . . they need not be afraid of our stealing their niggers . . ." (JD, 5:157; see also JD, 5:119).

¹⁵⁶E.g., JD, 18:200; JD, 22:304.

¹⁵⁷JD, 22:302 (August 28, 1881); also JD, 23:336 (October 29, 1882). There is some basis for this idea in remarks delivered by Brigham Young to the Utah Territorial Legislature, January 16, 1852, recorded in Wilford Woodruff's diary of that date.

¹⁵⁸Conference address, April 7, 1887, reported in MS, 51:339.

¹⁵⁹Matthias F. Cowley, *op.cit.*, p. 587, from Woodruff's journal.

¹⁶⁰The question, posed to Brigham Young, was made the day after Snow was ordained an apostle. *Journal History*, February 13, 1849.

¹⁶¹Council minutes, December 16, 1897, in Bennion papers.

¹⁶²E.g., Council minutes, March 11, 1900, in Bennion (or GAS) papers.

¹⁶³Council minutes, August 26, 1908, in Bennion (or GAS) papers.

¹⁶⁴For comparison, the state of Virginia extended its legal definition of "a colored person" in 1910, to include "every person having one-sixteenth or more of negro blood," and further, in 1930, to include "every person in whom there is ascertainable any negro blood." Woodward, *op.cit.*, p. 86, reports that the 1930 Federal census enumerators were instructed to count as Negroes any person of mixed blood, "no matter how small the percentage of Negro blood."

For another indication of Apostle John Henry Smith's different perspective on race, see Carter, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁶⁵Council minutes, March 11, 1900, in Bennion (or GAS) papers.

¹⁶⁶Council minutes, January 2, 1902, in Bennion (or GAS) papers. The "doctrine" described had actually provided a theoretical model which should have allowed people with Negro ancestry to be ordained to the priesthood. Brigham Young had taught that not only could an individual "extract all of the blood" of a particular lineage from his parents, but that it was also possible for such a lineage to be "purged" from the individual's blood: "Can you make a Christian of a Jew? I tell you, nay. If a Jew comes into this Church, and honestly professes to be a Saint, a follower of Christ, and if the blood of Judah is in his veins, he will apostatize. He may have been born and bred a Jew, speak the language of the Jews, and have attended to all the ceremonies of the Jewish religion, and have openly professed to be a Jew all his days; but I will tell you a secret—there is not a particle of the blood of Judaism in him, if he has become a true Christian, a Saint of God; for if there is, he will most assuredly leave the Church of Christ, or that blood will be purged out of his veins. We have men among us who were Jews, and became converted from Judaism. For instance, here is brother Neibaur; do I believe there is one particle of the blood of Judah in his veins? No, not so much as could be seen on the point of the finest cambric needle, through a microscope with a magnifying power of two millions . . ." (JD, 2:143; also JD, 11:279). Presumably a Negro would have been susceptible to a similar purge of the blood of Cain.

¹⁶⁷"Extract from George F. Richards' Record of Decisions by the Council of the First Presidency and the Twelve Apostles," in the GAS papers. The entry is not dated; the following entry was from February 8, 1907. Compare Note 164.

In 1913 Dr. Booker T. Washington delivered an address at the University of Utah, attended by "practically every one of the General Authorities." Afterwards Bishop John Whitaker asked Washington, in a private conversation, "If perchance under discussion on some negro problem the question arose as to how a negro would vote if only one drop of negro blood run [sic] in his veins which way would that drop of blood vote on a question, white or black?" Whitaker writes, "Without hesitation he said, 'If there was one drop of blood in a person and such a question arose, it would always vote with the negro.' I was struck with his ready answer, showing he had thought out almost every conceivable connection [between] white and black. And I have been told that pure white blood through intermarriage with any other blood runs out in four generations. I am told that negro blood will persist up to eight generations. There seems to be something in that accursed blood that will not yield to white blood . . ." ("Daily Journal of John M. Whitaker," March 27, 1913, in the University of Utah Library).

¹⁶⁸It is surprising that this idea has not appeared in the explanations of how the "pure" Negro lineage was transmitted through the Flood. See Note 27.

¹⁶⁹The millennialist expectations at that time lent a certain urgency to the call of the Church to carry the Gospel to every nation, kindred, tongue, and people. As the Civil War approached, the universal obligation came to be viewed more symbolically. Wilford Woodruff, in 1855, observed that "we have preached . . . in France, Italy, Germany, and the States of the German Confederacy; and it has been preached in the British Isles, in North and South America, and the Society and Sandwich Islands, and to China, and we have even sent them to the dark regions of Asia and Africa . . . two of our brethren . . . have been to those countries. Chauncey West has been through that country . . . he has cleared his skirts of those people among whom he travelled, and he has cleared this people, for they have been commanded to preach this Gospel to all the nations of the earth . . ." (JD, 9:226). Three years later the missionaries were recalled from abroad as Johnston's army moved on Utah. At this time Orson Pratt wrote, "Now, the Lord moves upon the hearts of the First Presidency to say . . . 'It is enough: come home. Your testimony is sufficient . . .'" (JD, 6:201). By 1860, Brigham Young could say that "my brethren have said enough to warn the whole world. This frees our garments . . ." (JD, 8:147).

¹⁷⁰Council minutes, August 26, 1908, in Bennion (or GAS) papers. Anthon H. Lund, writing "on behalf of First Presidency," had given the same advice the previous month. Letter of 11 July 1908 to H. L. Steed in my possession. A remarkably different philosophy had been developed at length in a *Deseret Evening News* editorial just five months before:

" . . . And how do we know that the disciples of the Apostles did not go both to China and to the interior of Africa? To assert that they did not do so, should not be done without sufficient evidence. There is no reason to believe, against tradition that their labors were confined to the Mediterranean coast lands . . .

"But, without going any further into this, it seems to us that the commission given by the Lord to His Apostles embraced every human being. For He commissioned them to preach the gospel to 'every creature.' If that means anything, it means that neither color, nor ignorance, nor degeneration is a bar to salvation. No one is so black that he is not one of God's creatures . . ." ("The Colored Races," March 14, 1908).

¹⁷¹Letter from B. A. Hendricks reported in Council minutes, November 10, 1910, in Bennion (or GAS) papers. Hendricks described the Blacks as "good honest people."

¹⁷²Letter from Joseph F. Smith and Anthon Lund, November 18, 1910, in Bennion papers. They continued, "But at the same time where honest-hearted Negroes who perchance hear the gospel preached, become pricked in their hearts and ask for baptism, it would not be becoming in us to refuse to administer that ordinance in their behalf. . . ."

A decade prior, George Q. Cannon had made a point of the fact that "Enoch in his day called upon all people to repent save it were the descendants of Cainan [sic]," Council minutes, August 18, 1900, in Bennion (or GAS papers).

¹⁷³President Smith's remark is found in the Council minutes, November 10, 1910. The mission president was informed via a letter from Joseph F. Smith and Anthon H. Lund, to Rudger Clawson, November 18, 1910, both among the Bennion papers. The letter continued, "But in thus answering we do not wish President Hendricks [of the South African Mission] or his successors in office to encourage the Negro saints of South Africa to emigrate to Zion in order that they may be in a position to do temple work. . . ." Nor did they wish a gathering to be preached to the whites.

¹⁷⁴First Presidency letter from Joseph F. Smith, Lund, and Charles Penrose, to M. Knudson, Jan. 13, 1912, in Bennion papers. The letter also reported that "there is no written revelation going to show why the negroes are ineligible to hold the priesthood, the Prophet Joseph Smith is said to have explained . . ." (See Notes 124, 136, and text).

¹⁷⁵First Presidency letter from Smith, Lund, and Penrose, to Ben Rich, May 1, 1912, in Bennion papers. The suggestion that Negroes had been committed to Cain's lineage in the pre-existence, and were perhaps electively remaining in that line, attributed by Lorenzo Snow to Brigham Young (see Note 91, and text), had not necessarily implied a "neutral" performance on their part. See Matthias Cowley's account of Snow's belief to this effect, reported in a talk at the L.D.S. University Branch, Chicago, October 4, 1925, copy at Church Historical Department.

IV

¹⁷⁶See, for example, letters of Heber J. Grant to H. L. Wilkin, January 28, 1928; of Grant, Anthony W. Ivins, and Charles W. Nibley to Don Mack Dalton, November 29, 1929; of Grant, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., and David O. McKay to Graham Doxey, February 9, 1945; and of George Albert Smith, Clark, and McKay to Francis W. Brown, January 13, 1947; and of Smith, Clark, and McKay to Virgil H. Sponberg, May 5, 1947; all found among the Bennion papers.

¹⁷⁷In 1947 the First Presidency wrote, "The rule of the Church as heretofore followed has been set forth by the early Church leaders. You will find a discussion thereof in Brother Joseph Fielding Smith's book, 'The Way to Perfection,' chapter 16." Letter of January 13, 1947, to Francis Brown, in Bennion papers.

¹⁷⁸Joseph Fielding Smith, *The Way to Perfection* (Salt Lake City, 1931), pp. 103, 111. Smith deals directly with the Negro doctrine in Chapters 7, 15, and 16. He had previously published two short articles on the subject, "The Negro and the Priesthood," *Improvement Era*, 27:564-65 (April, 1924), and "Salvation for the Dead," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*, 17:154 (1926).

¹⁷⁹Smith quoted Brigham Young's statement on neutrality, and would also have been aware of his father's opinion, as he was an Apostle when Joseph F. Smith expressed himself on the subject. *The Way to Perfection* also included Roberts' *Contributor* article.

More recently, Orson Whitney had dealt with the related problem of a curse on Canaan, and "the unsolved problem of the punishment of a whole race for an offense committed by one of its ancestors." He concluded, "It seems reasonable to infer that there was a larger cause, that the sin in question was not the main issue. Tradition has handed down something to that effect, but nothing conclusive on the question is to be found in the standard works of the Church. Of one thing we may rest assured: Canaan was not unjustly cursed, nor were the spirits who came through his lineage wrongly assigned. 'Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.' Or, putting it inversely: Whatsoever a man reaps, that hath he sown. This rule applies to spirit life, as well as to life in the flesh." *Cowley & Whitney on*

Doctrine (Salt Lake City, 1963), pp. 313-14, from a series of articles by Whitney written in 1918-1919.

¹⁸⁰*The Way to Perfection*, p. 43. For Smith the restrictions extended beyond the priesthood policy—Cain “because of his wickedness . . . became the father of an inferior race . . .” (p. 101).

¹⁸¹*Ibid.*, pp. 43-44, 105-6. Since the argument was being advanced that blacks were coming from their “sin” in the pre-existence to a penalty in this life, it is not exactly clear how the term “innocent” is being applied. Smith references *D&C* 93:38.

¹⁸²*Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

¹⁸³A representative progression: “it is highly probable” (Orson Pratt, 1853); “It seems reasonable to infer” (Orson Hyde, 1918-19); “It is a reasonable thing to believe . . .” (Joseph Fielding Smith, 1924); “few will doubt” (Joseph Fielding Smith, 1931); “it is very probable that in some way, unknown to us, the distinction . . .” (John Widstoe, 1944); “Is it not just as reasonable to assume” (Harold B. Lee, 1945); “Your position seems to lose sight of the revelation of the Lord touching the pre-existence of our spirits, the rebellion in heaven, and the doctrine that our birth in this life and the advantages under which we may be born, have a relationship in the life heretofore” (First Presidency, 1947); “Accepting this theory of life, we have a reasonable explanation of existent conditions in the habitations of man” (David O. McKay, 1947); “Under this principle there is no injustice whatsoever involved in this deprivation as to the holding of the priesthood by the Negroes” (First Presidency statement, 1949).

¹⁸⁴An extreme of a sort was achieved in August 28, 1947, when the Quorum upheld a decision by John Widstoe denying a temple recommend to a “sister having one thirty-second of negro blood in her veins” (one black great-great-grandparent). Widstoe did question “whether in such cases the individual . . . might be recommended to the temple for marriage,” but previous policy prevailed. Council minutes, August 28, 1947, in Bennion papers. See Note 164.

¹⁸⁵Council minutes, October 29, 1936, Bennion papers. By 1950 at least sixteen such cases involving either the Priesthood or admission to the temple had come to the attention of the Quorum or First Presidency, exclusive of such groups as those found in Brazil; additional cases are also reported from other sources.

¹⁸⁶Council minutes, January 30, 1947, Bennion papers.

¹⁸⁷Council minutes, October 9, 1947, Bennion papers.

¹⁸⁸See the “South African Mission Plan,” December, 1951, pp. 45-46, copy in Church Historical Department.

¹⁸⁹Most Mormons associated the Polynesians with the Lamanites (e.g., *Juvenile Instructor*, 3:145-46) rather than Cain or Ham; there were exceptions. See *Juvenile Instructor*, 3:141-42, and *Dialogue*, 2 (Autumn, 1967), 8, letter from Gary Lobb.

¹⁹⁰First Presidency letter from George Albert Smith, Clark, and McKay, to Francis W. Brown, January 13, 1947, Bennion papers.

¹⁹¹See Wallace R. Bennett, “The Negro in Utah,” *Utah Law Review*, Spring, 1953; “Symposium on the Negro in Utah,” held November 20, 1954, by the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, at Weber College; or David H. Oliver, *A Negro on Mormonism* (USA, 1963).

¹⁹²E.g., J. Reuben Clark wrote in the *Improvement Era* (49:492) in August, 1946, “. . . It is sought today in certain quarters to break down all race prejudice, and at the end of the road, which they who urge this see, is intermarriage. That is what it finally comes to. Now, you should hate nobody; you should give to every man and every woman, no matter what the color of his or her skin may be, full civil rights. You should treat them as brothers and sisters, but do not ever let that wicked virus get into your systems that brotherhood either permits or entitles you to mix races which are inconsistent. . . .” The following year Clark is also cited on this matter in a Council meeting, “President Clark called attention to the sentiment among many people in this country to the point that we should break down all racial lines, as a result of which sentiment negro people have acquired an assertiveness that they never before possessed and in some cases have become impudent . . .” (Council minutes, October 9, 1947, Bennion papers).

¹⁹³See Wallace R. Bennett, *op.cit.*

¹⁹⁴Letter from the First Presidency (Smith, Clark, McKay) of May 5, 1947, to Virgil H. Sponberg, in Bennion papers.

¹⁹⁵See Note 192; also Harold B. Lee's address over KSL, May 6, 1945, "Youth of a Noble Birthright" (copy in Church Historical Department); and First Presidency letter of July 17, 1947, to Lowry Nelson, copy at the Brigham Young University Library.

¹⁹⁶Of the three instances cited in Note 195, Clark stated, "Biologically, it is wrong"; Lee invoked the "laws of heredity and the centuries of training"; and the First Presidency characterized intermarriage as "a concept which has heretofore been most repugnant to most normal-minded people." These arguments were, of course, secondary to the doctrinal objections.

In 1939 Utah extended its anti-miscegenation statute to prohibit a "white" from marrying a "Mongolian, a member of the malay race or a mulatto, quadroon, or octoroon . . ."

¹⁹⁷First Presidency letter (from Presidents Smith, Clark, and McKay) to Ezra T. Benson, June 23, 1942, in Bennion papers. A similar problem was resolved in 1936 by a Branch President in Cincinnati, Ohio, by ruling that a "faithful" Negro family "could not come to Church meetings." See Mark E. Petersen, "Race Problems—As They Affect the Church," address delivered at Brigham Young University, August 27, 1954, copy at Church Historical Department.

¹⁹⁸First Presidency letter (from Presidents Smith, Clark, and McKay) to Lowry Nelson, July 17, 1947, copy at Brigham Young University Library.

