

A TEST OF FAITH: JANE ELIZABETH JAMES
AND THE ORIGINS OF THE UTAH BLACK COMMUNITY

Henry J. Wolfinger
National Archives and Records Service
Washington, D.C.

It is well known that three Black slaves--Green Flake, Hark Lay, and Oscar Crosby--accompanied the vanguard of Mormon pioneers who reached the Salt Lake Valley on July 22, 1847. Little attention, however, has been devoted to those early-day Black settlers who, despite their limited numbers, laid the basis for the development of Utah's Black community. The sources available for a study of the origins of this community are extremely scarce, especially when compared with the wealth of material relating to the Latter-day Saints. The recent discovery of several manuscripts relating to Mrs. Jane Elizabeth James, one of these Black pioneers, has led to this article. While publishing these manuscripts in their original form, the article also furnishes an introductory account of her life and offers suggestions for further study of Utah's nineteenth century Black community.¹

Of Jane E. James' formative years, little is known aside from the account given in her "Life Sketch." She was born Jane Elizabeth Manning, the daughter of Isaac and Eliza Manning, in the late 1810s or early 1820s.² Her birthplace was Wilton, Connecticut, a rural township with a population of less than two thousand, nestled on

the Norwalk River about five miles north of the city of Norwalk. The Manning family, which was free, included at least five children. Due perhaps to the death or departure of her father, Jane as a young girl was sent to reside in the household of Joseph Fitch, a prosperous white farmer of Wilton.³ Here she seems to have worked as a servant, receiving instruction in Christian principles but little in the way of education or skills, for on arrival in Nauvoo she described her abilities in terms of such domestic chores as cooking, washing, and ironing. Although she learned to read in later life, she probably never learned to write. An examination of her legal transactions reveals that she often signed her name by a mark and that she dictated her correspondence through friends.⁴

Mormonism's first firm foothold in southwestern Connecticut developed from the missionary labors of Charles Wesley Wandell, who with an associate had brought the faith to Westchester County, New York, in 1841. From here, he and another associate pushed across the border to proselytize in Connecticut where they received "great encouragement, doors being freely opened to them in many places."⁵ In December, 1841, the first converts were baptized in Norwalk, and four months later a branch was organized in the community. By the fall of 1842 the branch contained forty-one members, some of whom had already immigrated to Nauvoo.

Meanwhile, Wandell continued to preach in nearby townships such as New Canaan, Ridgefield, and Danbury.⁶ It was probably during

these tours that Jane Elizabeth Manning met him and heard of the Prophet Joseph Smith, the revelations that he had received, the principles of the Mormon faith, and the city that had been established on the bank of the Mississippi River. She quickly converted to the new religion, and it is likely that she made her relatives acquainted with it, also, for a number of them adopted Mormonism for themselves.

In other religions, conversion might be the final stage of professing faith, but in nineteenth century Mormonism it was but an initial step followed by the convert's departure from "Babylon" to "Zion," where he might join the faithful in the work of establishing the kingdom of God on earth. In a report on his missionary labors, Wandell furnished a reflection on the millennial expectations of the converts in southwestern Connecticut:

The brethren here are very anxious to emigrate to Illinois; so you may expect to see all of us in Zion this Fall, that can possibly get there....

....Although at the May Conference, held in New York City, four of our members were ordained to the office of elder, yet we cannot fill the openings that are made. May the Lord raise up laborers and send them forth, that the wheat may be speedily gathered into the Lord's garner, even Zion, that the chaff may be burned up by the brightening of his coming.⁸

Among those making preparations to immigrate to Nauvoo were the Mannings---a party that included Jane, her son Sylvester, her mother Eliza, two brothers, two sisters, a brother-in-law, and a sister-in-law. In early October, they departed with a larger group

of Saints under Wandell's direction.⁹ The account of their separation from the main party, the perilous journey to Nauvoo, and Jane's introduction into the household of Joseph Smith needs no recapitulation, since Mrs. James described it vividly in her "Life Sketch."

On reaching Nauvoo, the Manning party dispersed and established homes, except for Jane, who remained a member of Joseph Smith's household until shortly before his death. Meanwhile, controversy over the Mormons continued to rise in the region. The destruction of the Expositor, an anti-Smith newspaper that surfaced briefly in Nauvoo in the spring of 1844, was followed by the arrest of Joseph and Hyrum Smith and their subsequent murder in Carthage jail. This incident brought no permanent peace, and in the winter of 1845-46, following periods of near civil war, the Mormons abandoned Nauvoo and retreated to Iowa. They settled at Winter Quarters, Nebraska, where the trek to the Rocky Mountains was organized.

Given the turmoil of the period, which included schisms within the Church and numerous deaths among those who resided temporarily at Winter Quarters, only a remnant of the Nauvoo Mormons followed Brigham Young westward. Although most of the relatives who had accompanied Jane Manning to Nauvoo remained members of the Church until the death of Joseph Smith, none joined the move to the Rockies.¹⁰

Before the abandonment of Nauvoo, Jane had married Isaac James, a free Black who had been born and raised in rural Monmouth County, New Jersey. He had converted to Mormonism while a young

man, apparently in 1839 at age nineteen, and was an early immigrant to Nauvoo. One of their sons, Silas F. James, was born June 10, 1846 following their flight from Nauvoo.¹¹

Following the departure of Brigham Young's vanguard in the spring of 1847, the main body of approximately fifteen hundred emigrants left their Winter Quarters encampment in mid-June. At the Elkhorn River they organized into companies known as "tens," "fifties," and "hundreds." The official departure of the companies, marked by the ringing of the bell from the Nauvoo Temple, came on June 22, 1847. The size of the party posed problems, and it was soon decided that each company should travel singly, forming its own encampments and herding its own stock.

