

not happen as told: the first offer of freedom would have taken place in Mississippi, a state that only allowed manumission, the emancipation or freeing of a slave, through an act of the state legislature, and the second offer of freedom would have occurred after the court action *In re Hannah* (1856) when Elizabeth already knew she was free and had arranged to lead her own life.

Manumission was rare and legally difficult by the mid-nineteenth century. Slave codes severely restricted manumission of all enslaved persons, and, in specific cases, manumission was limited due to encumbrances such as mortgages or other liens, or due to the terms, such as in a gift by will, by which an enslaver obtained ownership. Thus, despite the unsettled nature of slave law in the West, enslaved persons taken into Utah Territory continued to be held in bondage, as did most of those taken to California until they discovered they were free by early 1856. Except for the enslaved people being taken to Utah Territory by Dr. William Taylor Dennis, who liberated themselves with the help of the townspeople of Tabor, Iowa, this project includes only three instances of those in bondage leaving chattel slavery before the US Congress ended slavery in the American territories in 1862 and elsewhere in the country in 1865. US Brigadier General Albert Sidney Johnston converted Randolph Hughes from a chattel slave to a paid indentured servant while temporarily in Kentucky after being stationed in Utah Territory. The legitimate Redd heirs informally freed three of their deceased parents' enslaved workers in 1858 and granted them an inheritance. In 1856, a small group of illegally enslaved people in California sought and gained their freedom at the hands of Judge Benjamin Hayes.

### Scope of the Project

This book identifies and tells the stories of the enslaved and indentured African American pioneers of Utah Territory. Despite the historical connection between Indigenous and African American slavery in Utah Territory, the book mentions Indigenous slavery only in passing. Although this book contains material applicable to a legal history or a history of race and Mormonism, its most important goal is to be a treasury of the experiences of Utah's enslaved Black residents, so the introductory history moves quickly and does not delve into topics adequately covered

in other published or forthcoming work. The book also explores the intersection of the differences between legal and historical perspectives on what happened when Southern enslavers brought enslaved people into the largely White West.

The first important writings about slavery in Utah Territory were by Delilah L. Beasley. Taylor interviewed Beasley and created one of the first histories of Utah Territory. Beasley interviewed many people extensively about California's early history and its connections to Utah. For decades, however, the history of slavery in Utah Territory happened within heavily fictionalized narratives. Beller gave the topic its first academic treatment in *Quarterly*. Although he collected many stories, his work made passed largely unchallenged until the twentieth century. Kate B. Carter of the University of Utah wrote a booklet called *The Negro Pioneer* in 1908, which combined accurate and inaccurate memories.

Scholarly treatments of slavery in Utah Territory began in the 1960s with the work of James B. Hargrave, Lythgoe, and later Ronald G. Cole, R. Ricks, and Heather Hardy. W. R. Inge, and later Frances Davis on the Black church and social marriage; Darren Barry on Shoshone and biography and scandal; Margery Latimer on historical fiction; Larry Gerlach on the Black community; Eileen Hallet Stone, Deidre Ann on nineteenth-century experiences; Chester Lee on mining; and William G. Hartl on the Black community.

A closely related field is that of the history of the Black community in Utah, including the work of Lester E. Bush, Armand L. T. Smith, Russell W. Severson, F. P. Perry, Mueller, Matthew L. Harris, Paul Reeve, and others.

Historians of Utah and Mormonism have also been closely related to this project is from the Civil War; Ardis E. Parshall on nineteenth-century



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in other published or forthcoming works. It also serves as a demonstra- tion of the differences between legal history and lived experience, show- ing what happened when Southerners transported a small number of enslaved people into the largely White settlements of the American West.

The first important writings about the experience of African Ameri- can slavery in Utah Territory were from Black journalists Julius F. Taylor and Delilah L. Beasley. Taylor interviewed Alexander and Marinda Redd Bankhead and created one of the few personal narratives of slavery in Utah Territory. Beasley interviewed Ellen Mason Huddleston and wrote extensively about California's early Black history, including its connec- tions to Utah. For decades, however, much of the telling of these sto- ries happened within heavily fictionalized White family narratives. Jack Beller gave the topic its first academic treatment in 1929 in *Utah Historical Quarterly*. Although he collected important information, the errors he made passed largely unchallenged into later literature. In the mid-twen- tieth century, Kate B. Carter of Daughters of Utah Pioneers prepared a booklet called *The Negro Pioneer*. It is a mixture of important documents, accurate and inaccurate memories, and historical fiction.

Scholarly treatments of slavery and race resumed in the 1950s and 1960s with the work of James B. Christensen, Roldo V. Dutson, Dennis Lythgoe, and later Ronald G. Coleman, Helen Z. Papanikolas, Nathaniel R. Ricks, and Heather Hardy. Works related to this book include Rev. France Davis on the Black churches of Utah; Patrick Q. Mason on interracial marriage; Darren Parry on Shoshone memories; Connell O'Donovan on biography and scandal; Margaret Blair Young and Darius A. Gray's historical fiction; Larry Gerlach on the Ku Klux Klan; Leslie G. Kelen, Eileen Hallet Stone, Deidre Ann Tyler, and Jessica Nelson on twentieth- century experiences; Chester Lee Hawkins on sources; Charles L. Keller on mining; and William G. Hartley's historical biographies.

A closely related field is that of race and Mormonism, with the writ- ings of Lester E. Bush, Armand L. Mauss, Newell G. Bringhurst, Darron T. Smith, Russell W. Stevenson, Henry J. Wolfinger, Joanna Brooks, Max Perry Mueller, Matthew L. Harris, Quincy D. Newell, Tonya Reiter, W. Paul Reeve, and others.

Historians of Utah and Mormonism are plentiful, but the work most closely related to this project is from William P. MacKinnon on the Utah War; Ardis E. Parshall on nineteenth-century Utah and Brigham Young;

# SLAVERY IN ZION

A Documentary and  
Genealogical History of Black Lives and Black  
Servitude in Utah Territory, 1847–1862



By Amy Tanner Thiriot

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