¹⁹⁹First Presidency statement, August 17, 1949, copy at Church Historical Department; also in Bennion papers, and elsewhere. William E. Berrett, in "The Church and the Negroid People," pp. 16-17, conveys the incorrect impression that this statement was issued in 1951; see Berrett's supplement to John J. Stewart, *Mormonism and the Negro* (Orem, Utah, 1967).

²⁰⁰Even with the genealogical advances having progressed to the point where several million men can be vicariously ordained in the temples each year, it will still require centuries to provide this opportunity for the billions of men who have been ineligible for the priesthood on other than racial grounds.

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²⁰¹Conference address reported in the *Deseret News*, October 6, 1963; a slightly different version appeared in the December, 1963, *Improvement Era*. In March, 1965, pressure was again brought to bear on the Church to issue a statement in conjunction with civil rights legislation then pending in Utah. After several hundred marchers demonstrated in front of Church offices, the *Deseret News* carried an editorial, "A Clear Civil Rights Stand," which reprinted Brown's remarks as a "concise statement given officially" on the subject, which was both "clear and unequivocal" (*Deseret News*, March 9, 1965).

Though Apostle Mark E. Petersen has been singled out for his extensive, unequivocally segregationist remarks in 1954 (see Note 197), he had not strayed significantly from the sentiments expressed by other Church leaders in the preceding few years. Just three months before, the First Presidency had "directed" their Secretary, Joseph Anderson, to respond to a correspondent, "That the Church is opposed on biological and other grounds, to intermarriage between whites and negroes, and that it discourages all social relationships and associations between the races, as among its members, that might lead to such marriages . . ." (Letter of May 4, 1954, from Anderson to Chauncey D. Harris, copy in my possession). The Presidency also believed that "all men, without regard to race or color" were entitled to "full civil rights and liberties, social, economic, and political, as provided in the Constitution and laws. . . ."

²⁰²First Presidency statement, December 15, 1969, "by Hugh B. Brown, N. Eldon Tanner" (*Church News*, January 10, 1970, p. 12). President McKay, who was gravely ill at the time, died January 18, 1970.

²⁰³"Church to Open Missionary Work in Nigeria," *Deseret News*, January 11, 1963.

²⁰⁴As early as 1946, Council minutes report correspondence from Nigeria which "pleads for missionaries to be sent . . . and asks for literature regarding the Church." See Council minutes of October 24, 1946, and October 9, 1947, both in Bennion papers. *Time* magazine ("The Black Saints of Nigeria," June 18, 1965) reported that Lamar Williams was sent to Nigeria in 1959 to investigate the situation; Henry D. Moyle appears to date this to 1961 in a talk late that year ("What of the Negro?," October 30, 1961, copy at Church Historical Department), though he seems to err in identifying the country involved as South Africa.

²⁰⁵A Nigerian student attending school in California learned of the planned mission, and sent a copy of John J. Stewart's *Mormonism and the Negro* to the *Nigerian Outlook*, along

with his analysis of Church beliefs on the Negro. The *Outlook* published the letter, excerpts from the book, and an editorial, "Evil Saints," which demanded that the Mormons not be allowed into the country. See *Nigerian Outlook*, March 5, 1963, xerox copy at Brigham Young University Library.

²⁰⁶Information obtained largely in an interview with Lamar S. Williams, who had been set apart as the Presiding Elder over the Nigerian Mission.

Two derivative groups of the original Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, both of whom ordain Negroes to the priesthood, have also been involved with Nigerian "Mormons." The Church of Jesus Christ (Monongahela, Pennsylvania), who trace their origins to William Bickerton, and Sidney Rigdon, and accept the Book of Mormon, have had a mission to Nigeria for nearly twenty years. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints also opened a mission to Nigeria in the mid-Sixties. Both groups have ordained Nigerian elders.

²⁰⁷Information obtained from a principal in the case who had interceded on behalf of the person involved (the latter previously had been denied the priesthood because of his black ancestry).

²⁰⁸Information obtained from a former temple president who possesses a copy of the authorization signed by President McKay.

²⁰⁹This point was made public by President Harold B. Lee, in an interview reported in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 24, 1972, which reported, "President Lee said skin color is not what keeps the Negro from the priesthood. It [is] strictly a matter of lineage and involves only African Negroes. In comparison, he noted, dark or black islanders, such as Fijians, Tongans, Samoans, or Maoris, are all permitted full rights to the priesthood."

Another policy change which had no contemporary impact, but which would have posed an interesting problem for nineteenth century literalists, was the decision to stop segregating Negro and White blood in the Church hospitals' blood banks. This decision, prompted by Public Health Service rulings and affecting many hospitals nationally, has no doubt resulted in many instances wherein members of the Priesthood have had several drops of "Negro blood" in their veins, at least for a few weeks.

²¹⁰As early as 1924, McKay had published a short article, "Persons and Principles," criticizing the hypocrisy of "pseudo-Christians" who preached "universal Brotherhood" and then showed prejudice towards Negroes and others in their daily lives. See *MS*, 86:72 (January 31, 1924).

²¹¹Quoted in a letter from Sterling McMurrin to Llewelyn R. McKay, August 26, 1968, copy in my possession. An excerpt has been published in Stephen G. Taggart, *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins* (Salt Lake City, 1970), p. 79; see also *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 15, 1970, "Educator Cites McKay Statement. . . ."

²¹²The remarks were not recorded for several hours after the interview, and the original notes have reportedly been lost. However, Llewelyn McKay has stated that he showed McMurrin's letter to President McKay, and that the prophet verified the account. See Taggart, *op.cit.*, p. 79, and *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 15, 1970, "Educator Cites McKay Statement of No Negro Bias in LDS Tenets." There has been no official response by the Church to Llewelyn's claim; a senior apostle has said privately that the verification came only because of President McKay's debilitated condition.

²¹³First Presidency statement, August 17, 1949; McKay was then Second Counselor. Henry D. Moyle, *op.cit.*, reported that the statement was reaffirmed in 1961.

²¹⁴Letter of November 3, 1947, published in Llewelyn R. McKay, *Home Memories of President David O. McKay* (Salt Lake City, 1956), pp. 226-31; or William E. Berrett, *op.cit.*, pp. 18-23.

²¹⁵First Presidency statement, December 15, 1969.

²¹⁶The Genesis Group, organized in Salt Lake City, in October, 1971, was designed to provide the Church auxiliary programs, except Sunday School, for Black members in the Salt Lake Valley. The group had a "group presidency" and officers and teachers drawn from the Negro membership in the area.

²¹⁷See "Lee Says Complete Status for Negroes in LDS Priesthood Only Matter of Time," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 24, 1972. For an indication of President Lee's views in 1945, see his "Youth of a Noble Birthright," Note 195.

²¹⁸First Presidency statement, December 15, 1969.

²¹⁹See Note 214.

RESPONSES AND PERSPECTIVES:

Lester Bush's Historical Overview: Other Perspectives

GORDON C. THOMASSON

Lester Bush's well written, reasoned and researched article is by far the most comprehensive and responsible effort to date at giving an historical context within which the denial of the priesthood to Negroes can be understood. It has motivated me to re-examine my own ideas, and has therefore been of great personal value to me. I must admit that I am one of those who, however much *angst* is generated by the rational side of my being and however much compassion tears at my spirit with a desire for change, remains spiritually convinced and convicted of the fact that only the Prophet can change through revelation that which previous prophets insist was instituted by revelation. Like most of those who maintain such an almost schizoid-appearing set of attitudes, I am perhaps overly sensitive to the weaknesses of the arguments advanced by those on both extremes of the Mormon-black controversy. Mr. Bush's objective presentation supplies us with excellent data, which will no doubt be used by many to serve their respective purposes. What follows are some issues which I am sure Mr. Bush was unable to discuss due to constraints of time and space. I mention these items in hopes of insuring that no one draws unwarranted conclusions from the information available, closing his or her mind and thereby precluding further dialogue.

First, all of us can bear reminding that when we employ historical tools, we are equipped to deal only with historical evidence. As Mr. Bush is more than willing to concede, "revealed" data or spiritual experiences are unusable to those engaged in historical work. Thus, only one side of the question can be dealt with using historical methods.

Mr. Bush has indicated that the concept of priesthood denial to the Negro may have ample precedent in antiquity. Definitive studies in many areas have not been done. We know, for instance, that in pre-Christian and later Jewish sources the curse on Canaan (or Ham) was said to have resulted from Ham's castrating Noah while he was asleep, or his having attempted to steal the garment which Noah had inherited from Adam. Early Christian and assorted Gnostic sources supply other theories. The most common Islamic tradition holds that Ham and his descendants were cursed with blackness because Ham had sexual intercourse while aboard the Ark. In late Egyptian texts the usurper who

is ritually in contest with Pharaoh for his throne is often described as the son of the black Queen of the south. Until studies of such subjects are produced, Joseph Smith's "position" in the Book of Abraham cannot be categorized historically. If the practice of priesthood denial to blacks was an ancient, inspired practice, and if it was restored, no real conclusions can be drawn without looking at ancient documents. In fact, when 19th century pro-slavery biblical exegesis is compared to the apparent L.D.S. position (-s), the dissimilarities are more significant than the similarities. Furthermore, whether or how a particular doctrinal idea was utilized in early *apologetics* for a practice in no way determines the relationship between the doctrinal idea and the *origin* of the policy.

Mr. Bush's data raises some significant questions. It is well worth noting, for example, that Zebedee Coltrin and Abraham Smoot served missions in the South. It is extremely difficult to imagine either man inventing his oft-cited testimony, nor is it likely that the statements can be attributed totally to prejudice acquired or reinforced while serving as missionaries. Collusion is even more improbable. Coltrin and Smoot's statements, coupled with the *de facto* denial of the priesthood to southern Negroes to which Bush refers, suggest that Joseph Smith may have originated a policy of not ordaining *slaves* to the priesthood. That would fit in with his general policy of not "tampering" with slaves or setting up competing systems of authority. But that is not the issue. The critical questions would in any case be (1) whether Joseph Smith or Brigham Young was responsible for later extending the policy to all blacks, and (2) whether that denial was based on revelation. The data available are not sufficient to answer either question confidently from an historical point of view.

Other questions are raised which are more open to historical inquiry. For instance, was Joseph Smith an abolitionist? Here, the answer seems to be both "yes" and "no." Joseph was against abolition based on emancipation or expropriation, and with good reason. His abolitionism—"pay every man a reasonable price for his slaves out of the surplus revenue arising from the sale of public lands"—recognized *both* the sacredness of human rights and the sanctity of "property rights" within *that* context. His opposition to emancipation without recompense was entirely consistent with his condemnation of the seizure of the Church's Missouri lands and properties and his demands to Congress and others for reparations. By blurring the distinction between abolition based on purchase and abolition based on expropriation (or insurrection), as some have done, Joseph's views are made to appear inconsistent and an apparent discrepancy is created between Joseph's position and Brigham Young's outspoken condemnation of "black-hearted abolitionists" whom the latter predicted would rend the Union. But there was no inconsistency between the two men's position on this particular matter. Both opposed expropriation-abolition and mobocracy, based on bitter experience, and by the 1850s abolitionism and expropriation were effectively synonymous. When the radical abolitionists prevailed, eliminating the idea of compensation, to that degree they *insured* the South's rejection of their demands and probably war as well. (An ironic footnote to this involves Salvador Allende's citing Lincoln's emancipation of the slaves as more than precedent for his government's expropriation of multi-national corporate interests in Chile. If Allende had a Mormon advisor he might well have mentioned the U.S. government's escheatment of the assets of the L.D.S. Church in the

1880s as even more to the point.) Joseph Smith's position was one whereby everyone's rights would be respected.

Brigham Young's anti-abolitionism must also be put in its historical context. With the Compromise of 1850 (which not accidentally denied Deseret/Utah statehood and set the stage for both the Utah War and the Civil War) anyone, to say nothing of the politically astute Brigham Young, could see how sectionalism was dividing the country. As early as 1850 the growing coalition of anti-Mormons and expropriation-abolitionists which would become the Republican Party was in partial control of Congress. Brigham Young was an effective practical politician. From the 1840s he maintained and relied on an intelligence system which forwarded information leaks to him from Washington, from within Johnston's Army, from wherever the Church was threatened. He recognized the need to influence public opinion and win allies in political conflicts—his use of non-violent ("take no life") tactics in the Utah War, his gift of salt to the snowbound Union troops, the "Sebastopol" plan for burning Salt Lake, and his manipulation of Judge McKean's overeagerness to prosecute the Ann Eliza Webb Young divorce case all demonstrate a highly sophisticated ability to turn the media and the public against government policies.

I find nothing disturbing in the idea that a prophet might adopt (or be inspired to adopt) a policy based on expediency rather than strict principle. Jeremiah's eloquent argument for the expediency of a political alliance with Babylon is a case in point (Jeremiah 27). Brigham Young's anti-abolitionist statements of the 1850s can be partially considered as an attempt to court and forge a working coalition or alliance with Southerners against the political machinations of emerging Republicanism, whose party platform of 1856 pledged the elimination of "those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery." Brigham Young did win southern support for the Mormon position. From pre-Civil War days until long after the Woodruff Manifesto, Congressmen from the South were the main opponents of the excesses and unconstitutional oppressions of the anti-Mormon crusade. Senator Wilkinson Call of Florida, for instance, opposed the Edmunds-Tucker Bill in debate as follows: "It proposes to revive the practices of the Dark Ages and substitute for the freedom of the press, for the power of religious thought, for the teachings of the Gospel the sword of civil justice, the power of the secular arm, the force of the criminal law to punish thought and create opinions by law." More graphic than southern support, however, was Republican antagonism. As soon as the Union was divided and the southerners out of Congress, the Republicans pushed through the Morrill Act of 1862, which was the foundation of all subsequent anti-Mormon persecutions. Moreover, Lincoln's comparing the Mormons to a stump around which he would plow was *not* a sign of his love for the Mormons. The field he was plowing was the Civil War, and rather than create a war on two fronts he chose not to enforce the Morrill Act. But implicit in his remark was the promise that once the field was plowed he would turn his attention to the stump, and the practice in those pre-dynamite days was to let a stump dry and then burn it out—hardly a sign of benevolence. Prior to the Civil War, Brigham Young sought to find allies and build defenses for the Saints against the obviously coming persecutions. He was to some degree successful. Often the interrelationship of these and many other issues has been ignored, and

conclusions have been drawn from data out of context and thereby distorted.

The foregoing remarks hopefully serve to illustrate that our historical picture is, even with the addition of Mr. Bush's excellent work, sketchy and incomplete. There are many other areas which are unexplored, and based on the evidence in hand, final judgments on the priesthood issue are premature at best, and indefensible from a strictly intellectual point of view. Regardless of that fact, of course, we are morally bound to work for freedom and equality for all men, and I hope we will pray and sustain the Brethren in their responsibilities, just as I pray to see the day when the Lord says yes to the desires of my heart for my brothers, both black and white.



The Best Possible Test

HUGH NIBLEY

What Brother Bush has given us in this excellent study is not a history of the Negro policy in the Church, but of the explanations for it. The “attitudes” shift in “a complex evolutionary pattern,” as he puts it, while noting in his concluding sentence that from first to last there has been no weakening of “the belief that the policy is justified.” That is why this indispensable study seems strangely irrelevant the more one reads it. It is an interesting chapter in the history of thought, showing how the leaders of the Church have from time to time come up with various explanations for limitations placed on the activity of the Negro in the Church. To engage in such mental exercises has been not only their prerogative but their duty. When faced with such a problem, the command is, “you must study it out in your own mind,” then, when you have gone as far as you can, you must ask God not to confirm your solution but to let you know whether it is right or not: “Then you must ask me if it be right, and if it is right I will cause that your bosom shall burn within you; therefore you shall *feel* that it is right.” (D.&C.9:7-8.) This is exactly what the Brethren have done; not only Oliver Cowdery (to whom the order was first addressed) but all the great patriarchs and prophets from Adam down have had to exercise their own minds to full capacity in earnest seeking (Abraham 2:12), until God has finally deigned “after many days” to give them an answer. No matter how satisfied they may have been with their own conclusions, they have had to have them checked upstairs, and the answer comes with absolute certainty: “. . . you shall *feel* that it is right.” Nothing could be more penetrating and final, but how can you explain your feeling to others? Simply by telling them how to go about getting the same feeling.