The lead company for most of the journey was the Second Fifty of the First Hundred; the captain was Ira Eldredge and the members included Isaac and Jane E. James, together with their sons Sylvester and Silas. Crossing the plains, the company encountered a number of hardships. Forage often proved inadequate for the livestock, leading to a steady weakening of the teams of oxen. Suitable fords for crossing streams were sometimes difficult to locate. Blinding duststorms were apt to strike with little notice. Huge herds of buffalo furnished a source of fresh meat, but the beasts sometimes passed so close to the party that on one occasion they stampeded the livestock.

This company, the Second Fifty of the First Hundred, camped

along the Green River on September 5, but the journey already had taken its toll on the teams. Several days later, Captain Eldredge detached the First and Fifth Tens from his vanguard and directed them to proceed as quickly as possible to the Salt Lake Valley for reinforcements to assist those companies that had fallen behind. This advance force, which may have included the James family as members of the First Ten, reached the valley on September 19, 1847, while the other companies continued to arrive through the first week of October.¹² Fortunately, however, the snows that were to trap the Utah Expedition in the mountains a decade later were late arriving in 1847.

As Mrs. James intimates, the family's first years in the Salt Lake Valley were marked by periods of poverty, times during which even the necessities of life were unavailable. The experiences of these years attested to the wisdom of pursuing a policy of cooperation and mutual aid, for the more fortunate of one season might be the less fortunate of the next. Although Mrs. James was forced to beg aid of her neighbors on occasion,¹³ at other times she could exhibit charity, as the following account of Eliza Lyman, wife of Apostle Amasa M. Lyman, demonstrates:

April 8th, 1849, we baked the last of our flour today, and have no prospect of getting more till after harvest. April 13th Brother Lyman started on a mission to California with Or[r]in Porter Rockwell and others. May the Lord bless and prosper them and return them in safety. He left us without anything from which to make bread, it not being in his power to get it. Not long after Amasa had gone, Jane James, the colored woman, let me have two pounds of flour, it being half of what she had.¹⁴

Like many other immigrants, the James family had entered initially into farming.¹⁵ In 1856, their property holdings, located in the First Ward in the southeast corner of Great Salt Lake City, included a land claim and improvements, a timepiece, and a few other personal possessions. This small stake probably represented a hand-to-mouth existence, but it seems typical of the families living in this ward.¹⁶

In the meantime, the family grew rapidly. Between 1848 and 1860, at least six children were born to the Jameses; five of them survived to adulthood.¹⁷ Despite steadily increasing family responsibilities, the household slowly prospered. By 1860, the family had accumulated an ox, a cow, three hogs, and a cart in addition to their land claim, dwelling, household furnishings, and other improvements.¹⁸ The following year their eldest son Sylvester, armed with a rifle and ten rounds of ammunition, was listed as a member of the Nauvoo Legion.¹⁹

By 1865, the Jameses had added further to their possessions, now valued at \$1,100. They had raised a small flock of sheep on a temporary basis during the early 1860s. Three horses had taken the place of an ox as the family's work animal, and a new vehicle seems to have replaced their aging cart. These assets did not represent wealth, but they do suggest prosperity for a rural family. Only four other households in the First Ward held more property than the Jameses, while thirty-one held less.²⁰

This prosperity, however, concealed marital difficulties. The

consequences of these difficulties are apparent, though the causes are not. In late 1869 or early 1870, Isaac James left the household and sold most of the family's realty, consisting of a one-and-a-quarter acre lot and improvements, to his wife for \$500.²¹ The sale of the property for a cash consideration indicates that Isaac intended his departure to be permanent and that he and his wife had not separated on friendly terms. He does not seem to have maintained any relations with the family after his departure. Within four years, Mrs. James had remarried but this second marriage lasted less than two years, and following its dissolution she reverted to the use of her former married name.²² In 1887, when the estate of one of their sons was being settled, she listed Isaac's whereabouts as "unknown."²³ He did reappear in Portland, Oregon and later returned to Salt Lake City, probably in 1890, where he resided until his death in November, 1891.²⁴

There can be no doubt that the breakup of the marriage caused Mrs. James embarrassment and concern; it was a part of her past that she failed to mention in her "Life Sketch." As a conscientious Mormon, marriage to her was a religious as well as secular relationship which when solemnized by the Church would extend past death and through eternity. It was with this consideration in mind that she wrote Apostle Joseph F. Smith in early 1890 and requested permission to be "sealed" to another man whom she felt was more worthy to spend eternal life with.²⁵ She and Isaac may have become reconciled,

however, following his return to Salt Lake City and his readmission to the Church. Not only was his funeral held at her home, but in later life she requested the ordinance of adoption for both of them, indicating that she wished them to be members of the same family in the afterlife.²⁶

