

14. "Utah, Salt Lake County Death Records, 1849–1949," entry 1633; "Death of a Colored Pioneer," *Deseret Evening News*, November 20, 1891.
15. The report that it "was an ideal Christmas" comes from "Christmas Carols," *Salt Lake Herald*, December 26, 1891. For other stories of Christmas, see, for example, A. H. Gibson, "Christmas on Rocky Ridge," *Deseret Evening News*, December 24, 1891; "Peace on Earth," *Deseret Evening News*, December 24, 1891. On the changing meaning of Christmas in the United States, see especially Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying & Selling of American Holidays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 148–91.
16. Jesse is listed as a porter in a hotel in the 1880 census. See Enos Anderson, "United States Federal Census, Salt Lake City 14th Ward, Salt Lake County, Utah, Enumeration District 45" (US National Archives and Records Administration, 1880), microfilm 1,255,337, Family History Library, Salt Lake City. The quotation about the hotels' "spreads" is from "Christmas Carols." Details on the Relief Society Christmas baskets are in "Eighth Ward Relief Society Minutes and Records (1867–1969)," 4: 14, 24–25, 28, 29, 30.
17. *Utah Gazetteer, 1892–93* (Salt Lake City: Stenhouse and Co., 1892), 489; E[izabeth] J[efford] D[rake] Roundy, "Communicated," *Deseret Evening News*, April 17, 1911.
18. Roger D. Launius, *Invisible Saints: A History of Black Americans in the Reorganized Church* (Independence, MO: Herald Pub. House, 1988), 127; Eighth Ward, Liberty Stake, "Eighth Ward General Minutes."
19. Smith, "1889 Patriarchal Blessing." Hereafter, citations of this source will refer to the version reprinted in the Appendix.
20. H. Smith, Patriarchal Blessing (1844), Appendix, 140; J. Smith, Patriarchal Blessing (1889), Appendix, 141.
21. The letters quoted in this paragraph are: Jane E. James to Apostle Joseph F. Smith, Salt Lake City, 7 February 1890; Jane E. James to President John Taylor, Salt Lake City, 27 December 1884; and Zina D. H. Young to Apostle Joseph F. Smith, Salt Lake City, 15 January 1894, all reprinted in Wolfinger, "A Test of Faith," 149, 148, and 150, respectively. Jane's lament is found in James, "Autobiography," Appendix, 147.
22. Irving, "The Law of Adoption," 293–94; Jonathan A. Stapley, "Adoptive Sealing Ritual in Mormonism," *Journal of Mormon History* 37, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 59–60.
23. Irving, "The Law of Adoption," 310.
24. Jane's statement that Joseph Smith "used to be just like I was his child" is from James in Gates, ed. "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," Appendix, 150; see also James, "Autobiography," Appendix, 145–46. For Jane's request to have her brother and her husband sealed to Joseph Smith as children, see Zina D. H. Young to Apostle Joseph F. Smith, Salt Lake City, 15 January 1894, reprinted in Wolfinger, "A Test of Faith," 150. For Jane's request to be sealed to Lewis, see Jane E. James to Apostle Joseph F. Smith, Salt Lake City, 7 February 1890, reprinted in Wolfinger, 149. For more information on Lewis, see Connell O'Donovan, "The Mormon Priesthood Ban and Elder Q. Walker Lewis: 'An Example for His More Whiter Brethren to Follow,'" *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 26 (2006): 48–100; Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color*, 106–11.
25. *D&C*, 132: 16–17.
26. The official record of this ceremony is Adoption Record, Book A, 26, LDS Church History Library. This source is restricted and therefore not available to most researchers. I have examined photographs of this document. At least three other sources provide transcriptions of this record: David J. Buerger, "Confidential Research Files, 1950–1974" (Salt Lake City), folder 5, 4, David J. Buerger Papers, Special Collections and Archives, Marriott Library, University of Utah; Anderson, *Development of LDS Temple Worship*, 97–98; and Connell, "Chronology Pertaining to Blacks and the LDS Church | Jane M. James Sealed as Eternal Servant to Joseph Smith | Event View," <http://www.xtimeline.com/evt/view.aspx?id=66094>. Unfortunately, each of these transcriptions differs from the original and from the others. While most variations are cosmetic, encompassing details like punctuation and spelling, one is crucial: none of the available transcriptions names Zina D. H. Young as the proxy for Jane James. The original document clearly designates Young as Jane's proxy. "Chronology Pertaining to Blacks" names Bathsheba W. Smith as Jane's proxy. Anderson