This, of course, does not satisfy the world; it has always put the prophets in bad with the rest of mankind, and has repeatedly put the Mormons in an awkward position, individually and collectively. For every individual must solve the “Negro question” for himself. The late President Joseph Fielding Smith in the current Melchizedek Priesthood Manual repeats the words of earlier leaders when he writes, “. . . it is the duty of every male member of the Church to know the truth, for each is entitled to the guidance of the Holy Ghost. . . . Each member of the Church should be so well versed [in the Standard Works] that he, or she, would be able to discern whether any doctrine taught conforms to the revealed word of the Lord. Moreover, the members of the Church are entitled . . . to have the spirit of discernment” (p. 188). This not only guarantees that every worthy member if he puts his mind to it can know the answers

for himself just as surely as the Prophet does, but it throws the floor open to discussion when President Smith adds that members are “under obligation to accept the teachings of the authorities” only “unless they can discover in them some conflict with the revelations and commandments the Lord has given” (p. 191). Hence, though the mind of the Lord is confirmed by an imponderable feeling, one is required, before asking of the Lord and receiving that feeling, to exercise his own wits to the fullest, so that there must be place for the fullest discussion and explanation in the light of the Scriptures or any other relevant information.

More than an explanation for the world, such discussion is really a heart-searching and a test for the Latter-day Saints themselves. Nothing could be easier than to join in the chants of unison that proclaim the perfect equality of all men in all things that are fashionable at the moment; that way we could proclaim our idealism to the world while continuing, like the rest of the world, to treat our fellow man much as we always have. As C. S. Lewis used to point out, the test of the Christian is not to conform with commandments and accept teachings which are perfectly right and sensible to any normal way of thinking; if the Gospel consisted only of such convenient and unobjectionable things, we could be quite sure that we were making it up ourselves. It is the very contrariness and even absurdity of the Christian teachings that provide, for him, the highest proof of their divinity—this is no man’s doing. In the efforts of every President of the Church to explain our position to the world, as presented in Dr. Bush’s study, we see the admission that this thing is not the invention of those men—they are embarrassed by it, and they all pass the acid test for honesty when they refuse to put their own opinions forth as revelation—which in their case would have been an easy thing to do. They are all sure that the policy is right, but none claims to give definitive rational or scriptural justification for it, though they are not backward in putting forth suggestions and speculations.

This puts the Mormons in an embarrassing position, and why not? The Lord has often pushed the Saints into the water to make them swim, and when our own indolence, which is nothing less than disobedience, gets us into a jam, He lets us stew in our own juice until we do something about it. The most impressive lesson of Bush’s paper is how little we know about these things—and how little we have *tried* to know. The Man Adam is expected to seek for *greater* light and knowledge, ever seeking “for the blessings of the fathers . . . desiring also to be one who possessed greater knowledge . . . and to be a greater follower of righteousness, and to possess greater knowledge” (Abraham 1:2). This seeking must go on: “Wherefore murmur ye, because ye shall receive more of my word? . . . my work is not yet finished; neither shall it be unto the end of man” (2 Nephi 29:8-9). On the other hand, nothing displeases God more than to have his people “seek for power, and authority, and riches” (3 Nephi 6:15). It is God who gives us the answers, but only after we have been looking for them for quite a while—and what the Saints have been seeking is not light and knowledge, but those other forbidden things.

In searching for the answers we must consult our feelings as well as our reason, for the heart has its reasons, and it is our noble feelings and impulses that will not let us rest until God has given us the feeling of what is right. Charity does not split hairs or dogmatize, and charity comes first. So I ask my-

self, first of all, is this policy a humane and generous thing? Am I not turning my back on my brother in not sharing the work of the priesthood with him? Not at all! There is a vast amount of work going on in the Church all the time, all directed by the priesthood, but not necessarily carried out by it. To be engaged in any of these jobs is to be engaged in one and the same work; and can the eye say to the hand, I have no need of thee? Thinking I might be slipping into easy rationalization, I consider my own case. I have always been furiously active in the Church, but I have also been a non-conformist and have never held any *office* of rank in anything; I have undertaken many assignments given me by the leaders, and much of the work has been anonymous: no rank, no recognition, no anything. While I have been commended for some things, they were never the things which I considered most important—that was entirely a little understanding between me and my Heavenly Father, which I have thoroughly enjoyed, though no one else knows anything about it.

Interestingly enough, this is the case not only with an occasional odd-ball, but with ALL holders of the priesthood. Men can confer the powers of the priesthood upon others it is true (D&C 121:37), but only God can validate that ordination, which in most cases He does *not* recognize: "Hence, many are called but few are chosen." And he has been kind enough to tell us why: "And why are they not chosen? Because their hearts are set so much upon the things of this world, and aspire to the honors of men . . ." (D&C 121:34-35). It so happens "that almost all men, as soon as they get a little authority . . . will immediately begin to exercise unrighteous dominion" (39), and the exercise of the powers of heaven "in any degree of unrighteousness" invalidate the priesthood—"Amen to the priesthood or the authority of that man" (37). What supreme irony! The withholding of the priesthood is supposed to be an unkind act because it deprives a fellow-man of a thing of social value, a measure of status and dignity in the Church. Yet the moment I even *think* of my priesthood as a status symbol or a mark of superiority it becomes a mere hollow pretense. At the slightest hint of gloating or self-congratulation the priesthood holder is instantly and automatically unfrocked. What is the priesthood on this earth? Joseph Smith called it "an onerous burden," a load to be borne, work to be done and nothing more—the glory comes hereafter. One cannot give orders by the priesthood, for it operates "only by persuasion" (121:41); Christ commanded the spirits and they obeyed Him; He commanded the elements and they obeyed Him. But men He would not command, and rebuked the Apostles at Capernaum for suggesting it. "How often would I have gathered you together . . . and ye would not!" Only "if ye *love* me, keep my commandments." There is nothing here resembling earthly authority.

But whether it is worth anything or not, am I not by the mere act of withholding something guilty of an offensive gesture, a denial of rights, an act of rejection, of implied superiority? Certainly, in the world, if both of us are thinking in worldly terms, but not in the Kingdom. I would rather be a door-keeper in the House of the Lord than mingle with the top brass in the tents of the wicked. If we think in terms of rank and honor we share the folly of those early Councils of the Church which, with all the logic in the world, declared it the height of blasphemy and an insufferable affront to Jesus to place him second to the Father. Seeing all things in the setting of the Empire, as we do of a status-

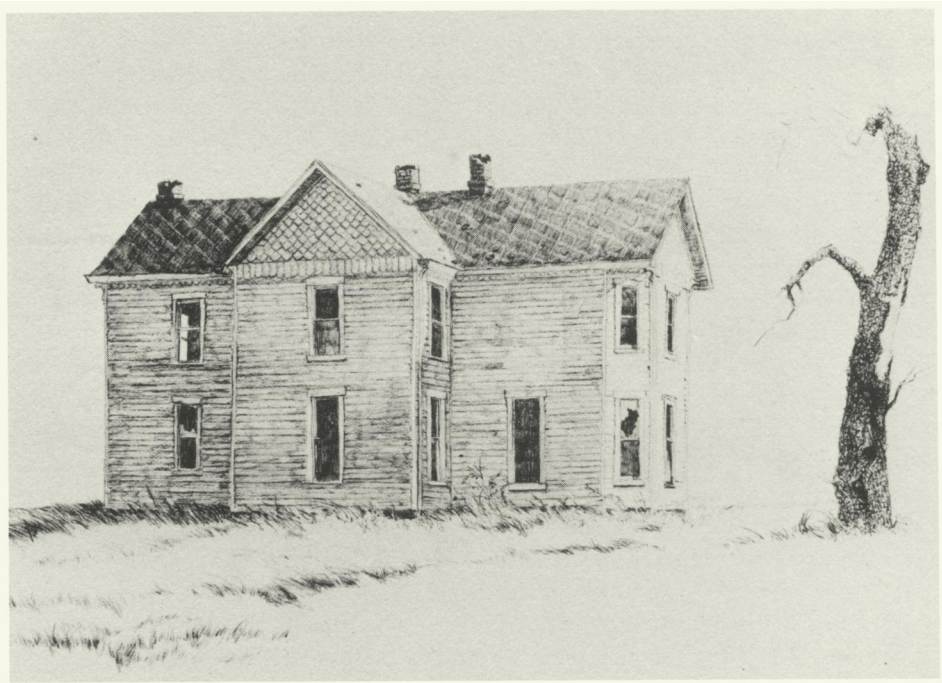
and success-oriented society, they were completely blinded to reality. Is the Son jealous of the Father's superior rank, or is the Father disturbed by the aspirations of the Son? Nothing sounds more brutal and direct than Brigham Young's, "The negro must serve!" But what is so bad about serving in the light of the Gospel? "The Son of Man came not to be served, but to serve," meek and lowly, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, despised and rejected . . . need we go on? His true followers will take up the same cross, "In this world ye shall have tribulation," for "if the world has hated me, it will hate you." The greater the tribulation here the greater the glory hereafter, while he who is exalted in this world shall be abased in the next. If we really took the Lord's teachings seriously, we would be envious of the Negroes.

But do we take them seriously? Have we really searched the Scriptures? Consider a few. First the terrible warning: ". . . whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold. And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him" (Genesis 4:15). The mark on Cain is for his protection, and as a warning to all the rest of us—hands off! If Cain must be punished, God does not solicit our services for the job: ". . . behold, the judgments of God will overtake the wicked; and it is *by the wicked* that the wicked are punished" (Mormon 5:5). Next, in all the talk about the sin of Cain, we hear no mention of his motivation, which lies at the root of sin. Lamech, too, committed murder, but his sin was not as reprehensible as that of Cain, who "slew his brother Abel, for the sake of getting gain" (Moses 5:50). Cain was carrying out a systematic operation which he learned from Satan, and which he calls "that great secret, that I may murder and get gain" (Moses 5:31), and in this he "gloried . . . saying: I am free; surely the flocks of my brother falleth into my hands" (Moses 5:33). Cain was "master of that great secret" of converting life into property in which the mighty have prospered ever since his day. Do we ever take this lesson to heart?

Again, our scriptures tell us that all little children are pure and innocent by nature, and as such saved in the Celestial Kingdom of God, and declare the contrary teaching of the world to be particularly devilish (Moroni 8:5-22). Now the vast majority of Negroes who have lived on the earth have died as little children; the Celestial Kingdom will be full of them, while, as we have indicated, there may be very few present-day priesthood-holders among them. Has this been duly noted? It has been maintained that because of the curse of Cain the Negro should never be allowed to vote; but our scriptures tell us that that race is peculiarly fitted for government: "Now the first government of Egypt was established by Pharaoh . . . after the manner of the government of Ham . . . Pharaoh, being a righteous man, established his kingdom and judged his people wisely and justly all his days. . . . Noah, . . . his father, . . . blessed him with the blessings of the earth, and the blessings of wisdom, but cursed him as pertaining to the Priesthood" (Abraham 1:26). Now we have seen that the priesthood does not entail authority to give orders to men, whose absolute free agency it rigorously respects. Where orders must be given, a just and righteous man, blessed with wisdom and earthly knowledge, is just what we need—would we had such leaders today!

The hardest thing in the world for men to learn is "this one lesson—that the rights of the priesthood are inseparably connected with the powers of heaven"

(D&C 121:35f). They are God's alone to give and take away, and no one will dispute His right to do as He pleases with His own. So now the whole issue boils down to asking whether it is really God and not man who has ordered this thing. Members and non-members alike who up until now have laughed at the thought of asking such a question are suddenly exercised by it. And so it gives me great pleasure to be in a position to answer the question with an unequivocal affirmative: it is indeed the Lord's doing. How do I know it? By revelation—which I am in no position to bestow upon others; this goes only for myself. And that makes the "negro question" as unreal as the "Mormon Question" which kept the nation in an uproar for many years. Left to myself, the last thing in the world I would do would be to advocate polygamy or impose any limitations whatever on the Negro—and I have often heard the Brethren express themselves to the same effect. When the Lord told Joseph Smith that he couldn't always tell his friends from his enemies or the wicked from the righteous, what was left for him to do? ". . . therefore I say unto you, hold your peace until I shall see fit to make all things known unto the world concerning the matter" (D.&C. 10:37). Granted that this puts us, as it put the Prophet, in an uncomfortable and even dangerous position, still it provides the best possible test for our faith, our hope, and above all our charity.



The Mormon Cross

EUGENE ENGLAND

The story of God asking Abraham to offer his son, his only son, as a burnt offering offends me. I can find no way to be at peace with it. Yes, I know that it is a sign, a type, of God's sacrifice of his own son, his only begotten son, who would (in fact, through the lineage of Abraham and Isaac) come as a blessing to all the world. Yes, I've read Kierkegaard, and I know that faith in the living God makes ultimate demands—beyond experience, beyond emotion, beyond reason—and I have read the modern scriptures and know that a true witness comes only after a trial of faith. But for God, who had called Abraham out of idolatry, out of the way of sacrifice of human beings in order to appease and please the gods, for God to turn now and ask not only that Abraham give up the thing most dear to him, the miraculous blessing that God had given him in his old age, but to give up one of the chief sources of his vital relationship to God, the higher ethical and spiritual vision to which God had called him, to violate God's own teachings—that is beyond my comprehension or the power of my spirit to say yes to. It is a trial, a cross, a mystery. It is a cross Christians and Jews have borne, in one way or another, for centuries.

We Mormons have our own special cross—one which must weigh heavily on our hearts if we are truly trying to live our religion as Paul recommends: proving all things, holding fast that which is good. When God asks us, as we believe He does, not to give blacks of African descent the priesthood at this time, He asks us to sacrifice not only our political and social ideals and the understanding and good will of our colleagues and friends, but seems to ask us to sacrifice the very essence of His own teachings—the divine potential of all His children, the higher ethical vision of possible exaltation for all people, concepts that are among the most attractive and vital features of our faith.

I have given myself with all my soul to that faith. I have felt a witness within the deepest core of my being that God lives, that His son Jesus Christ is truly our Saviour and has restored His Gospel through the Prophet Joseph Smith and maintained His true Church on earth down to His present prophet, Harold B. Lee. As I go about my duties as a branch president, trying to be a true pastor to a small flock, to counsel precious souls in trouble and answer the questions of new converts and of my children as they seek to develop their faith, I find that, apart from my own sins and failings, this is, in its way, the heaviest cross I have to bear. The historical work of Lester Bush, amazingly thorough and dispassionate, gives by far the most complete picture we have of how L.D.S. Church policy with respect to blacks has developed to the present point; yet it merely confirms a conviction I have had for some time: that the policy of denying blacks the priesthood is rationally untenable from a number of perspec-

tives—historical, theological, ethical, social, psychological, in fact from all perspectives but one—ecclesiastical authority. But for me that perspective outweighs all the others because I am convinced that ecclesiastically the Church is doing what the Lord has directed, even though morally and spiritually its members may not be. I am certain that the Church is directed through revelation, that at least the most recent prophets have prayed sincerely about this matter and that if the Lord thought it best to make a change at this time He could get through to His prophets and have a change made. However, as I will try to explain later, I also believe that the Lord wishes a change *could* be made and that we *all* bear responsibility for the fact that it hasn't been made yet. But first let me try to lay some groundwork.