In 1869-70, however, Mrs. James' most pressing concern was the care of the family, for she had assumed responsibility for the younger children still living in the household.²⁷ She soon moved to the Eighth Ward and exchanged her First Ward property for a portion of a lot lying on the east side of Fifth East Street between Fifth and Sixth South Streets.²⁸ Here she established the residence in which she lived for the remainder of her life, a two-story frame house set back from the street and enclosed by a white picket fence.²⁹ The farm animals and vehicles that had played a vital role in the family's domestic economy during the 1860s never again were listed as part of the household's assets following Isaac James' departure.³⁰

The family economy was now dependent on a continuing cash income, although Mrs. James did raise produce in a small family garden and manufactured some household items such as soap.³¹ The prosperity that had characterized her household in the 1860s seems absent during the remainder of the century. Her limited assets placed her among the poorer residents of the Eighth Ward. For a few years a very small portion of her income was derived from the lease of a five-acre plot on the East Bench, which she had inherited

in 1872 following the death of an unmarried son,³³ but a much more important source of income was her own labor. In addition to managing the household, which at times included several young grandchildren, she engaged in domestic work.³⁴ Her youngest son, Jessie, lived at home most of his life and no doubt assisted the family through his earnings as a laborer and porter.³⁵ Despite the squeeze of finances, the household bustled with the activity of children and grandchildren and the arrival and departure of older relatives.

Mrs. James remained a steadfast member of the Mormon Church throughout her life. She was particularly active in the Women's Relief Society, a Church auxiliary which in the Eighth Ward engaged in much charitable work. Joining the local branch on November 1, 1870, soon after moving into the ward,³⁶ she not only contributed regularly to its work but also supported its numerous special drives. She donated towards the construction of the St. George, Logan, and Manti Temples. Among other Church causes towards which she contributed were the "Lamanite" (Indian) Mission, an Old Folks' Excursion at Liberty Park, a fair in behalf of the Deseret Hospital, and a People's Party banner during the bitterly contested municipal campaign of 1890.

In recognition of her service and limited income, the local branch of the Relief Society regularly designated her family as recipients of a Christmas basket containing packages of meat, dried fruits, sugar, and other staples.³⁷ The quality of her faith and

her reputation as a pioneer extended beyond the boundaries of her local ward. In late life, both she and her brother, Isaac L. Manning, enjoyed reserved seats near the front and center of the Salt Lake Tabernacle for Sunday services.³⁸

Although culturally a member of the Mormon community and devotedly attached to the Mormon faith, Mrs. James remained racially conscious. That she expressed this racial consciousness indirectly rather than directly may have reflected her position in a virtually all-white community. She unabashedly revered Joseph Smith, and late in life referred to him as "the finest man I ever saw on earth." Her awe seems to have been based not only on his role as prophet of the faith and such personal characteristics as his generosity and democratic manner, which she mentioned prominently in a reminiscence, but also on his stand on slavery. She noted significantly, "Things came to pass what he prophesied about the colored race being freed. Things that he said has come to pass. I did not hear that, but I knew of it."³⁹

Despite earlier statements condoning slavery while the Mormons were residents of Missouri, Joseph Smith ran for President in 1844 on a platform that included a call for the abolition of slavery through a policy of compensated emancipation. The plank concluded with a ringing endorsement of freedom: "Break off the shackles from the poor black man, and hire him to labor like other human beings, for 'an hour of virtuous liberty on earth is worth a whole eternity of

bondage.'" His presidential campaign coincided with the period during which Mrs. James was resident in his household, and to a racially-conscious Black Mormon, his stand on slavery may have been vital.⁴⁰

The racial practices of her Church were a test of Mrs. James' faith, as her letters to the presiding authorities attest. A sense of millennial expectation, combined with anxiety for her future salvation lay behind her repeated requests for Temple ordinances. To a conscientious Black Mormon such as she, one who believed that the contemporary era was the "fullness of times" and that she was one of the saints of the latter days, the hope that revelation on some future occasion would lead to a modification of the Church's racial practices did not meet her spiritual needs.⁴¹ She was also aware of apparent inconsistencies in past practices, though sufficiently circumspect not to mention this directly. One should take particular notice of her 1890 request to be sealed to a Black man whose ordination into the priesthood some forty years before was not a matter of public knowledge.⁴² Such apparent inconsistencies in Mormon racial practices bred hope among those who were alert to them, and may help to explain Mrs. James' continuing correspondence with the Church authorities on these subjects.⁴³

In a church often noted for its authoritarian character and distrust of dissenters, she undoubtedly recognized the futility of adopting a policy of protest in her dealings with Church leaders.