- claims that "in 1895, Church lead restored in 1902"; and that the 190 as proxy" for Jane. Anderson, *Deve* source to support these claims and communication with the author, M about a month and a half after Pres a revelation on adoption, clarifying to be adopted to people other than general conference that year, "W genealogies as far as they can, an dren sealed to their parents, and r compliance with Woodruff's revela instead she was attached to Josep Adoption," 312. Jonathan Stapley: dinary sealing occurred mere week sealing ceremony in the context of God" and Brigham Young's abiding be integrated into the material fam
 27. According to the minutes of a 1 "President Woodruff, Cannon, an the family of Joseph Smith as a s Council of the Twelve Apostles, 2 Council Meetings of the Quorum in the Church, 1849–1940," Georg Wolfinger, "A Test of Faith," 151. T term "adoption" was the one latter to nonbiological parents, but, Stap [in Utah] . . . Church leaders and la as adoptions, regardless of biology These terminological slippages su this ritual as a sealing. For the 15 of the Twelve Apostles, 2 January See also George Q. Cannon, *The Jo* City: Church Historian's Press, 20 request for endowments, rather th me to this source and Matthew J. C
 28. On the Retrenchment Society, see *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New Y Lydia D. Alder, "Ladies' Semi-Mon of this patriarchal blessing is reprinted
 29. Jesse's death record is in "Utah, Sa Jesse's employment was listed in A remarks are reported in "Eighth V 5: 151, meeting minutes for Novembe Smith from her dream is in James i
 30. Jane's remarks are recorded in *Ly Exponent*, December 1, 1893. Jes Stake, "Eighth Ward General Minu
 31. "Utah, Salt Lake County Death Re
1. "Salt Lake Temple Records, Bapti Library, Salt Lake City.
 2. "Eighth Ward Relief Society Minut

"entry 1633; "Death of a Colored
from "Christmas Carols," *Salt Lake*
mas, see, for example, A. H. Gibson,
December 24, 1891; "Peace on Earth,"
changing meaning of Christmas in the
Summer Rites: The Buying & Selling of
Press, 1995), 148–91.

See Enos Anderson, "United States
County, Utah, Enumeration District
(1880), microfilm 1,255,337, Family
hotels' "spreads" is from "Christmas
are in "Eighth Ward Relief Society
29, 30.

and Co., 1892), 489; E[lizabeth]
Evening News, April 17, 1911.

Americans in the Reorganized Church
Eighth Ward, Liberty Stake, "Eighth

of this source will refer to the ver-

Smith, Patriarchal Blessing (1889),

to Apostle Joseph F. Smith, Salt Lake
Taylor, Salt Lake City, 27 December
Salt Lake City, 15 January 1894, all
150, respectively. Jane's lament is

Stapley, "Adoptive Sealing Ritual in
mer 2011): 59–60.

te I was his child" is from James in
; see also James, "Autobiography,"
rother and her husband sealed to
tle Joseph F. Smith, Salt Lake City,
ith," 150. For Jane's request to be
Smith, Salt Lake City, 7 February
on Lewis, see Connell O'Donovan,
s: 'An Example for His More Whiter
Journal 26 (2006): 48–100; Reeve,

l, Book A, 26, LDS Church History
t available to most researchers.
least three other sources provide
ential Research Files, 1950–1974"
Special Collections and Archives,
ment of LDS Temple Worship, 97–98;
DS Church | Jane M. James Sealed
<http://www.xtimeline.com/evt/view>
ions differs from the original and
ompassing details like punctuation
criptions names Zina D. H. Young as
designates Young as Jane's proxy.
Smith as Jane's proxy. Anderson