Discussion about this issue has been damaged considerably, I believe, by heated and misleading arguments about whether what the Church is doing is a "policy" or a "doctrine." The reason for the heat has been the assumption of many that those words are synonymous, respectively, with "manmade" and "revealed," which fails to recognize that a policy can be revealed or not and so can a doctrine. It seems to me that a more useful distinction is the following: a policy is an administrative decision affecting the action of Church members and usually made to meet the particular needs of the time. It may be revealed, inspired, or just plain common sense and may be changed as needs or times change. A doctrine on the other hand is a teaching, a description or immediate consequence of a description of reality, usually ultimate reality. For instance, it is Church *policy*, revealed or at least inspired, that Church members are to have a family night together each Monday evening, with no interferences; this has not always been Church policy and it may change as conditions in society change. On the other hand, it is a *revealed doctrine* that family life is central to the plan of salvation, that only there can an individual reach his full potential, and that therefore family relationships can and should be eternal. Of course, as is the case in these examples, a policy can be related to or derived from a doctrine, but the policy can be changed, even dramatically, while the doctrine can change only in the sense that our understanding of its underlying metaphysical reality can grow, through the process of continual revelation and individual study and practice.

A policy can be *not* revealed, though official, a practical decision for which no special inspiration is claimed, such as, I suspect, the recent decision to have temple recommends renewed on people's birthdays rather than at a set time, to avoid crowding up the schedules of interviewing officials. Doctrines also can be *not revealed* and not official, though accepted by many, for instance the idea that present-day blacks are cursed because of Cain's or Ham's wrong-doing; there is no basis in any scripture or claimed revelation for this teaching, even though it has been taught by many in the Church, and it contradicts basic and clearly revealed doctrines about the nature of God and His relationship to man and the process of salvation. (For instance, the second Article of Faith: "We believe that men will be punished for their own sins," and Alma 3:19: ". . . I would that ye should see that they brought upon themselves the curse; and even so doth every man bring upon himself his own condemnation.") Of course recognition of the basic truth of the scriptures just quoted and the historical process that Bush documents, have led good Mormons, trained to expect a

rational theology and seeking a way blacks could have brought a curse upon themselves, to develop another doctrine, for which no claim of revelation has been made that I am aware of and which is also not official and, I think, untrue—that blacks must have brought about their limitation with respect to the priesthood by conduct or choice in the pre-existence. This teaching contradicts the basic revealed gospel doctrines concerning repentance and its role in the plan of salvation. Blacks have no chance to repent or change in order to remove the restrictions, a provision our merciful God makes everywhere else; in fact, blacks have no opportunity to even know what their mistake or wrong choice was.¹ It even contradicts itself because, while based on a spurious connection between actions in the pre-existence and opportunities in this life, it implies there is no genuine relationship between spiritual and moral attainments there and here, because it essentially states that the most noble black man who has ever lived (choose your own example: Elijah Abel, Martin Luther King, Ralph Bunche) is in some crucial sense not up to the level of—is, in a word, inferior to—the most depraved white man (Hitler, Stalin, Charles Manson?). It strikes right at the heart of that unique and emotionally and intellectually captivating conception of the restored Gospel: God desires all His children to be saved and exalted and has worked out a plan by which they can be; there are no limits on God's redeeming love—no predestination for the elect and damned, no irrevocable assignment to heaven or hell upon death—no limits, that is, except our own individual choices and influence on each other. As for God, He struggles with all His power to provide equal opportunity for all who come to the earth. He treats them all with the same unconditional love: "he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust" (Matthew 5:45); "... he doeth nothing save it be plain unto the children of men; and he inviteth them all to come unto him and partake of his goodness . . . and all men are alike unto God" (II Nephi 26:33). He has even provided a way (again, a unique feature of Mormon theology) by which those who are deprived, by human choices and failures, of an opportunity to know and accept the Gospel in this life can have such an opportunity after death; in fact a prevailing image we have from Christ is of God standing at the door knocking, continually inviting us to respond.

These *unrevealed doctrines*—that the priesthood is withheld from blacks because of their descent from Cain or pre-existent choices—come from a very natural, perhaps laudable, desire to explain, give reasons for a *revealed policy*. And Bush has shown convincingly what we should have all known, that they are in fact just that: rationalizations, explanations after the fact, rather than doctrines revealed from which the policy was derived. The terrible danger, and result, has been the classic problem of the tail wagging the dog. Doctrines, beliefs about the nature of God and man and their relationship, have been derived from policies rather than the reverse.

Bush's historical review seems to me to provide the materials for completely demolishing any lingering doubts about whether there is some doctrine, some metaphysical state of the souls of certain human beings, behind the Church's practice. If such were the case, if there were indeed a specific number of spirits designed to come into the earth with certain crucial restrictions on them, one could reasonably expect that the Lord in His almighty power would provide a

way that those restrictions would be applied to those particular souls and no others. With such a good reason God could certainly set up a foolproof means of discrimination; one might, for instance, expect Him to mark such restricted spirits infallibly and indelibly, even make them a separate species so that cross-fertilization could not mix things up. At the very least He could inspire His servants, particularly patriarchs, with instant detection. History gives us no assurance of that kind of concern on God's part. Not only (as Bush points out) have many more whites than blacks been denied access to the priesthood because of simple failure on man's part to carry out God's plan of taking the gospel to all, but a certain number of blacks have not had the restrictions applied. At least one, Elijah Abel, was knowingly given the priesthood and enjoyed most of its blessings and powers throughout his life. Certain others known to be blacks may have held the priesthood as well, and there continue to be cases of those who, because they unfortunately are faithful enough to the Gospel to do their genealogy, discover a black African ancestor and are asked to discontinue using the priesthood (it is not "taken" from them). In addition, in South America (and under a new policy inaugurated under President McKay in South Africa) it is extremely likely that men of black African descent hold and use the priesthood because it is not necessary that they demonstrate acceptable ancestry before being given the priesthood where there is no obvious "mark of Cain" upon them. In fact, despite Brigham Young's unequivocal linkage of the two, physical features now have nothing to do with priesthood denial—black, negroid-appearing Fijians receiving it and white Europeans with black African ancestry not.

Many other minor changes in policy and historical discrepancies documented by Bush show conclusively that God is not acting or requiring His Church to act in a consistent way, which would be necessary if there were a specific number of spirits metaphysically set apart from the rest of us. Especially problematic is Joseph Smith's own teaching on this matter, since there is no available contemporary evidence that he denied blacks the priesthood, and Bush has unearthed, it seems to me, very significant references indicating that, at least in the late 1830's and early 1840's, the First Presidency had no intention to discriminate against blacks in preaching the Gospel or bringing them to participate fully in the temple.

But these unrevealed doctrines are not only wrong, they are terribly dangerous. Such doctrines are more racist and demeaning—to blacks in general and to members of the Church, both black and white—than the actual practice of denying the priesthood. They not only warp central life-giving principles of our theology but provide a false theological subsidy for the racism already natural to us as human beings and Americans, and they promote a lack of courage in meeting a crucial need of our time—to which the Gospel itself calls us—to overcome racial fear and prejudice on this shrinking spaceship earth. The recent official statements of the Church offer no such subsidy, nor any such doctrinal rationales. These statements seem to me to call Church members to accept, as part of their faith in a divinely directed Church, the revealed policy that those of black African descent are not now to receive the priesthood. I accept that, essentially at face value. I do not ordain blacks to the priesthood nor self-righteously (or in any other way) fulminate against the Church or its lead-

ers, nor lobby for a revelation to change things. I trust our leaders are doing their job, seeking and awaiting a revelation, and I believe with all my heart that if such a revelation is received they will in no way hesitate to enforce it, no matter how or where unpopular.

But my Mormonness wants a rationale, and though I reject the unrevealed doctrines that I have mentioned as any basis for such a rationale, there is to be found, in our history and that of America and in the theological resources of the Restored Gospel, a possible reason for the policy that can perhaps help us bear our cross—particularly since it has the advantage of putting blame and the need for change on all of us, not, as is the case with other doctrinal rationales, on the victims alone.

I believe that historical conditions in our country, essentially unique in the world, including resultant attitudes of Church members, brought about a situation where it was in the best interests of all involved for the Lord to institute a lower law for us to live (denying for a time the priesthood to blacks of African descent—those who had been subjected to slavery and its aftermath in our country) until we are ready to live the higher law (accepting blacks fully into the priesthood with all of the natural consequences, including black leadership over whites in the Church and the extremely close relationships and trust that the lay leadership structure of the Church requires). Given its particular nature, the Restored Church could not, during the period of slavery and its bitter heritage when American blacks and whites could not relate as equals, ease the transition by segregating congregations or keeping blacks out of leadership and priesthood functions through educational requirements, etc. Thus it seems to me fairly easy to understand that, at least until quite recently, giving blacks the priesthood would have been greatly destructive to the Church because of white reaction and thus not a blessing to blacks.

The idea of living a lower law should be a familiar concept to us. The children of Israel had the fulness of the priesthood and the higher ethical law taken from them and were restricted to the Levitical priesthood and the Mosaic Law of performances. Even now in the latter days with the “fulness” of the Gospel available to us we are presently living a lower law, tithing, because of our inability to live fully the higher Law of Consecration. The Lord can and does at times reveal policies which it is His will that we practice but which He is not very happy about, in the sense that he wishes we were ready to live a higher law and stands ready to give it to us when we get ready. I believe that is the case with the Church’s policy on blacks and the priesthood. The policy is revealed—at least in the negative sense that the Lord has not changed it, though He clearly has had the opportunity. I don’t believe, as some have suggested, that the word can’t get through to the Prophet, nor that the Church and its leaders have become frozen in a defensive position, resisting this one last surrender to outside secular values.³ No, I think rather that we are collectively living out the consequences of historical evil and failure—that of ourselves and of others before us.

There may be nothing at all to my theory. It sounds like a cop-out in the face of a certain kind of idealism, a shameful giving in to human weakness, an argument from expediency. But God is certainly not to be understood as *inexpedient*. He refers to revealing “what is expedient for you to understand”; He gives

"milk before meat," bringing us along according to our growing capacities, "line upon line, precept upon precept." If, as it seems, His loving care is extended to all of us and He is willing to work with us where we are in order to be able to get us where He wants us, even instituting lower laws to help us get through some rough periods, then my idea makes some sense. We must all share the blame for a tragic situation, as Americans with our bitter historical burden of slavery and continuing racism, including black Americans who may be in fact in a way "not ready" because they have been forced by that same burden into situations and attitudes in which the priesthood would not be a help. (A thoughtful friend, an historian, suggested to me, plausibly I think, that we have come to such a pass that for our white-dominated church to offer blacks the priesthood would be patronizing; that perhaps they must receive their own prophet and a direct dispensation.)

And some of us in the Church may not yet be capable of participating in the consequences of blacks receiving the priesthood in such a way that it would be a blessing. I don't think the Lord is happy with any such, any more than He is with the increasing number of wealthy Mormons who self-righteously pay their tithing and other "obligations" and then squander the rest of their increase on luxury, forgetting the poor who could use their help to help themselves, in South America or right across town, forgetting therefore the Lord's call for us to voluntarily work towards equality in earthly things, to live the higher Law of Consecration. But the Lord will not give a higher law until it is a blessing, until the Church members or whites or blacks or America or all are finally "ready," until it will be in the best interests of the Lord's plan of salvation for all people.

And therein, perhaps, is the great advantage of such an explanation as mine. I can rationally hope for change without in any sense implying a challenge to the authority of the Prophet, whom I sustain with all my heart, or undermining my faith in the Church as divinely directed and its doctrines as essentially true, which faith is more precious to me than life. The unrevealed doctrines which have been used to rationalize the policy have had as perhaps their most anguishing deficiency that they carry the implication that any change before the end of the world would be unjust. (Why should blacks up to a certain point suffer restrictions and not those after if they all "deserve" such restrictions?)

President Smith pointed this out forcibly to me on one occasion; and at the risk of being dismissed as another purveyor of questionable anecdotes about statements of modern prophets I ought to report that experience, not to prove anything, but to keep open some important possibilities. In the summer of 1963, agitation about the Church's policy was at a kind of peak, both nationally and within Church circles. I had expressed myself in Church situations as not being able to square the curse of Cain or preexistence "doctrines" with the Scriptures, central principles of the restored gospel, or my own best thinking and feeling. I was told bluntly that I could not be a Mormon in good standing without accepting those doctrines. I cared deeply about my standing in the Church and relationships with my brothers and sisters and wasn't about to lead a crusade and so was ready to seek an authoritative answer.

It came to my attention that Joseph Fielding Smith (then President of the

Quorum of the Twelve Apostles) had published an article in the *Church News* about this matter and in the process had essentially contradicted one of his assumptions in his earlier discussion of the matter in *The Way to Perfection*, then calling blacks an “inferior” race and now specifically saying they were not. Two of my friends who were concerned about the same matter, and, as I did, looked at President Smith as the nearly official scribe of the Church, made an appointment for us to see him. President Smith was not very anxious to see us since he was being baited from many sources at that time, but after some assurances of our intentions he gave us some time and was particularly gracious when one of my friends, moved I think by the prayer we offered together before going, began the interview by confessing in tears that his original motives for coming had been somewhat contentious. I told President Smith about my experiences with the issue of blacks and the priesthood and asked him whether I must believe in the pre-existence doctrine to have good standing in the Church. His answer was, “Yes, because that is the teaching of the Scriptures.” I asked President Smith if he would show me the teaching in the Scriptures (with some trepidation, because I was convinced that if anyone in the world could show me he could). He read over with me the modern scriptural sources and then, after some reflection, said something to me that fully revealed the formidable integrity which characterized his whole life: “No, you do not have to believe that Negroes are denied the priesthood because of the pre-existence. I have always assumed that because it was what I was taught, and it made sense, but you don’t have to be in good standing because it is not definitely stated in the scriptures. And I have received no revelation on the matter.” Then it was, as we continued our discussion, that he said, with what seems to be irrefutable logic, that if, as he believed, the reason for the denial was the pre-existence then there could be no expectation that blacks would receive the priesthood in this life, because that would not be fair to those who had been denied it up to that point.

Where then are we today? The cross we’ve hewn for ourselves is painful, embarrassing, humiliating, and ought to, perhaps does, engender humility. On no other issue does our history present us with such a sorry spectacle. It can’t be anything but painful to read Joseph Smith, whose vision and mind were so expansive and radically humanitarian on so many other issues (and were also on the race issue towards the end of his life) sounding the same racist strains as the rest of American society. It’s painful to read Brigham Young (who was right about many things of much more importance than any of his critics and nearly everyone else) supporting slavery of blacks and Indians, predicting that the Civil War would not end slavery, repeating the racist myths of his time and even improving on them—in fact, as Bush documents, undercutting any basis in his teachings for *doctrine* on the subject by including, each time he spoke, things the Church clearly does not now believe. It is shameful to read about faithful black members of the Church being asked officially not to come out to meetings or to sit in special places to avoid conflicts with white members. There is nothing about the whole matter in which we can take any comfort, certainly not in the sociological studies of Armand Mauss and others about which some members have been quite enthused because they show that Mormons are no more prejudiced than other Americans. In all conscience, given

our ideals we should be ashamed that we are not significantly *less* prejudiced. Perhaps the greatest shame is that we in the Church—including our leaders—have been cut off from the major thrust of social conscience in our times, from a social revolution against racism in which we could have exercised beneficial leadership, perhaps even helping to avoid the polarizing bitterness that has wounded our nation. I think Thomas F. O'Dea is right when he says a response to the challenge of that particular social revolution is a telling diagnostic test of the viability of any person's or institution's relation to the challenges of modern life. So far we have not met that challenge well—and by “we,” I mean the lay membership of the Church.