She relied instead on patience and persistence. While submitting her requests with proper respect to the presiding authorities, she continued to maintain her viewpoint. Her reaction to the First Presidency's decision to permit her to be sealed into Joseph Smith's household is particularly significant in this regard. Although adopted into the household as a servant, she continued to press her original entreaty to be adopted into it as a child.⁴⁴ Hers may have been a policy characterized by subtle indirection, but it does not seem to have been one of "accommodationism," which could lead to a loss of personal dignity. Moreover, she seems to have maintained cordial relations with the Church leadership, for President Joseph F. Smith was one of several Church officials who spoke at her funeral.⁴⁵

Yet another test of her faith concerned the deaths in her family. Mrs. James outlived all but two of her children, Sylvester and Ellen. Of her seven children who reached maturity, five died before the age of forty, and three of these died before age thirty. Two daughters, Mary Ann and Miriam, died in childbirth, the first in 1871 at the age of twenty-two, and the second in 1874 at age twenty-four.⁴⁶ A third daughter, Vilate, died in 1897 at age thirty-eight. As a young woman, Vilate had moved to California where she married a Methodist minister and later served for six years as a missionary in Liberia.⁴⁷ One son, Silas, died at age twenty-five in 1872 of "consumption." Another son, Jessie, died in 1894 at age thirty-seven.⁴⁸ Mortality statistics were equally as grim among her

grandchildren. Of fourteen who can be located through local records, six died before reaching the age of four.⁴⁹

Age brought the further trials of increasing infirmity and enroaching poverty. Her eyesight grew dimmer to a point where she was no longer able to read, and late in life her ability to walk was similarly impaired.⁵⁰ With the death of her son Jessie, who resided at home, one source of outside income ended. In 1893, her brother Isaac L. Manning who had joined her in the move to Nauvoo but not to Utah came to Salt Lake City following the death of his wife and daughter. He rejoined the Church and resided at Mrs. James' home.⁵¹ Although turning eighty in 1895, he worked as a laborer, plasterer, and cleaner of carpets.⁵² Mrs. James also continued to work full-time until a few years before her death.⁵³

Between 1903 and 1908, their financial plight grew even more severe, requiring outside aid. Her daughter Ellen, remarried and living in Nevada, contributed small sums of money at various times, and her son Sylvester furnished fruit and vegetables from the garden of his Mill Creek residence.⁵⁴ Small contributions of cash and merchandise also arrived from the Eighth Ward Relief Society at various intervals.⁵⁵ Burdened by the infirmities of age and weakened by a severe fall, she died April 16, 1908.⁵⁶

Jane Elizabeth James left few sources for a study of her life, but those that are extant shed light on several features of her character. One of her most noticeable traits was a sense of gener-

osity that frequently appeared in her relations with her children. In 1872, for instance, she gave her married daughter Miriam a piece of her homesite for the establishment of a permanent residence. Miriam died in 1874, and in later years her husband, who was raising the children, lost the home through nonpayment of taxes. Mrs. James then transferred, at no apparent cost, yet another piece of her homesite to the three grandchildren.⁵⁷ She exhibited similar generosity towards her daughter Ellen, though it may have been misplaced in this instance. In 1886, under entreaties for financial assistance from Ellen, Mrs. James transferred the whole of her Eighth Ward homesite to her daughter who was apparently troubled by serious personal problems. Ellen mortgaged the property as security for a loan and soon moved to Los Angeles. Unable to repay the loan, she transferred the homesite back to her mother, who was saddled with the difficult task of repaying the mortgage to save her home.⁵⁸ These incidents suggest that a strong sense of family ties underlay her generosity toward her children, despite the breakup of her own marriage.

Another visible aspect of her character was the poise and dignity that she maintained despite personal and financial adversity. These characteristics are particularly apparent in her relations with the Church leadership, but in addition, they may be revealed in a minor way through the pride she took in her appearance.⁵⁹ Underlying her dignity was a reservoir of endurance that surfaced in religious terms as her personal philosophy in times of adversity.

In her account of those periods of extreme deprivation that the family suffered in early-day Utah, she stated, "Oh how I suffered of cold and hunger and keenest of all was to hear my little ones crying for bread, and I had none to give them; but in all the Lord was with us and gave us grace and faith to stand it all."⁶⁰

Her life was not one which brought financial reward or historical recognition. Today, sixty-five years following her death, not even a stone marks the family resting place in the Salt Lake City Cemetery. Her achievements were personal. Within a larger society blighted by a cresting wave of racial bigotry, and within a church and community whose racial practices caused her concern, she managed the difficult task of maintaining her racial and religious identification as both a Black and a Mormon without sacrificing a sense of personal dignity. Financial distress and unsuccessful marriages were aspects of her life, but she did not permit them to overcome a strong sense of family unity and a natural generosity. Although these personal achievements have dimmed with the passage of time, they gained recognition from her contemporaries. The Deseret News furnished the following statement in its report of her funeral services:

Mrs. Jane Manning James, the aged colored woman who died last week, was buried yesterday, the funeral services being held at the Eighth Ward meetinghouse, commencing at 2 o'clock. The house was crowded, many in the congregation being of her own race. Flowers in profusion were contributed by friends who had learned to respect the deceased for her undaunted faith and goodness of heart.

The recent discovery of her "Life Sketch" which was read at her funeral may help to recapture a sense of her personal achievements.

This account of the James family may serve to offer a few generalizations that, though based on limited research, can suggest areas in which further study of Utah's Black community would be useful. A sense of cohesion is perhaps the most noticeable feature of Utah's early-day Black population which numbered merely 118, 51 of whom resided in Salt Lake County.⁶¹ Salt Lake County's Black residents consisted, at that time, of nine families living in single households, all headed by males except in the cases of Mrs. James' family, plus two single men involved in logging operations near the mines of Little Cottonwood Canyon, and two women employed as domestics in white families.