- claims that "in 1895, Church leaders revoked Manning's sealing"; that the sealing "was restored in 1902"; and that the 1902 ceremony was performed "with Bathsheba Smith acting as proxy" for Jane. Anderson, *Development of LDS Temple Worship*, 97n51. Anderson cites no source to support these claims and has since withdrawn them. Devery Anderson, personal communication with the author, March 6, 2017. Oddly, this ceremony was performed just about a month and a half after President Wilford Woodruff announced that he had received a revelation on adoption, clarifying the ritual. After Woodruff's revelation, Saints were not to be adopted to people other than their parents. Instead, Woodruff proclaimed at the April general conference that year, "We want the Latter-day Saints from this time to trace their genealogies as far as they can, and to be sealed to their fathers and mothers. Have children sealed to their parents, and run their chain through as far as you can get it." To be in compliance with Woodruff's revelation, Jane should have been sealed to her parents—but instead she was attached to Joseph Smith as a servant. Quotation in Irving, "The Law of Adoption," 312. Jonathan Stapley argues that "it is no coincidence that Manning's extraordinary sealing occurred mere weeks after Woodruff's" announcement. Stapley places Jane's sealing ceremony in the context of an understanding of sealing as creating the "family of God" and Brigham Young's abiding belief that "black Mormon women and men were not to be integrated into the material family of God." Stapley, *The Power of Godliness*, 21–22.
27. According to the minutes of a 1902 meeting of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, "President Woodruff, Cannon, and Smith . . . decided that she might be adopted into the family of Joseph Smith as a servant, which was done." Minutes of a meeting of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, 2 January 1902, as given in "Excerpts from the Weekly Council Meetings of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, Dealing with the Rights of Negroes in the Church, 1849–1940," George Albert Smith Papers, University of Utah, reprinted in Wolfinger, "A Test of Faith," 151. This, then, was still adoption, but of a different sort. The term "adoption" was the one Latter-day Saints used in official records of sealings of children to nonbiological parents, but, Stapley wrote, "In common parlance and in official discourse [in Utah] . . . Church leaders and lay members tended to refer to all child-to-parent sealings as adoptions, regardless of biology." Stapley, "Adoptive Sealing Ritual in Mormonism," 64. These terminological slippages suggested, again, that the church leadership thought of this ritual as a sealing. For the 1902 meeting, see "Minutes of a Meeting of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, 2 January 1902," reprinted in Wolfinger, "A Test of Faith," 151. See also George Q. Cannon, *The Journals of George Q. Cannon, 1849–1901*, ebook (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2018), entry for August 22, 1895, which deals with Jane's request for endowments, rather than sealings. I am grateful to Ardis E. Parshall for alerting me to this source and Matthew J. Grow for his help with it.
 28. On the Retrenchment Society, see Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Retrenchment Association," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1223–25. For Jane's request, see Lydia D. Alder, "Ladies' Semi-Monthly Meeting," *Woman's Exponent*, June 1, 1894. The text of this patriarchal blessing is reprinted in full in the Appendix, 140.
 29. Jesse's death record is in "Utah, Salt Lake County Death Records, 1849–1949," entry 3911. Jesse's employment was listed in Anderson, "USFC, Salt Lake City 14th Ward, 1880." Jane's remarks are reported in "Eighth Ward Relief Society Minutes and Records (1867–1969)," 5: 151, meeting minutes for November 2, 1893. The story about Jane recognizing Joseph Smith from her dream is in James in Gates, ed., "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," Appendix, 150.
 30. Jane's remarks are recorded in Lydia D. Alder, "Ladies' Semi-Monthly Meeting," *Woman's Exponent*, December 1, 1893. Jesse's rebaptism is documented in Eighth Ward, Liberty Stake, "Eighth Ward General Minutes."
 31. "Utah, Salt Lake County Death Records, 1849–1949," entry 3911.

Chapter 8

1. "Salt Lake Temple Records, Baptisms for the Dead, Book D, 1894–1895," Family History Library, Salt Lake City.
2. "Eighth Ward Relief Society Minutes and Records (1867–1969)," 5: 138.

Your Sister in the Gospel

*The Life of Jane Manning James,
a Nineteenth-Century Black Mormon*

QUINCY D. NEWELL

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford. It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press in the UK and certain other countries.

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America.

© Oxford University Press 2019

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted by law, by license, or under terms agreed with the appropriate reproduction rights organization. Inquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the address above.

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer.

CIP data is on file at the Library of Congress
ISBN 978-0-19-933866-5

1 3 5 7 9 8 6 4 2

Printed by Sheridan Books, Inc., United States of America

For
and in lov
Jane A
May 15, 192