What can we do? We can get ready for living the higher law, first by working to root out racism in ourselves through getting to know blacks and something of black aspirations and culture. And we can help get Americans ready, black and white, by working honestly and vigorously to overcome the burden of our racist past. We can become anxiously engaged in the good cause that our Church leaders have already called us to—to see, as they said in their 1969 statement on “the position of the Church with regard to the Negro both in society and in the Church,” that “each citizen . . . have equal opportunities and protection under the law with reference to civil rights.” We can then go beyond that, as they announce *they* are doing in that same statement, to “join with those throughout the world who pray that all the blessings of the gospel of Jesus Christ may in due time of the Lord become available to men of faith everywhere.” If I understand that correctly, it's a call to prepare—by prayer and the action that the Gospel makes clear must accompany sincere prayer—for the higher law under which we would be able, as God desires, to extend His blessings to everyone without discrimination. We can try to do what it seems the First Presidency is doing and has by example called us to do, praying in our private prayers and in our meetings that the time may soon come when blacks may receive the priesthood and then acting with energy to be prepared for and thus make possible that time. This may not at first make our cross easier. In fact, in my experience, our efforts as Mormons to join with others in civil rights actions and to build bridges and respond positively to black aspirations will bring special kinds of misunderstanding and pain and will make the cross harder to bear. But those efforts may just help the day come when the Lord can extend the fulness of the gospel blessings to all of His children—which will be a great blessing as well to all of us in His Church.

NOTES

¹The psychological and spiritual damage done by the implication of an inherited curse or the allegation of an unspecified act or choice in the pre-existence which the black cannot know about or repent of is precisely delineated by the Prophet Joseph Smith in the *Lectures on Faith* (along with the clear teaching that God's character is such that He does not operate that way): “. . . it is also necessary that men should have an idea that [God] is no respecter of persons, for with the idea of all the other excellencies in his character, and this one wanting, men could not exercise faith in him; because if he were a respecter of persons, they could not tell what their privileges were, nor how far they were authorized to exercise faith in him, or whether they were authorized to do it at all, but all must be confusion; but no sooner are the minds of men made acquainted with the truth on this point, that he is no respecter of persons, than they see that they have authority by faith to lay hold on eternal life, the richest boon of heaven, because God is no respecter of persons, and that every man

in every nation has an equal privilege." (Lecture Third, paragraph 23.)

²Two books circulating among Mormons and even non-Mormons which exemplify this devastatingly are those by John Stewart, *Mormonism and the Negro* (Deseret), and John Lund, *The Church and the Negro* (privately printed). In each of these the concept of a partial God, sending His favorite children into more and more favored conditions where they buy their salvation easily by taking advantage of their already superior advantages, is derived from the Church practice of not giving blacks the priesthood, as a result leaving great concepts of the restored Gospel in a shambles. A typical example of the unabashed racism that results, with one can imagine what salutary effects on dark-skinned people such as East Indians, Polynesians, and South Americans, who with Africans make up the majority of God's children on the earth—and will likely before long make up the majority of members of the Church, is the following (Lund, p. 102): "When people rebel against God's commandments, either during their pre-earth life or while in mortality, they are given a dark skin so that those who are of the chosen seed will not intermarry with them."

³This interpretation has been suggested by Thomas F. O'Dea in his essay "Sources of Strain in Mormon History Reconsidered" as found in *Mormonism and American Culture*, edited by Marvin S. Hill and James B. Allen (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

⁴The matter of distinction on the basis of skin color in the Book of Mormon and thus the matter of racism toward American Indians, is an entirely separate matter from the Church's policy with respect to blacks of African descent, although non-Mormons have confused the two and Mormons (i.e. Lund and Stewart) have sometimes mistakenly connected the two as mutually supportive evidences for a racist God. That subject deserves a separate essay, but let me merely say at this point that when the Amlicites (Alma 3) *marked themselves* with "a mark of red upon their foreheads," we are told that "thus the Word of God is fulfilled . . . which he said to Nephi: 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 repent of their wickedness and turn to me." This raises the very strong possibility that the original "curse" being quoted was also propagated by the separated Lamanites themselves—through marking their own skin, choosing a degenerate life style, and perhaps intermarrying with darker New World peoples around them—and not by a genetically inherited curse from God. At least the commentator in Alma 3 states unequivocally that every man that is cursed brings upon himself his own condemnation, and Book of Mormon history is consistent with that, because there are no religious restrictions on individual Lamanites such as there are on blacks—extraordinary efforts are made to establish contact with the Lamanites and as soon as one chooses to accept the Gospel he can participate in it fully and is no longer in any sense cursed—a point we fail to make sufficiently clear to modern "Lamanites," such as Polynesians and American Indians, who sometimes suffer seriously under the impression, conveyed by false doctrines such as those put forth by Lund and Stewart, that their skin color is evidence of a cursed and therefore inferior and incapable lineage. Before the end of the Book of Mormon the terms Lamanite and Nephite have no precise reference to ancestry or skin color but are used to distinguish between those who accept God and Christ and those who do not.



MORMON MUCKRAKER: AN INTERVIEW WITH JACK ANDERSON



Dialogue readers need little introduction to reporter-columnist Jack Anderson. Since he took over the nationally syndicated Washington Merry-go-round column at the death of Drew Pearson in 1969 Jack Anderson has been in the center of controversy and political headlines. He has made the column a vehicle for constructive "watchdogging" rather than the platform for editorializing and personal vendettas that occasionally characterized it under Pearson. He has also gone out of his way to make public apologies in those cases where his reporting has proved inaccurate or unfair. In all, he has injected a new honesty (or fear of exposure) into Washington politics. His exposure of the ITT affair, the release of Watergate grand jury transcripts that moved the President to begin his "investigation" this past March, and many other day by day reporting activities have had a history-making impact on contemporary events. The following interview was conducted for Dialogue in early June by David S. King, Mary L. Bradford, and Larry Bush, all of whom reside in the Washington, D.C. area. In this interview Jack Anderson speaks out forthrightly on the Watergate and Pentagon Papers cases and talks about the influence of his Mormon upbringing on his personal and professional life. Evident throughout are his commitment to democracy and his concomitant belief in the public's right and need to know.

Dialogue: The type of reporting or writing in which you are engaged, in which you have won your well-deserved reputation for excellence, including a Pulitzer Prize, is one that carries you to an area that some people would call controversial. Do you personally see any conflict between the law and those who go after the news?

Anderson: No, I would say that there's no conflict with the law, except improper law; we try to follow the constitution. Anybody who reads and understands the founding of this republic, anybody who has studied what the Founding Fathers thought, would know that they intended that the press should be a free agent, and they intended that the press should represent the people rather than the government. They intended that the press should report to the people on the functioning of government. It should inform the electorate on how their elected officials are managing their affairs. James Madison put it this way, "Popular government without popular information and the access to it would be but a farce or a tragedy." Madison clearly recognized that in our form of government the people must have information and the access to that information. Thomas Jefferson put it even stronger. He said, "If I had to choose between government without newspapers and newspapers without government I wouldn't hesitate to choose the latter." You see, he understood about government. He recognized that people would be better off with no government at all than a government without a watchdog. These Founding Fathers intended that the press should be the watchdog. It's not a perfect watchdog by any means, but it's the watchdog that they selected. So what I do in my pursuit of the news is what they intended that I should do.

Dialogue: Suppose a journalist in the pursuit of this information finds himself running into collision with law governing the classification of information. What happens in a situation like that?

Anderson: Well, the government doesn't own the news. The government has never owned the news.

Dialogue: We assume you make the usual exception where the news has a direct bearing on national security.

Anderson: Yes, but I wouldn't necessarily accept the government's definition of national security. If we did that, there would be no Watergate story, because the President tried to claim that it concerned national security. He's still trying to claim that portions of it concern national security. Our investigation demonstrated quite the opposite: that it's political security not national security that Richard Nixon is concerned about. We have established quite clearly that this para-police unit he set up inside the White House was protecting political more than national security.

Dialogue: Didn't President Nixon or someone accuse you of undermining the press through your reporting about the Pentagon Papers?

Anderson: He said that there were grave security violations in the publication of the Pentagon papers, and yet we've had witness after witness in the Daniel Ellsberg trial, including McGeorge Bundy, testify that there was no national security involved, no military secrets. Clearly, this was a case of misclassification. The government was using the classification stamp as a censorship stamp. And of course the government always does this. We have the injunction of our Founding Fathers, we have the First Amendment to the Constitution, and of course, because of my Mormon upbringing, I believe that my function is part of a divinely inspired form of government. In the name of a divinely inspired Constitution I dig out secrets which the government has improperly classified. If the Pentagon Papers had been properly classified, they would have been classified as "censored" and then there would have been no public uproar. The President wants the American people to believe that anything *he* designates as secret is secret. Well, now, if we are going to give the President those kinds of powers, we are giving him the same powers the Kremlin claims. If we give the President those kinds of powers, then anything the President didn't want us to read, anything the President didn't want us to know, anything the President didn't want us to hear, he could prevent us from having simply by classifying it.

Dialogue: Suppose a journalist, operating by your standards, got a hold of censored information and decided that it did not involve national security and he went ahead and published it, and let us assume that it did involve national security and that it put our country in great jeopardy.

Anderson: An example of what you're talking about occurred during World War II when the *Chicago Tribune* reported that the United States had broken the Japanese secret code. That journalism was about as irresponsible as one could imagine. In time of war, when we were using that secret code to save American lives, the *Chicago Tribune* jeopardized national security. In spite of the fact that I think they made a horrendous mistake in publishing this story, I have to defend their right to publish it. We did survive the war. I'm not sure we would survive as a nation were we to deprive the *Tribune* of that right. I'm not sure that we would remain a free land if we deprive the *Tribune* editors of that precious right to make their own decision about what they publish.

Dialogue: Then you feel there should be no bar to the press, no checks?

Anderson: I believe that the government has the right to protect its secrets, but I believe it ought to limit that protection to legitimate secrets. Clearly, the government doesn't do that. The government abuses its power to classify. Therefore, the press has a clearly defined function to dig out those secrets and to inform the American people. I'm much less concerned about the violation of security by a few newspapers than I am about the government's violation of the people's right to know. The government has at this moment some 20 million classified documents. Those who have access to these documents tell me that between seventy and ninety percent contain information that the American people are entitled to have. The pathetically few stories that we get are pinholes

in this paper curtain. We just get fleeting glimpses at this classified information. The government is far more successful at covering up than we are at uncovering.

Dialogue: The press plays the unofficial role of the Supreme Court to everybody else. Suppose the press commits a grievous error, or is unfair, or massacres somebody's character unfairly. Who is there to act as the Supreme Court of the Press?

Anderson: The press has more watchdogs than anybody else. In the first place the press is watching itself. I've been castigated by the press more than I have been by politicians. I have been assailed in editorials more than I have on the floor of the Senate. I have been abused by my colleagues more than I have by politicians. Bill Buckley has written at least a dozen columns taking me to task. I can't get away with anything. Also, the government is watching us. At any given moment, there are more government people watching me, than I have reporters watching the government. We found this to be literally true. The government has far vaster resources than I do, clearly much greater manpower than I do. If I write a story and get as much as one comma wrong, the government tends to seize upon that comma as evidence that the whole column is wrong. And believe me, they put their whole public relations mechanism into gear. And even if we are right, if they think that we can't prove it, they are on top of us. I recall a story we wrote wherein we cited a CIA report that the Thais who had been offered a million dollars to burn some opium as part of our war against dope smugglers, had in fact burned cheap fodder which was laced and covered with opium. Remember this was a CIA report we were citing. The White House, for some reason, thought that we didn't have the supporting documents. They called the Justice Department and encouraged them to refute our column; the Justice Department produced a five-page press release and held a press conference with an expert who had been to Thailand to witness the burning. They even brought in films of the burning. It was a major and costly undertaking. We defended ourselves by merely passing out copies of the secret CIA report. Of course, the White House's attempt to refute us was a fiasco. But the point is that they are always watching us.

Dialogue: We were wondering where most of your information comes from, what kind of people come to you?

Anderson: We hear from all kinds of people. I'd say mostly people who are concerned citizens.

Dialogue: Who want to see justice done?

Anderson: Concerned government employees who want to call things to our attention. We get a large percentage of tips from disgruntled people who want to do in their superiors. It doesn't really matter where the information comes from because by the time we get it and complete our investigation, it's our information. We never accept information that comes in over the transom. Our basic information comes from a network of informants within the government.

In order to become a part of that network, you just about have to be an American who believes in the public's right to know.

Dialogue: Are there any Mormons in that network?

Anderson: Of course, Mormons and non-Mormons. We get information from people who believe in the right of the people to know what their government is doing. We avoid anybody who we know to be destructive, because it's been our experience that their information is usually tainted. We never pay for information, because we have found that information you pay for is generally unreliable. It has always appalled me that the FBI depends upon paid informants for much of its information. This is the reason the FBI is constantly losing cases. It's the reason they lost their case against the Berrigan brothers. We have found that most government employees believe that their obligation is to the people who pay their salaries, the taxpayers, and not to a Richard Nixon, or a Bob Haldeman or a John Ehrlichman; that their obligation is to the American people. Our big problem is not finding people who agree that we ought to have the information, it's finding people with the courage to give it to us.

Dialogue: Suppose you take on a private citizen of limited resources and cut him down to size and let us say that this happened to be a case where an injustice was done.

Anderson: His only protection then would be the libel laws, and of course they do protect him. What we write about him has to be true. It is our policy not to attack private individuals unless they become involved in a matter of public interest and public urgency. The corporate executive who is lobbying with the government, trying to impose his will upon the rest of us, is the kind of private citizen we will go after.

Dialogue: There have been very few cases where you have chosen to recede from your original position. The Eagleton case is probably the best known example.

Anderson: Unfortunately there has been more than one. Everytime we cannot back our story up we recede as we did in the Eagleton case. I am pleased to report that there have been very few such cases. Happily our record for accuracy has been good. That is sometimes difficult in the kind of high-risk journalism that we practice. When the government has the power to classify and when great corporations have the power to hide their activities, you almost never can get a picture of any more than the tip of the iceberg. You have to go with what facts you can find, and hope that those facts will lead to a public hearing—as they did in the ITT and Watergate cases—and that from these hearings the public will get all the facts. And I am pleased to report in both the ITT and the Watergate cases, the stories we reported have turned out to be totally accurate. I don't know of a single error that we have made in either of these cases. But we certainly did not have all the facts in either case. There have been new facts that have been brought to light that we were unable to dig up. So we have a

rule around here that a fact does not become a fact until we can prove it. We won't accept what we believe to be true as news, only what we can prove to be true. That means we must have witnesses or documentation. If the witnesses back down then we have to retract the story. This is what happened in the Eagleton case, for example. We did not make up the story. We relied upon witnesses whom we considered to be reliable. We backtracked the moment that we realized our sources would not stand up, and this is what we will do every time. I regret to say that in this kind of high risk journalism where the heat is on there are going to be times when sources will give us something then refuse to back it up and we will probably have to back down again. Having said that, I don't want to give the impression that Eagleton was guilty. It's always possible that the reason these sources would not step forward was that they had misinformed us and were afraid of the consequences. The one thing you can be sure of is that we didn't make the story up. We never go to press without talking to everybody we can reach, and that included Eagleton. We tried to reach him; we left messages for him just as we try to do with everybody we write about.

Dialogue: Your activities have connected you with the publication of grand jury proceedings, testimony and so on. Does that pose any special problems?

Anderson: Well, only insofar as the courts might want to send me to jail for publishing it. But again, the courts don't own the news either, and the grand jury transcripts played a role in breaking open the Watergate case. And I think that most Americans will have to admit it's in the public interest to expose this kind of a major scandal. There are those who would prefer not to know about it. These are the kind of people though, who don't want to know that they've got cancer. In this case it was the body politic that had cancer and the American people are certainly better off knowing it because now we're treating it.