Although but a tiny fraction of the total population and scattered in various parts of the county, six of these nine families lived in pairs, side by side with another Black family.⁶² This indication of a sense of racial identification in the establishment of residence is strengthened by a sampling of property transactions. In the middle 1870s, for instance, three other Black families had settled on the same section of the Eighth Ward block where Mrs. James lived. One family was that of her son-in-law, but the others were unrelated.⁶³ A similar tendency can be noted in Union, a rural ward located just south of Salt Lake City. By 1880, at least four Black families had settled in Union, together with several single

men who resided with them as boarders. All of their lands whose location can be plotted with some precision lay within the same forty-acre quarter section.⁶⁴ These cases suggest that a sense of cohesion, probably produced by a recognition of racial differences, led Blacks to transfer property among one another and settle in pairs or groups in early-day Utah.

In evaluating this sense of cohesion, it should be noted that inter-marriage within the Black population seems to have produced alliances among certain families.⁶⁵ The marriage of Mrs. James' eldest son Sylvester to Mary Ann Perkins was complemented by Mrs. James' brief marriage to Frank Perkins, Mary Ann's father. Another link between these families was forged in 1893 when Sylvester's son William Henry gave his uncle Sylvester Perkins a four-acre plot of land in Mill Creek. This land Perkins farmed in conjunction with nearby property owned by his brother-in-law.⁶⁶

The James and Leggroan families formed similar alliances. When Ned Leggroan arrived in Salt Lake City in 1869-70, his initial residence was near the home of Sylvester James.⁶⁷ In 1871, he purchased property in the Eighth Ward and resided next door to Mrs. James. The Leggroan family later moved, first to South Cottonwood and later to Idaho, but some of the children returned to Salt Lake City and two of Ned's sons married two of Sylvester's daughters. These descendants settled in Mill Creek, the same locale in which Sylvester James' residence was then located.⁶⁸

The tangled relationships between these families, however complicated, suggest that group settlement among Blacks initially produced family alliances and intermarriage. Group settlement and family alliances later reinforced one another, thus developing further a sense of cohesion in the Black population.

Blacks formed but a minute fraction of Utah's population throughout the late nineteenth century, numbering but 672 in 1900. The educational backgrounds of many if not most of the earliest settlers verged on illiteracy, and employment in professional or white collar jobs was absent as late as 1870. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first Black institutions seem to have been established only in the period following 1890. An association of Black Republicans was meeting in Salt Lake City in 1892, and a Black weekly newspaper was published between 1896 and 1899. At least two Black Protestant congregations made their appearance in this decade.⁶⁹ Nonetheless, a sense of racial cohesion seems identifiable in the Black population as early as 1870, just five years following the abolition of slavery and little more than twenty years after the arrival of the first Black settlers in the Salt Lake Valley. Though scholars may disagree in their definitions of community, group cohesion combined with a sense of distinctiveness is an essential component. The historian who pursues the study of the origins of Utah's Black community probably will find that his search leads him into the pioneer era of the Territory's past.

A related subject that requires investigation is the amount of social mobility experienced by these early Black settlers and their descendants. It does not appear that any of Mrs. James' sons rose above the station of their father, yet two of the three did obtain realty.⁷⁰ Such access to property seems typical of a number of early settlers. The three neighboring Black families to the James household in the 1870s owned the land on which their homes stood. Similarly, of four rural families residing in Union in 1880, three owned twenty-five or more acres of land.⁷¹

Though these holdings were of modest size and value, the situation in Utah seems to contrast favorably with that prevailing in the South at the same time where the rural freed man was trapped economically by a system of tenancy and sharecropping. However, if such access to property afforded the Utah Black and his descendants social and economic advancement, it remains to be determined.

Mrs. James' own life indicates that the origins of Utah's Black community are intertwined with the development of the Latter-day Saint Church. Until the arrival of the railroad in 1869, the great majority of Utah's Black settlers seem to have immigrated to the area as members of the Church or as slaves within Mormon households where they were exposed to the religion. What portion of their descendants remained members of the Church is unclear, but limited evidence suggests that it was a minority.⁷² Only one of Mrs. James' children is known to have belonged to the Church at

the time of his death.⁷³

Although the rate of attrition of Church membership of Utah Blacks remains to be determined and explained, it can be suggested that the development of a Black community in late nineteenth century Utah may have affected it. Major Protestant denominations such as the Methodists and Baptists had pursued a policy of racial separation to its outer limit during the century, and the result was the establishment of Black congregations, churches, and conventions. These Black institutions often became focal points of the Black community, and by the turn of the twentieth century two of them--the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Calvary Baptist Church--had been established in Salt Lake City.

The Mormon Church, on the other hand, maintained an integrated structure; Blacks as well as whites were members of geographically defined wards. But its denial of the priesthood to Black members precluded the development of leadership and institutions that could serve its Black constituency. As Black institutions and racial consciousness gained expression in Utah, a policy of separatism may have ironically assisted Protestant denominations in their appeal to the local Black community.⁷⁴

These suggestions, however valid for Utah's earliest Black settlers, should not be regarded as equally applicable to later Black immigrants. Between 1870 and 1890, Utah's Black population almost quintupled and grew from 0.1 to 0.3 percent of the total

population. Although part of this increase resulted from the stationing of Black troops--"buffalo soldiers," as they were known-- in the Territory, only substantial immigration can explain such a massive jump in numbers. Most of the immigrants were men, and by 1890 two-thirds of Utah's Black population was male. This sexual imbalance which continued through the early twentieth century may have led to significant changes in family and social structure within the community.

These Blacks, one can safely assume, were overwhelmingly non-Mormon and most of them, aside from those serving in the army, seem to have settled in those counties dominated by major urban centers.⁷⁵ Whether this element found property as accessible as did earlier Black residents, whether their backgrounds, educational levels and occupational skills were similar to those of earlier Black settlers, and whether the two groups associated and inter-married across religious and cultural lines remain intriguing subjects for further study by those interested in the origins of Utah's Black community.

Documents Relating to Jane E. James.⁷⁶

Document 1: Jane E. James to President John Taylor, December 27, 1884.
(John Taylor Papers, CHD).

Salt L City Dec 27,1884

Pres John Taylor

Dear Brother

I cauled at your house last thursday to have conversation with you concerning my future salvation [.] I did not explain my feelings or wishes to you [.] I realize my race & color & cant expect my Endowments⁷⁷ as others who are white [.] My race was handed down through the flood & God promised Abraham that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blest & as this is the fullness of all dispensations is there no blessing for me [.]

I with my Fathers family came from Connecticut 42 years the 14th of last Oct[.] I am the only one of my Fathers family that kept the faith[.]

you know my history & according to the best of my ability I have lived to all the requairments of the Gospel[.] when we reached Nauvoo we were 9 in the family & had traveled 9 hundred miles on foot[.] Bro Joseph Smith took us in & we staid with him until a few day[s] of his death[.]

Sister Emma came to me & asked me how I would like to be adopted to them as a Child[.] I did not comprehend her & she came again[.] I was so green I did not give her a decided answer & Joseph died & [I] remain as I am[.] if I could be adopted to him as a child my Soul would be satisfied[.]⁷⁹ I had been in the Church one year when we left the East that was 42 years the 14th of last Oct[.]

Br Taylor I hope you will pardon me for intruding on your [time?] so much & hope & prey you will be able to lay my case before Br Cannon & Br Jos F Smith⁸⁰ & God will in mercy grant my reques[t] in being adopted to Br Joseph as a Child[.]

I remain yor Sister in the Gospel of Christ

Jane E James⁸¹

Document 2: Angus M. Cannon President of Salt Lake Stake, to Jane E. James, June 16, 1888 (Angus M. Cannon Letterpress Copybooks, CHD).

Salt Lake City
June 16, 1888

Mrs. Jane James,

I enclose you your recommend properly signed, - which will entitle you to enter the Temple to be babtized and confirmed for your dead kindred.

You must be content with this privelege, awaiting further instructions from the Lord to his servants. I am your servant and brother in the Gospel.

Angus M. Cannon

Document 3: Jane E. James to Apostle Joseph F. Smith, February 7, 1890 (Joseph F. Smith Papers, CHD).

Salt Lake City
February 7, 1890

Dear Brother --

Please excuse me taking the Liberty of Writing to you - but be a Brother - I am anxious for My Welfare for the future - and has i hope to be one Bye and Bye, bearing the same name as yourself - I was requested to write to you - Hoping you will please show kindness to me - by answering my questions - Thereby satisfying my mind --

First Has Brother James has Left me 21 years - and a Coloured Brother, Brother Lewis wished me to Be Sealed to Him, He has been dead 35 or 36 years - Can i be sealed to him - parley P. Pratt ordained Him an Elder. When or [how?] can i ever be sealed to Him. --⁸²

Second, - Can i obtain Endowments for my Dead[.] Also, I had the privilege of being babtised for My Dead, in October Last. --
Third, Can i also be adopted in Brother Joseph Smiths the prophet['s] family, I think you are somewhat Acquainted with me - I Lived in the prophets family With Emma and others, about a year - and Emma Said Joseph told her to tell me - I could be adopted In their family, she ask me if i should Like to. I Did not understand the Law of adoption then - but Understanding it now. Can that be Accomplished and When --

I have heard you attend to the prophets Business in those matters - And so have Written to you for information

Hoping soon to hear from you in these matters --

I remain

Your Sister In the Gospel

Jane E James, Elizabeth

I am Couloured

Jane E James
529 - 2 East
S L C

Document 4: Zina D. H. Young to Apostle Joseph F. Smith, January 15, 1894 (Zina D. H. Young Papers, CHD).

S L. City Jan 15th
1894

Jane E James, says, Sister Emma Smith asked her if she would like to be adopted into Joseph Smiths family as a child, & not understanding her meaning said no

Jane was Born

Wilton Fairfield, Co. Conn

Jane also asked me to ask
if Isaac James & her Brother
could also be adopted

Zina D. H. Young

Document 5: Entry of October 16, 1894, Journals of Wilford Woodruff, President, Latter-day Saint Church (CHD).