Dialogue: Have you stopped publishing them?

Anderson: I have stopped publishing them for the simple reason that I'm now persuaded that the prosecutors are doing everything in their power to get the facts. As long as they're doing that, then my publishing of the transcripts would have an adverse effect; it would hamper their investigation. In other words, I published those findings only at the time when I thought it might stimulate a wide-open and all-out investigation.

Dialogue: What effect will Watergate have on the next President?

Anderson: The next President of the United States is going to be a purer President. Whatever his background may have been, whatever mistakes he may have made in the past, once he gets in the White House, he's going to be a very sober president. And he is not going to pull the tricks that Richard Nixon pulled; you can be sure of that. Any President after Watergate is going to do all in his power to demonstrate to the electorate that he is clean and is running an open shop. You'll see more openness, more candor, and tighter restraints

than we've ever had before. Some of these will be imposed on the White House by Congress after the Watergate investigation. Some of these will be adopted by the new President, voluntarily for political reasons.

Dialogue: What effect has Watergate had on the President himself?

Anderson: I think that he has been ruined politically and historically. I think Richard Nixon will go down in history as the Watergate President and will be categorized alongside Warren Harding, the Teapot Dome President. I think he had one opportunity to salvage himself and he muffed it. He has continued to cover up while announcing that he is not covering up; he has continued to obstruct the investigation while announcing he is not obstructing it.

Dialogue: Do you think Nixon will last out his term?

Anderson: I think that's in grave dispute. What the President was trying to do was to control the investigation. He could hardly hide the fact that five burglars broke into Democratic party headquarters. But he did his utmost to try to confine it to those five burglars and the two others who masterminded this bizarre scheme—G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt. They were the President's boys, members of the Plumbers, this para-police unit that he had established inside the White House.

If you go back and take this thing in its chronological order, the President was claiming that the nation was threatened by subversives, saboteurs and radicals. This was in 1970. You go back and read your newspapers and you'll



find the President himself was inciting these radicals. He was defying them; he made provocative statements. So whatever excitement, whatever turmoil we had in 1970 was at least in part stimulated by the President himself, who actually stood up on a car on one occasion and held his hands up in the victory signal and whispered to an aide and was overheard by a newsman who reported it, "This always gets them." His attempts to provoke and taunt certain types of people were part of his campaign. Having helped to create this situation he decided that something had to be done about it. Or at least he used that as his excuse. And so he went to J. Edgar Hoover and told him it was necessary to form an anti-subversive organization that would be empowered to break into houses and use other illegal methods to crack down on this very grave security threat. J. Edgar Hoover would have no part of it. So the President then set it up inside the White House. He established his own unit. Now he has claimed that he didn't give it the powers that he has admitted that he wanted to give to J. Edgar Hoover. But somebody didn't tell the Plumbers about that. They thought they had the very powers the President himself had advocated earlier and that J. Edgar Hoover had refused to exercise. The Plumbers must have thought they had these powers, because they exercised them. Two of the Plumbers, G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt, burglarized the offices of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, among other nefarious and illegal deeds. The same burglars, the same "Mission Impossible" operators, burglarized the Democratic Party headquarters, because they seemed unable to discriminate between national security and political security. We now have secret testimony which tells us that H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman received orders from the President to cover up this affair. Haldeman and Ehrlichman tried to cover up everything. They tried to confine the investigation to the five people who were arrested inside the Democratic Party headquarters. They even went so far as to ask the CIA to help in restricting the investigation. And then when Liddy and Hunt were exposed, Haldeman and Ehrlichman arranged for the payment to the Watergate defendants to keep their mouths shut. At all times the President sought to keep the Watergate investigation under the Justice Department control, which means under his control. He obstructed the attempts by the Senate to investigate. He had to offer up to the public some evidence that he was investigating, so he announced that he was cooperating, that he was using the proper grand jury process. Now anybody who knows anything about grand juries knows that they do exactly what the Justice Department wants them to do. So you have the Justice Department, an arm of the Nixon administration, running the grand jury. This was clearly a situation that called for an investigation. So I investigated, and got the grand jury transcripts and four days after the President found out I had those transcripts he abandoned his attempts to confine the investigation. I can't claim that our access to the grand jury findings changed the President's mind, but according to the *New York Times* it was a factor.

Dialogue: We wonder if we might approach another aspect of your occupation. The Latter-day Saints traditionally are a people who put emphasis on the team spirit in civic matters. The emphasis from the pulpit is on the fact that we are good, law abiding citizens who support and sustain the government. We emphasize the fact that when things are not to our liking we have recourse through

the ballot box: we vote for good people, we run good people for office, and once people have spoken and our officers or officials are elected, we close ranks and get behind them and show the team spirit. Now, in the popular mind, you are playing the role of a dissenter, one who retains the right to speak out frankly, boldly, against anybody and everybody whom you think is deserving of being spoken out against. Now, does this pose any problem for you? Do you find yourself running counter to the broad mainstream of Mormon thinking and the pattern of behavior that has become more or less characteristic of Mormon people?

Anderson: No, quite the opposite. My parents, who are honest, orthodox Mormons, brought me up to believe that public office is a public trust, that anybody who abuses that public office ought to be exposed. I believe that my people, the Mormon people, do not approve of waste or fraud or wrongdoing or hypocrisy. These are the things that we expose.

Dialogue: Do you see yourself as part of the Mormon tradition?

Anderson: I certainly do. I grew up in the West. I regard the Mormons as my people. I know their teachings, I believe in their teachings. I was taught at the knee of Mormon parents who exemplified honesty and integrity, and I am certainly motivated by my Mormon upbringing.

Dialogue: Do you presently hold a Church position?

Anderson: Yes, I teach Sunday School.

Dialogue: Do you have any qualms in writing about the Church when you come across some things that might be damaging to it?

Anderson: I think that sunlight is always the best disinfectant. I don't approve of the Church or the government covering up information that the tithepayers or the taxpayers are entitled to know.

Dialogue: Have you reported on stories of that type about the Church?

Anderson: I wrote some time ago about Church contributions to right wing organizations. These were contributions that were made from Church-owned corporations, and they were made by the late J. Reuben Clark, Jr., who channeled money to a right wing organization called Irvington on the Hudson which was lobbying in Congress against social security, the United Nations, public housing, and federal aid to education. I wrote about that, and I spoke to J. Reuben Clark about it. He made two defenses. First, that tithe money was not being used, and second, that he was unaware of the lobbying activities. He said that he was aware of the stand of Irvington on the Hudson but did not know that they were trying to influence legislation. I pointed out that I really didn't see that much difference between tithe money and corporate money, since it all belonged to the tithepayers. These Church corporations, I suggested,

did not belong to him, but to the body of the Church. I told him that I was positive that the majority of Mormons believed in social security, the United Nations, public housing and aid to education. I said that he was using Church funds to oppose programs that a majority of Mormons believe in. We had a very long and friendly discussion. At no time did he get angry. He went on to discuss the Church welfare program, and in discussing the Church welfare program it seemed to me that he changed sides. And I came away from the experience impressed that he was a man speaking in the name of the Lord when he said one thing, and speaking in the name of J. Reuben Clark when he said another. I didn't find the experience to be at all shattering. Quite to the contrary.

Dialogue: Do you feel a need to go to Church leaders when you come across something that might be damaging?

Anderson: Church leaders or non-church leaders. I don't write about people or institutions without checking. This is not special favor that I would accord the Church. If I had been writing about the Catholic church, I would have spoken to them.

Dialogue: Did you have any personal experiences with Apostle Benson while he was Secretary of Agriculture?

Anderson: I got along well personally with Brother Benson. In fact when he was Secretary of Agriculture and on a trip to Denmark, he made a point of looking up my parents who were on a mission there. Then he was kind enough to telephone me when he returned and give me a personal report on how they were doing. On religious or doctrinal questions, Brother Benson and I undoubtedly would agree. On political questions we undoubtedly would disagree most of the time. I believe that the John Birch Society, which he has upheld in his speeches, is as subversive as the Communist Party. I think both of these organizations are trying to overthrow democracy. And it is appalling to me, that a member of the Counsel of the Twelve would even indirectly support an organization whose leader has disavowed democracy and called for a dictatorship of the elite. I would be equally appalled if a member of the Counsel of the Twelve should turn out to be supporting the Communist Party. Any attack on democracy, whether from John Birch right or Communist left, is contrary to my view of the doctrines taught by the Church. I leave it to Brother Benson's conscience to justify what I'm sure he believes to be democratic.

The most dangerous of all moral dilemmas: when we are obliged to conceal truth in order to help the truth to be victorious. If this should at any time become our duty in the role assigned us by fate, how strait must be our path at all times if we are not to perish.

—DAG HAMMARSKJOLD

Dialogue: Are you ever asked any embarrassing questions about the Church?

Anderson: Constantly. Almost daily people ask me questions about the Church. I have never yet apologized for the Church. I have always defended the Church.

Dialogue: Do you see a need for somebody to play the same role in relation to the Church as you do to the national society?

Anderson: I don't think that the Church bans free discussion. I think that there are some basic doctrines in our theological system that cannot be challenged. Either we have a prophet who gets direct revelation or we don't. And if he gives us a revelation, if he gives us doctrine, then I don't think it is something that we can reject, unless we wish to reject the prophet, unless we wish to reject the Church. But I think that quite often general authorities indulge in speculation on basic doctrine and I think our right to speculate is as great as theirs. I accept as my authority for that statement President Harold B. Lee who, before he became prophet, visited Chevy Chase Ward, and spoke on this subject. I remember his sermon well. He said that the general authorities sometimes disagree among themselves on interpretation of doctrine. He said that their interpretation is not doctrine, and that the members of the Church had as much right to interpret as they did.

Dialogue: We were thinking more particularly along secular lines. For example the Church Building Committee, or some of the Church finance programs. We don't know that we've ever seen any tabulation of sources of income for general authorities, despite the fact that they do get salaries for working on Church corporations—fees and so forth. Do you think that there is a necessity for telling about that in the Church?

Anderson: I think that every tithepayer is entitled to know the salary and the expenses of the general authorities. This isn't anything that I think is a matter of national interest and therefore I wouldn't seek that information for the column. But it is a matter of Church interest and every tithepayer is entitled to know it. I think that the general authorities have an obligation to report to the tithepayers how much of the tithepayers' money they are using and for what purpose. I fully believe that they could give us that report without incriminating themselves. I believe that they are honest men and that they do not misuse tithe money.

Dialogue: We were interested in what you said in your column about the Indians at Cedar City.

Anderson: Here, again, I spoke with Spencer W. Kimball who, at that time at least, was handling Indian affairs for the Church. I disagree in part, although not entirely, with the Indian program. It seems to me that on the whole I have defended our policies toward the Indian. I have even answered those who criticized BYU for not having a large percentage of blacks. This question has been raised with me at universities in the East. When this has happened, my

rejoinder has been, "How many Indians do you have?" I find that they have almost none, or a very small percentage. I point out to them that BYU has a very large percentage of Indians. And I suggest to them that there are a lot of blacks in the East and a lot of Indians in the West. It seems quite normal that there would be more blacks in eastern schools and more Indians at western schools. I say that BYU is no more prejudiced against blacks than Princeton is against Indians.

But I have some question about our policy of taking Indian children away from their families. What it does, it seems to me, is fly in the face of our basic Mormon teachings of the family unit as the backbone of the Church. When you take a child away from his parents and put him in another home, you are saying to the child, "Your parents are not worthy, your parents are unable to take care of you." And you are saying to the parents, "You are unworthy of this child and so we are taking this child away from you to give him a better opportunity." I can't conceive of anything more disruptive to the family unit than to take the child from the parents, even though our efforts are well meaning.

Dialogue: What do you think we ought to do to alleviate poverty and ignorance among the Indians?

Anderson: The Mormon philosophy, which I share, is a hand up instead of a handout. I'd like to go in and help the Indians do what they do best.

Dialogue: Preserve their culture the way we have in Polynesia?

Anderson: Exactly. I think our policy in Polynesia should be applied to the Indians. I don't think that we necessarily have to make white men of them. They have every reason to be proud of their Indian heritage. We don't have to rob them of that heritage. Let us help them to build.



REVIEWS

Edited by Davis Bitton

Theology and Aesthetics, Mormon Arts, Vol. I

EDWARD GEARY

Mormon Arts, Volume One. Edited by Lorin F. Wheelwright and Lael J. Woodbury. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1972. 88 pp. \$13.95.

Mormon Arts, Volume One, is a strange hybrid, a combination anthology, review, picture book, aesthetic primer, and philosophical discourse, not to mention the phonograph record bound inside the back cover. An outgrowth of the annual Mormon Festival of Arts at Brigham Young University, the volume includes the work of some sixty or more hands, but its prime mover is Lorin F. Wheelwright, musician, lithographer, and dean of the College of Fine Arts at BYU. Except for its rather awkward square shape, the book is handsomely turned out, with abundant and colorful illustrations, and will certainly please the casual purchaser who is looking for something to display in the living room when the home teachers call. The more serious reader should also find the book interesting but will probably be somewhat dissatisfied with it, even though—or perhaps because—the editors have obviously tried to provide something for everyone. As a primer of art and music appreciation, *Mormon Arts, Volume One*, is useful; as a literary guide it is unsatisfactory. As an exhibit of Mormon artists it is highly revealing; as an attempt to define Mormon art, to “postulate a theological base for an aesthetic reality,” it is overly ambitious but deserves serious attention.

Dean Wheelwright begins by asking, “What is Mormon about art?” and then proceeds through a series of six essays to develop the thesis that we are on the threshold of “artistic expressions as characteristic of the Mormon people and as ‘peculiar’ to this world as are our theology and resultant patterns of personal and family life.” In “Is There a Mormon Art?” he identifies “certain distinguishing lines that infuse Mormon artistic expression.” In “Art as Joy of Man and Instrument of God,” he attempts to distinguish “consummatory” from “instrumental” values. “Seeking Aesthetic Experience” is an elementary guide to appreciation. “Divine Creation” is an adaptation of the old “argument from design” for the purpose of showing that God is an artist himself and that His works provide inspiration for human artists. “Man Creates in the Image of God” carries this idea further, culminating in a veritable key to all knowledge, a chart that reduces the universe to a few simple principles which apply equally

to theology, physics, and aesthetics. Finally, "Art Expresses Opposition in All Things" is an attempt to deal with that troublesome teaching of Father Lehi's in such a way as both to justify conflict and to preserve the doctrinaire insistence on the triumph of good. ("The aesthetic necessity of showing opposing forces, particularly in drama, is balanced in Mormon art by the value of showing how evil is overcome by forces of righteousness.")

To the reader who has had some experience with critical theory, these essays will seem both oversimplified and narrowly prescriptive at times. However, their intention, and the intention of the book as a whole, is clearly to extend and liberalize the aesthetic outlook, to improve the taste of the Mormon audience in general. I suspect that the book is also aimed, though very cautiously, at improving and broadening the tastes of Church leaders in particular. For example, the dust jacket reproduces a rather stylized and expressionistic painting of the martyrdom of Joseph Smith—a far cry from the "official" art on this subject—and the final illustration in the volume is a photograph of the Coalville tabernacle standing in dignity above the decayed village, calling attention to the failure of taste that permitted its destruction. More explicitly, Dean Wheelwright asks for tolerance of different styles, suggesting that abstraction may be as valid as representationalism in the visual arts and that proponents of the Viennese musical tradition may not be "the only occupants of the celestial kingdom." In addition, he points out that almost all the artwork commissioned by the Church has been "didactic and commemorative" in character, and suggests that although the Church is justified in using art as an "instrument of God" in achieving conversion and strengthening testimony we should also learn to appreciate the value of art as a "joy to man" and to satisfy the "hunger for aesthetic experience."