We had Meeting with several individuals among the rest Black Jane wanted to know if I would not let her have her Endowments in the Temple[,] this I could not do as it was against the Law of God As Cain killed Abel All the seed of Cain would have to wait for redemption untill all the seed that Abel would have had that may come through other men can be redeemed.⁸⁴

Document 6: Minutes of a Meeting of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, August 22, 1895 (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, UU).

President Woodruff informed the Council that Sister Jane James, a negress of long standing in the Church, had asked him for permission to receive her endowments, and that he and his counselors had told her that they could see no way by which they could accede to her wishes;

....

Document 7: Minutes of a Meeting of the Council of the Twelve
Apostles, January 2, 1902 (as given in ibid.)

The wife of Isaac James (known as Aunt Jane) asked to receive her own endowments and to be sealed; but President Woodruff, Cannon, and Smith decided that this could not be done, but decided that she might be adopted into the family of Joseph Smith as a servant, which was done, a special ceremony having been prepared for the purpose. But Aunt Jane was not satisfied with this, and as a mark of her dissatisfaction she applied again after this for sealing blessings, but of course in vain.

Document 8: Jane E. James to President Joseph F. Smith, August 31, 1903 (Joseph F. Smith Papers, CHD).

Mrs. Jane Elizabeth James
529 S. 2nd East St
Salt Lake City
Aug 31st 1903

President Joseph F Smith

Dear Brother

I take this opportunity of writing to ask you if I can get my endowments and also finish the work I have begun for My dead. and Dear Brother I would like to see and talk with you about it, will you please write to me and tell me how soon, when and where I shall come and I will be there by doing so you will be conferring a great favour[.]

Your sister in the Gospel
Jane E James⁸⁵

I have enclosed a stamped Envelope for reply[.]

Document 9: Life Sketch of Jane Elizabeth Manning James (Wilford
Woodruff Papers, CHD).

Biography of Jane E. Manning James written from her own verbal statement and by her request, she also wishes it read at her funeral by EJD Roundy

written in the year 1893⁸⁶

When a child only six years old I left my home and went to live with a family of white people their names were Mr. and Mrs. Joseph

Fitch, they were aged people and quite wealthy, I was raised by their daughter, when about fourteen years old I joined the Presbyterian Church, yet I did not feel satisfied it seemed to me there was something more that I was looking for. I had belonged to the Church about eighteen months when an Elder of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was travelling through our country preached there. The pastor of the Presbyterian Church forbid me going to hear them as he had heard I had expressed a desire to hear them, but nevertheless I went on a Sunday and was fully convinced that it was the true Gospel he presented and I must embrace it[.]

The following Sunday I was baptized and confirmed a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. About three weeks after while kneeling at prayer the Gift of Tongues came upon me, and frightened the whole family who were in the next room. One year after I was baptized, I started for Nauvoo with my Mother⁸⁷ Eliza Manning my brothers Isaac, Lewis⁸⁸ and Peter, my Sisters Sarah Stebbings, and Angeline Manning, my brother in Law Anthony Stebbings, Lucinda Manning a sister-in-law and myself fall of 1840.⁸⁹ We started from Wilton Conn, and travelled by Canal to Buffalo N.Y. We were to go to Columbus Ohio before our fares were to be collected, but they insisted on having the money at Buffalo and would not take us farther.⁹⁰ So we left the boat, and started on foot to travel a distance of over eight hundred miles.

We walked until our shoes were worn out, and our feet became sore and cracked open and bled until you could see the whole print of our feet with blood on the ground. We stopped and united in prayer to the Lord, we asked God the Eternal Father to heal our feet and our prayers were answered and our feet were healed forthwith.

When we arrived at Peoria Illinois the authorities threatened to put us in jail to get our free papers we didnt know at first what he meant for we had never been slaves, but he concluded to let us go, so we travelled on until we came to a river and as there was no bridge we walked right into the stream, when we got to the middle the water was up to our necks but we got safely across, and then it became so dark we could hardly see our hands before us, but we could see a light in the distance, so we went toward it and found it was an old Log Cabin here we spent the night; next day we walked for a considerable distance, and staid that night in a forest, out in the open air. The frost fell on us so heavy that it was like a light fall of snow. we rose early and started on our way walking through that frost with our bare feet, until the sun rose and melted it away. But we went on our way rejoicing singing hymns and thanking God for his infinite goodness and mercy to us, in blessing us as he had, protecting us from all harm, answering our prayers and healing our feet. In course of time we arrived at La harpe Ill, about thirty miles from Nauvoo[.] At La harpe we came to a place where there was a very sick child, we administered to it, and the child was healed[.] I found after⁹¹ the elders had before this given it up as they did not think it could live.

We have now arrived to our destined haven of rest, the beautiful Nauvoo! here we went through all kinds of hardship, trial and rebuff, but we at last got to brother Orson Spencer's, he directed us to the Prophet Joseph Smith's mansion, when we found it, Sister Emma was standing in the door, and she kindly said come in, come in!