Among the artworks reproduced in *Mormon Arts, Volume One*, though several are fresh and creative, many others are burdened by ideology in one way or another. Some are clearly designed to flatter the Mormon self-image: for example, the wholesome Lamanite boys blessing the sacrament, the beatific old man in testimony meeting, and the courageous Samuel Smith, "the first Mormon missionary," making his way along a muddy New England lane. Other artists, trying to avoid this Mormon version of "Socialist Realism," have attempted naive and unsuccessful adaptation of medieval symbology to Mormon themes. In yet other cases, the artists evidently felt obligated to stress in their statements about their work religious qualities that are not apparent in the works themselves. Thus a painting of the southern Utah red rock country is described by the artist as recording "a religious experience" and a "testimony of God's creative powers, of his love for us in providing our environment." Yet there is nothing in the painting itself to indicate that it couldn't have been painted by an agnostic who simply happened to be fond of the landscape. (Dean Wheelwright claims that an inspired Mormon responds to the physical environment differently from other people; he goes so far as to suggest that an atheist cannot respect the natural world, since "irreverence for both the structure and the Architect go hand in hand." This is an interesting claim but one that is not substantiated by the book.)

Despite these limitations, *Mormon Arts, Volume One*, makes a much better case for the vitality of Mormon visual arts (and music) than for Mormon litera-

ture. The poems in the book are undistinguishable in substance and style, and the dramatic vignettes are thin and sentimental. Longer works are represented only by summaries and excerpts, but there is nothing to indicate that they are any better than the short pieces. This should not be taken, however, as evidence that Mormon writers are less successful than Mormon painters and musicians. There is a significant amount of good poetry and fiction being written in the Church, but either it has not come to the notice of the editors of this volume or else their tastes are less reliable in this area than in others.

In his preface to the book, Dean Wheelwright cautions the reader "not to draw final conclusions from this volume. It does not presume to delimit Mormon art." No doubt this is the key to appreciating *Mormon Arts, Volume One*. The book is weakest when it does attempt to delimit Mormon art, and strongest when it is most tentative and open. It is neither the first nor the last word on Mormon art, but it does break ground that can now benefit from more intensive cultivation.

Intimate Portraits

JOHN STERLING HARRIS

The Rummage Sale. By Donald R. Marshall. Provo, Utah: Heirloom Publications, 1972. 141 pp. \$3.75, hardback. \$2.50, paperback.

In that everlasting discussion on when we are going to have a Mormon literature, the anticipated writer of the great Mormon story is usually expected to be a Tolstoi or a Melville who will tell it as an epic. Now comes a fascinating book by Donald R. Marshall called *The Rummage Sale*. It is unquestionably Mormon and is also very good, but it is not an epic at all. It is instead a series of short stories that are rather closer to William Dean Howells or Sarah Orne Jewett.

The resulting tales come out as honest, intimate portraits of common people in small Utah towns. Instead of struggling with the great issues of truth and error or good and evil, they grapple with the problems of their own identities versus community and family expectations, with small town parochialism versus sophistication, or with the conflict of stability versus change.

One such portrait is that of Thalia Beale, a shy old maid from Ephraim, who after her mother's death takes her savings and makes a trip to California—managing to spend a month in Pacific Grove and Carmel, pretending to herself that she is living a cultivated life before returning to the drabness of her home. (*Dialogue* readers will remember this story from the Autumn 1972 issue.) Another story, "All the Cats in Zanzibar," is the journal of LaRena Homer from American Fork who takes a grand tour to the Holy Land and finds it inferior to Utah. "May the Good Lord Bless and Keep You" is the outrageous correspondence between Elder Calbert Dunkley and Floydene Wallup—a kind of Ring Lardner story with characters who are embarrassingly Mormon. "The Sound of Drums" is a story of a young man from Heber who earns a Ph.D. in the East and returns on a visit to be embarrassed at the narrowness and provinciality of his family and home town. Here, as in other stories in the volume, Marshall's

two-edged pen reveals the returnee as not only educated but also snobbish and insensitive.

Although Marshall's characters tend to be provincial, they emerge as believable, familiar people, and their foibles are shown with no more malice than would occur in parlor talk about absent relatives held in affection.

The time of the stories is the recent present, but there is a pervading sense of past tradition and habit. The pioneer ancestors of the characters are there as ghosts in the background, and the feeling is enhanced by Marshall's occasional photographs of old Utah homes. These help, together with a few of his poems, to give the book a sense of unity.

The style of the stories is varied, and ranges from echoes of Sinclair Lewis, J. D. Salinger, and Sherwood Anderson to a manner reminiscent of the previously mentioned Lardner, Jewett and Howells. But such comparisons are not really fair. Marshall's own strong voice comes through constantly, and he has an uncanny ear for rural speech and an eye for significant detail in scene and artifact.

Some stories are stronger than others, but I doubt that readers will agree on which are the best. Plainly it is the best collection of stories about Mormon life that has yet appeared—another evidence of the naissance of Mormon literature.

James E. Talmage: A Personal History

JAMES B. ALLEN

The Talmage Story; Life of James E. Talmage—Educator, Scientist, Apostle. By John R. Talmage, Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1972. 246 pp. \$3.95.

James E. Talmage was one of the most significant Mormon leaders in the early twentieth century. Internationally known scientist, outstanding educator, Apostle, and author of some of the most enduring theological works in the Church, Talmage has had permanent influence on the lives and thought of the Mormon people, and his life is one of those most worth studying.

The Talmage Story is a sympathetic, heart-warming, intensely interesting account of the life of James E. Talmage, written by his youngest son. It is not a scholarly work in the sense that scholars would expect interpretive analysis of the times and circumstances related to Talmage's career. Indeed, the author specifically denies any attempt at such interpretation, "this being the field of historians, who have devoted a great deal of attention to this era and doubtless will devote a great deal more in the future" (p. 88). But once scholars overcome their first blush of dismay at these omissions they, along with most other readers, should find much enjoyment from the book.

The omission of much historical analysis is serious enough, however, to warrant brief comment on what one might look for in a more searching biographical study of such a prominent Church leader. Only sixty-four pages are devoted to the twenty-two years that Talmage was a General Authority of the Church, while sixty-six pages are given to the first twenty-six years of his life and 108 to what might be termed the twenty-three middle years. The result is that the period in which he performed his most note-

worthy service to the Church is covered the most sketchily. This book is primarily concerned with Talmage's personal attributes: his perseverance, integrity, great capacity for work, and faith and loyalty to the Church. A more critical biography would discuss in some detail the great social, economic, and administrative problems confronting the Church in this period, and would consider not only Talmage's attitude toward them but also his role in the various approaches taken to them. It would also be concerned not only with the experiences involved in writing such important works as *The Articles of Faith* and *Jesus the Christ*, but also with the content of these works and what they contributed to Mormon theology. In addition, the historian might ask how these important treatises related to the great theological controversies in America at the time as well as to any theological discussions or controversies which may have been taking place among the Mormons themselves. One controversy, for example, which undoubtedly was of greatest interest to Talmage himself was the impact of Darwinism on American thought. The author of *The Talmage Story* alludes to it throughout, but makes no adequate analysis of the intellectual cross-currents which may have influenced or at least challenged people like Talmage. The author devotes two interesting pages (231-33) to Talmage's view on science and religion, but offers no adequate explanation of the origin, nature, or significance of the controversy. He reproduces some excellent quotations from Talmage to the effect that both science and religion are searching for truth and therefore ultimately must be reconciled, although he fails to tell us where these quotations came from. He might well have explained the tremendous secular challenge presented to Mormon theology by the theory of evolution and tell of some of the discussions in Church circles involving such prominent leaders as John A. Widtsoe and B. H. Roberts. He might then have observed that these significant statements by Talmage came from an important address given in the Tabernacle on August 9, 1931. The address, entitled "The Earth and Man," was considered important enough to print in the *Deseret News* on November 21, and then to reprint in pamphlet form. It concerned scientific theories on the origin of man and the doctrines of the Church, and Talmage discussed the contributions and inadequacies of both fields in understanding the story of man. Since Talmage had studied and taught geology, the address must have been a major one to him, even though he knew that it was controversial. Yet his son does not even mention it, let alone analyze its content and significance. To set the story of a man against a background of his times is an essential task of a great biography. That is why this work, as interesting and important as it is, only opens the door for a more thorough study of this great man.

In spite of this weakness, the reader should enjoy and appreciate *The Talmage Story* for the insight it gives into the character and personality of a truly impressive man. He was born in England and emigrated to Utah with his family when he was not yet fourteen years old. He was always an avid student, and at an early age came to the attention of the leadership of the Church because of his fine scholarship and outstanding ability as a lecturer. He attended Brigham Young Academy in Provo, became well acquainted with Karl G. Maeser, and then, after seeking the advice of the President of the Church, John Taylor, decided to further his education at

Lehigh University in Pennsylvania and later at Johns Hopkins University. A well-organized and dedicated student, he apparently left little time for social activity, but he did find time to successfully court the lovely Merry May Booth. The tender love between this couple is one of the touching stories in the book.

Talmage's professional career included being a teacher in the Brigham Young Academy, head of the Salt Lake Stake Academy, which soon came to be known as the Latter-day Saints College, a teacher at the University of Utah, and for a short time the president of that institution. He traveled to Europe to attend various scientific meetings, and was elected to a number of important scientific societies. During all this time he considered his duties to the Church as of primary importance, and he became a noted and sought-after lecturer in Utah on both scientific and religious subjects. Even before he became a General Authority of the Church he had published several items, including *The Articles of Faith*, *The Great Apostacy*, and *The House of the Lord*, that have taken their place among the most important works in Mormon literature.

John Talmage does an excellent job of impressing his readers with the tenacity, perseverance, and dedication of his father. James E. Talmage's personal study habits and devotion to duty could well be emulated by modern students, and his financial struggles while going to school and in his early days as a teacher will certainly strike a note of empathy among young scholars today. In addition, there are enough bits of humor to add the human touch so essential to appreciate such a man. In 1898, for instance, he was in England for scientific purposes and was asked to give a series of lectures to help the missionaries. This he agreed to do, but as he prepared to go to Glasgow, Scotland, he had to take a later train. It was clear that he would not arrive on time. Equally important, he would not be able to go to a hotel and clean up before being whisked off to his meeting, but he was dirty with soot and cinders and felt that he must somehow get clean before he arrived at Glasgow. Since it was a rainy night, there was nothing left to do but strip to the waist and have his companion hold his feet as he leaned out the compartment window and washed in the rain, so that by the time they arrived in Glasgow he looked "every inch the suave and polished platform performer." (p. 151)

One of the most intriguing contributions of this book is the fact that the author quotes extensively from the personal journals of James E. Talmage. Talmage was meticulous in keeping his journals and they are still apparently very much intact. Such journals are indispensable to the study of the history of the Church, and Talmage's in particular will throw most significant light on many important developments during his lifetime. Since he was always a man of integrity, his journals can make a positive contribution to the writing of the history of the Church. We look forward with anticipation to the day when the Talmage family will see fit to make them available for study in the Historical Department of the Church. Meanwhile, *The Talmage Story*, though falling short of the definitive study the subject deserves, is well worth reading.

You Can't Tell a Book by its Cover

Polygamy Was Better Than Monotony

SAMUEL W. TAYLOR

Polygamy was Better than Monotony. By Paul Bailey. Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, 1972. 200 pp. \$7.95.

Although I question Paul Bailey's choice of a title for his new book, that's about all I can argue with. This is the type of literature badly needed and rarely found within the Zion Curtain. It is an oasis in the parched desert of Mormon literature—regional writing, treating Mormonism as a culture and a way of life, sympathetic, but astute and perceptive. More than that, it is done well. In our literary wasteland, where message is everything and literary quality nothing, Bailey writes with style and economy, unobtrusively excellent in pace and restraint. He puts the story of his life, the Mormon culture, and the gospel, in just 200 pages.

One mark of a good book is that you wish there was more of it. I will add to it now, with an aspect of Paul Bailey's life which he barely hints at. He wanted to be a writer, and so throughout his adult life he has arisen at four in the morning, to satisfy his creative impulse at the typewriter before going to a full day's work, successively as typographer, as newspaper reporter, as editor, and as the publisher of Westernlore Press. This is how hard he worked at the craft of writing, and his mastery of it shows in every line.

The book is a complete picture of the Mormon scene, both doctrinally and culturally. Its first line begins, "I lived before I was born." It is also full of anecdotes that are uniquely Mormon—Primary, Mutual, the foibles of the "peculiar people," and their unity—such as the neighbors in American Fork pitching in to replace the Bailey home after it burned to the ground.

His adolescence in Utah rings true; I was there:

Usual practice was to stalk girls from Lehi or Pleasant Grove. The boys of these towns, in turn, pursued the American Fork girls. . . . In this inter-town quest for dates, one had also to be prepared for the frequent wars between the town boys—primed by inter-town jealousies and the bitter feuds of sports rivalry. These battles took place outside the social halls, outside the chapels at Mutual sessions, and up and down the aisles of the fast-moving Orem cars. . . .

Since the Church condoned no smoking nor drinking at its Mutual parties, and the school was just as adamant, the badge of virility and manhood's rebellious cussedness was somehow to get hold of cigarettes or Bull Durham, and to show up at the dance smelling like a liquor jug.

This isn't the Utah of Church Information Service, but it's the one where Paul Bailey and I grew up.

His last two chapters are worth the price of admission, as he discusses the snares and pitfalls of trying to write with sympathetic objectivity about his own people. His *Jacob Hamblin, Buckskin Apostle*, was banned in Utah because it had a chapter on Mountain Meadows. Later, when the shock wore off, it was a selection of the L.D.S. Book Club. He says,

I cannot but feel that this happy resolution was aided by the fact that even question-

able and controversial chapters of history, once aired to truth and light, lose their spectral danger to the Church image.

To complete the circle: Bailey told me that the sale of *Jacob Hamblin* abruptly ceased when he published a book disapproved by the Brethren, *For Time and All Eternity*.

As a writer, the fact that I am steeped in Mormon lore has been more hindrance than help to me. I have never been able to purge from my stubborn mind a conviction that the Mormon tale is one of the most unique and interesting dramas in the annals of America. It has been my soaring wings; it has been my cement coffin. . . .

I am convinced that this wonderful tapestry has been only superficially scrutinized, and that many books in depth are yet to come. I am equally convinced that, when they are written, it will be well if their authors are not born in the heritage.

Problem is that only those so born can tell the story in depth. Such is the eternal dilemma of the Mormon writer under a managed media. Few have coped with it so well as Paul Bailey.

From its beginning in the early Nineteenth Century, the Mormon movement was revolutionary, pugnacious, explosive and militant. It was a striking out against the "establishment" of those days, and was full of wonderous hope for the sad, the down-trodden, and the spiritually alive. . . . Its young and aggressive leaders . . . planted a future—but they have harvested only a past. . . .

Today the movement is running down into staid conservatism, and monolithic and empirical thought control. The books about the Mormon heritage that are acceptable, are published within the Church. . . . The Gentiles, whose approval they so assiduously court, literally gag on those sanctified effusions.

How true it is. Gentiles can't read "approved" literature; so only mavericks speak for the Church to the outside world. As a fellow maverick, I wear the badge proudly.

If I have inadvertently given the impression that this is a "negative" book, let me say it actually is one of the very best missionary tools I can imagine. It is a book Gentiles can read and enjoy. They will know it is honest. They will be able to accept both Bailey's criticism and his testimony:

The Mormon heritage is a strange thing. Some there are who wear it as a shining armor turned to the world. Others wear it like a tattered cloak of many colors, but few there are who put it entirely away. . . .

Being a Utah boy, the cloak of my heritage is comfortable. . . . By wearing my cloak a bit loose, by opening it to the wind and the storms, I have frayed its edges, and have weather-spotted it a little more than it should be. . . .

My heart and my mind are stuffed full of endless words in love of my heritage. I still wear my comfortable old cloak. I like my comfortable old cloak. I hope it will never be taken from me.

Mormonism as an Eddy in American Religious History

MILTON V. BACKMAN, JR.

A Religious History of the American People. By Sydney E. Ahlstrom. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972. 1158 pp. \$19.50.

For the past one hundred and thirty years various historians have attempted to write a panoramic history of religion in the United States. The 1960s saw the publication of three major surveys: Clifton E. Olmstead's *History of Religion in the United States* (1960), Edwin Scott Gaustad's *A Religious History of America* (1966), and Winthrop S. Hudson's *Religion in America* (1965), all significant contributions.

The latest analysis of religion in America from its European heritage to the present is Sydney E. Ahlstrom's *A Religious History of the American People* (1972). Like Olmstead's work, approximately one-third of Ahlstrom's study discusses the European background and the colonial era, another third considers the era from the Revolution to the Civil War, and the last third emphasizes religious trends during the past hundred years, including a chapter on ecclesiastical trends during "The Turbulent Sixties."

Although Ahlstrom emphasizes major developments within the largest Protestant faiths, he also discusses the history of the Roman Catholics, Eastern Christians, and uprooted Jews who settled in this land in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and several chapters are devoted to the history of the blacks in America. His sympathetic discussion of contemporary theology is the most comprehensive discussion of this topic in a general religious history of this country. In Ahlstrom's opinion, "viewed as a whole . . . American liberal theology was an impressive intellectual movement, and one that tends to confirm the idea of the Great Century" (p. 763). Since there are also short descriptions of theosophy, rosicrucianism, the Bahai faith, Buddhism, and the new Jesus movement (included as a lengthy footnote), the work could serve as a handy encyclopedia of information on religious societies in America.

A few strictures deserve notice. Ahlstrom has a much better understanding of religious developments in colonial New England than in the middle or southern colonies and devotes more attention to these New England trends than to the ecclesiastical history of all colonies located south of Connecticut. He especially neglects religious developments in colonies such as New Jersey and the Carolinas. His description of the expansion of the Church of England sometimes declines into a series of disconnected facts, failing to provide his readers with a clear picture of major trends in colonial Anglicanism.

Ahlstrom's descriptions of the Anglican establishments in the South are also ambiguous, for he fails to describe the contrasting characteristics of the state churches which had been created from Maryland to Georgia. When considering the early religious history of South Carolina, for example, he mentions a number of laws that were repealed and had no significant influence but fails to discuss the Ecclesiastical Act of 1706 that defined the characteristics of the tax-supported religion in South Carolina. Although there were eight amending articles to that act, the establishment remained virtually unaltered from 1706 until the era of the American Revolution.

While William Warren Sweet emphasized the impact of the frontier, Ahlstrom tends to concentrate on the influence of Puritanism on the religious history of this land. Ahlstrom aptly states that as a result of English colonizing activities "Protestantism, predominantly in its Puritan form became a major factor in the spiritual shaping of a 'great nation'" (p. 17). But he incorrectly concludes that "Puritanism provided the moral and religious background of

fully 75 percent of the people who declared their independence in 1776" (p. 124). A footnote compounds the exaggeration: "If one were to compute such a percentage on the basis of all the German, Swiss, French, Dutch, and Scottish people whose forebears bore the 'stamp of Geneva' in some broader sense, 85 or 90 percent would not be an extravagant estimate" (p. 124).

Although reliable membership figures are not available for colonial religious societies, Ahlstrom's estimate concerning the percentage of Americans in 1776 who were Puritans or whose historical roots stem from John Calvin should be seriously questioned. Ahlstrom defines Puritanism "in its broadest sense" as a "widely ramified movement of religious renovation that gradually took shape in Great Britain under the leadership of men who were committed to the Continental Reformed tradition" (p. 125). Using this guideline, Anglicans, Quakers, Freewill Baptists, and many German faiths would not be classified as Puritans; and undoubtedly these groups comprised more than 25 percent of the church members. Ahlstrom also fails to qualify some statements by recalling that about 20 percent of the colonists were black, that many colonists lost an identity with a particular denomination, and that most Americans were not affiliated with any religious society throughout the eighteenth century.

Eight of the 1096 pages included in this work (excluding an excellent bibliography and index) are devoted to the history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. These pages are marred by a number of mistakes and conclusions unsubstantiated by a thorough examination of primary sources. Ahlstrom employs as one source for his description of Mormonism Fawn Brodie's biography of Joseph Smith, a work he regards as "sympathetic" and "unequaled in its insights" of the Mormon Prophet (p. 504).

A few of the mistakes in his description of Mormonism appear as careless errors. For example, he writes that five months after the Church's founding, the Prophet sent a "three-man party [should be four] to look for land" for a New Jerusalem that was to be erected "on the borders by the Lamanites" (p. 505). Another obvious mistake is the statement that on July 4, 1838, "at a great celebration, Joseph delivered an oration which ended with a spine-chilling promise to wreak vengeance on his oppressors" (p. 506). It was Sidney Rigdon, not Joseph Smith, who delivered a controversial sermon on July 4, 1838, that provided a setting for the "Mormon War."

Ahlstrom further writes that in 1816 the Smith family moved to Palmyra, New York, "in the Erie Canal Boom country. But the boom passed them by" (p. 502). Since Palmyra did not become a canal town until 1822, four years after the Smith family had settled in Manchester (about two miles from the canal), the inference that "the boom passed them by" is not an objective description of the economic accomplishments, hardships, and misfortunes of the Smiths in Manchester.

The claim that Joseph Smith "was once found guilty in a local court of being 'a disorderly person and an imposter' for use of a certain 'seer stone'" has not been verified; and it is a major oversimplification to write that "when in 1857 President Buchanan replaced Young with a non-Mormon as territorial governor, another 'Mormon War' broke out" (p. 507).

After suggesting as "farfetched" the view that Rev. Solomon Spaulding or Sidney Rigdon wrote the Book of Mormon, Ahlstrom echoes the popular non-

Mormon opinion that Joseph Smith was the author of that publication and that the work reflects the "anti-Catholic" and "anti-Masonic movement" occurring in western New York in the 1820s. As further evidence that the Book of Mormon was a product of the times, Ahlstrom notes that in the 1820s people were considering the question of Indian origins; and then he contends that the Book of Mormon not only answered that question but reflected the "total social and spiritual situation of the 'burned-over district' of western New York" (p. 503).

Critics continue to assert that the Book of Mormon reflects the environment of the early Republic. While some parallels between beliefs and patterns of behavior described in the Book of Mormon and those held and practiced by Americans in the 1820s do exist, there are also many parallels in patterns of belief and behavior between our age, the era of the Reformation, the Middle Ages, and other ages. Moreover, the critics fail to mention the innumerable differences between the social, political, religious, and economic patterns described in the Book of Mormon and popular views and practices of individuals who lived in the early Republic.

Most of the history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints after 1850 is summarized in one paragraph which emphasizes the polygamy issue. Mormonism during the twentieth century, including the welfare program, is ignored.

Although one might challenge portions of Ahlstrom's study, in most respects his history is accurate. He has produced, with some qualifications, an exceptional summary of the religious history of America.

Brief Notices

DAVIS BITTON

Ensign to the Nations: A History of the Church from 1846 to the Present. By Russell R. Rich. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Publications, 1972. 663 pp.

A pedestrian treatment of L.D.S. history from 1846 intended for B.Y.U. Church history classes. The closing chapters plod through developments, one president at a time.

Special Slippers. Words by Roger Knight. Drawings by Karin Knight. Santa Barbara, California: Sandollar Press. 35 pp. \$2.50.

A story by an L.D.S. couple "assembled for James, who considers [it] his very favorite story in the dark." Delightfully illustrated.

The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History. Edited by F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards. Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1973. 357 pp.

An introductory essay and twelve chapters by a group of L.D.S. and R.L.D.S. historians. Uneven, as all such works are, this collection contains some very good chapters indeed. Examples: "Mormonism and American Culture: Some Tentative Hypotheses" by Klaus J. Hansen; "Nauvoo and the Council of the Twelve" by T. Edgar Lyon; and "Theocratic Democracy: Philosopher-King in the Reorganization" by Paul M. Edwards.

The Reminiscences and Civil War Letters of Levi Lamoni Wight: Life in a Mormon Splinter Colony on the Texas Frontier. Edited by Davis Bitton. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970. 191 pp. \$7.00.

Not previously reviewed in *Dialogue*, this small work is relevant to Mormon, Texas, and Civil War history. Levi Wight was the son of Lyman Wight, the Mormon apostle who led a splinter group to Texas in 1845.

Utah's Heritage. By S. George Ellsworth. Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1972. 510 pp.

Intended for textbook use in Utah schools, this work is the result of many years of preparation by Ellsworth, Professor of History at Utah State University. For its general excellence the book received a special citation from the Mormon History Association in the spring of 1973.

Mormonism and American Culture. Edited by Marvin S. Hill and James B. Allen. New York: Harper & Row, 1972. 189 pp.

A volume in the series "Interpretations of American History," this work brings together eleven essays by different scholars. In addition to well known articles by David Brion Davis, Mario S. De Pillis, William Mulder, and others, there are two essays written especially for this volume: "Sources of Strain in Mormon History Reconsidered" by Thomas F. O'Dea and "Crisis in Identity: Mormon Responses in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" by Leonard J. Arrington. A minor irritant is the omission of footnotes from the scholarly articles. There are useful introductions and a selected bibliography.

Genealogical Research: A Jurisdictional Approach. By Vincent L. Jones, Arlene H. Eakle, and Mildred H. Christensen. Woods Cross, Utah: Genealogical Copy Service, 1972. 326 pp.

A how-to-do-it manual for genealogists interested in systematic, thorough research. The "research outlines" list scores of primary sources to be examined and should prove valuable to historians as well as genealogists.

Outstanding Stories by General Authorities. Volume III. Compiled by Leon R. Hartshorn. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1973. 270 pp. \$4.95.

Fifteen general authorities are represented here with stories drawn almost entirely from their addresses at general conferences. There is little imagination in the preparation of such a work, but its convenience seems to suffice for popularity among Mormon readers.

Discovering the Quality of Success. By Paul H. Dunn. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1973. 140 pp. \$3.95.

Inspirational chapters, full of personal experiences, slanted to the needs and interests of Latter-day Saint youth.

The Keystone of Mormonism: Little Known Truths about the Book of Mormon. By Paul R. Cheesman. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1973. 176 pp. \$3.95.

Not a profound book but useful in introducing problems of Book of Mormon translation and changes from the original manuscripts through the different editions. Worthy of commendation is the forthright treatment in Chapter 4 of "Eight Different Accounts of the Angel Moroni's Visit."

Discovering the World of the Bible. By LaMar C. Berrett. Provo, Utah: Young House, 1973. 701 pp. Paperback.

Lavishly illustrated itinerary intended primarily for tourists in the Middle East. Countries included are Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey.

Angel Children: Those Who Die Before Accountability. By Mary V. Hill. Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1973. 70 pp. \$2.95.

This comforting book is an outgrowth of the death of the author's infant son. Although the experience was intensely personal, she sought to know what the prophets, ancient and modern, had to say in such circumstances. The result is a tender and compassionate personal statement.

Planning LDS Weddings and Receptions. By Lois F. Worlton and Opal D. Jasinski. Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1973. 75 pp. \$2.00.

A practical book intended to answer questions regarding the bishop's interview, wedding pictures, apparel, music, temple weddings, home weddings, receptions, etc.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

JAMES B. ALLEN is a Professor of History at BYU and Assistant Church Historian. He co-edited the Spring 1972 issue of *Dialogue* on the Mormon experience in the twentieth century, and the recently published *Mormonism and American Culture* (Harper and Row, 1972).

MILTON V. BACKMAN, JR., Professor of Church History at BYU, is the author of *American Religion and the Rise of Mormonism* (rev. ed., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1970) and other works on American church history.

MARY L. BRADFORD lives and loves in Alexandria, Virginia.

LARRY BUSH, formerly a reporter for the *Deseret News*, is currently an editor for the Department of Agriculture.

LESTER E. BUSH, JR. currently lives in Saigon, Viet Nam, where he works as a medical officer with the American Embassy, and serves in the Saigon Branch Presidency.

RUTA FRANCESKA DREIJMANIS, a Latvian Lutheran, was educated at the Massachusetts College of Art and the School of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Currently she is Director of Graphic Design with the Milo Baughman Design in Salt Lake City. Her work has appeared in such prominent magazines and newspapers as *The New Yorker*, *House Beautiful*, *House and Garden*, etc. She sells paintings privately as well as limited edition paintings through Greg Copeland in New York.

EUGENE ENGLAND, one of the founding editors of *Dialogue*, is Dean of Academic Affairs at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, and President of the Fairbault Branch of the L.D.S. Church.

EDWARD GEARY has been associated with *Dialogue* from its inception, serving as copy editor, manuscript editor, Book Review Editor, and presently as Associate Editor. His essay "Goodbye to Poplarhaven" will appear in a forthcoming issue of *Dialogue*.

LOUISE B. HANSEN, a native of Utah, is both an artist and a musician. She received her MFA from BYU and has had one woman shows throughout Utah, and in Germany, Washington D.C., and Terre Haute, Indiana, where she currently lives with her physicist husband and two children. She plays bass with the Terre Haute Symphony.

JOHN STERLING HARRIS teaches American literature at BYU where he is also in charge of the technical writing program. His poems have appeared in previous issues of *Dialogue*.

DAVID L. KING, former U.S. Congressman and Ambassador, currently has a private law practice in Washington, D.C.

HUGH W. NIBLEY needs little introduction to *Dialogue* readers. While most tend to recognize him for his academic achievements (this year he was named to head BYU's Institute of Ancient Studies and was also selected as "Professor of the Year"), one of his most significant contributions in recent years has been in reminding us of the necessary interrelationship between our spiritual well-being and our care and respect for the environment.

JOHN TAYE is a Los Angeles artist who teaches painting at the Hollywood Art Center School and is a scenic artist for CBS Television. An exhibition of his work was recently shown at the Wylan Gallery in Beverly Hills.

SAMUEL W. TAYLOR is well known as an interpreter of the Mormon past and lively commentator on the Mormon present. His book *Nightfall at Nauvoo* has just been issued in paperback by Avon. Currently he is writing a biography of his grandfather, John Taylor, third president of the Church.

GORDON C. THOMASSON, Associate Editor of *Dialogue*, recently completed an M.A. degree in Religious Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is currently beginning Ph.D. work at Cornell University using an interdisciplinary approach to the study of non-Western Religious Education. He is co-author of an article, "Religious Education," which will appear in the 1974 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.



DIALOGUE TAKES PLEASURE
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SECOND PRIZE: MARTIN B. HICKMAN and RAY C. HILLAM, for their essay, "J. Reuben Clark, Jr.: Political Isolationism Revisited."

Honorable HAROLD T. CHRISTENSEN, for his essay, "Stress Points in
Mention: Mormon Family Culture."

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Honorable JAMES S. OLSON, for his essay "Graduate School:
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Honorable SHERWIN HOWARD, for his collection of poems, "The Jimson
Mention: Hill Branch," and IRIS PARKER CORRY, for her poems
"Old Orchard," "Nellie Unthank," and "Year of the Famine."

*As in past years, the previous year's winners and members of *DIALOGUE's* Editorial Staff were not eligible for this year's prizes.

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