Brother Joseph said to some white Sisters that was present, Sisters I want you to occupy this room this evening with some brothers and sisters that have just arrived, Brother Joseph placed the chairs around the room then he went and brought Sister Emma and Dr Bernhisel⁹² and introduced them to us, brother Joseph took a chair and sat down by me, and said, you have been the head of this little band havent you? I answered yes sir! he then said God bless you! Now I would like you to relate your experience in your travels, I related to them all that I have above stated, and a great deal more minutely, as many incidents has passed from my memory since then. Brother Joseph slapped Dr. Berhisel on the knee and said, What do you think of that Dr, isn't that faith, the Dr said, Well I rather think it is, if it had have been me I fear I should have backed out and returned to my home! he then said God bless you, you are among friends, now and you will be protected. They sat and talked to us a while, gave us words of encouragement and good counsel. We all stayed there one week, by that time all but myself had secured homes, Brother Joseph came in every morning to say good morning and how we were. During our trip I had lost all my clothes, they were all gone, my trunks were sent by Canal to the car of Charles Wesley Wandel, one large trunk full of clothes of all descriptions mostly new. On the morning that my folks all left to go to work, I looked at myself, clothed in the only two pieces I possessed, I sat down and wept, Brother Joseph came into the room as usual and said good morning, Why not crying, yes sir the folks have all gone and got themselves homes, and I have got none. He said yes you have, you have a home right here if you want it, you musn't cry, we dry up all tears here. I said I have lost my trunk and all my clothes, he asked how I had lost them? I told them I put them in care of Charles Wesley Wandle and paid him for them and he has lost them. Brother Joseph said don't cry you shall have your trunk and clothes again.⁹³

Brother Joseph went out and brought Sister Emma in and said Sister Emma here is a girl that says she has no home, havent you a home for her? Why yes if she wants one, he said she does and then he left us.

Sister Emma said what can you do? I said I can Wash, Iron, Cook, and do housework! Well she said when you are rested you may do the washing, if you would just as soon do that, I said I am not tired, well she said you may commence your work in the morning. The next morning she brought the clothes down in the basement to wash[.] Among the clothes I found brother Josephs Robes. I looked

at them and wondered, I had never seen any before, and I pondered over them and thought about them so earnestly that the spirit made manifest to me that they pertained to the new name that is given the saints that the world knows not of. I didn't know when I washed them or when I put them out to dry.

Brother Joseph's four wives Emily Partridge, Eliza Partridge, Maria and Sarah Lawrence and myself, were sitting discussing Mormonism and Sarah said what would you think if a man had more wives than one? I said that is all right! Maria said well we are all four Brother Joseph's wives! I jumped up and clapped my hands and said that's good, Sarah said she is all right, just listen she believes it all now.

I had to pass through Mother Smith's room to get to mine, she would often stop me and talk to me, she told me all Brother Joseph's troubles, and what he had suffered in publishing the Book of Mormon. One morning I met Brother Joseph coming out of his mother's room he said good morning and shook hands with me. I went in to his mother's room she said good morning bring me that bundle from my bureau and sit down here[.] I did as she told me, she placed the bundle from my hands and said, handle this and then put [it] in the top drawer of my bureau and lock it up, after I had done it she said sit down. Do you remember that I told you about the Urim and Thumim when I told you about the book of Mormon? I answered yes man, she then told me I had just handled it, you are not permitted to see it, but you have been permitted to handle it. You will live long after I am dead and gone and you can tell the Latter-day Saints, that you was permitted to handle the Urim and Thumim.⁹⁴

Sister Emma asked me one day if I would like to be adopted to them as their child? I did not answer her, she said I will wait awhile and let you consider it; she waited two weeks before she asked me again, when she did I told her no mam! because I did not understand or know what it meant, they were always good and kind to me but I did not know my own mind I did not comprehend.

Soon after they broke up the mansion and I went to my mother, there was not much work because of the persecutions, and I saw Brother Joseph and asked him if I should go to Burlington and take my sister Angeline with me? He said yes go and be good girls, and remember your profession of faith in the Everlasting gospel, and the Lord will bless you. We went and stayed three weeks then returned to Nauvoo. During this time Joseph and Hyrum were killed.

I shall never forget that time of agony and sorrow, I went to live in the family of Brother Brigham Young, I stayed there until he was ready to emigrate to this valley. While I was at Bro, Brigham's I married Isaac James, when Bro, Brigham left Nauvoo I went to live at Bro, Calhoon's.⁹⁵ In the spring of 1846 I left Nauvoo to come to this great and glorious Valley. We travelled as far as winter quarters

there we stayed until spring, At Keg Creek⁹⁶ my son Silas was born. In the spring of 1847 we started again on our way to this valley[.] We arrived here on the 22nd day of September 1847 without any serious mishaps, the Lords blessing was with us and protected us all the way, the only thing that did occur worth relating was when our cattle stampeded, some of them we never did find. May 1848, my daughter Mary Ann was born, all of my children but two were born here in this valley, their names are Silas, Silvester, Mary Ann, Miriam, Ellen Madora, Jessie, Jerry, Boln,⁹⁷ Isaac, Vilate, all of them are with their heavenly father except two Sylvester and Ellen Madora. My children were all raised to men and women and all had families except two. My husband Isaac James worked for Brother Brigham,⁹⁸ and we got along splendid accumulating Horses, cows, oxen, sheep, and chickens in abundance. I spun all the cloth for my family clothing for a year or two, and we were in a prosperous condition, until the grasshoppers and crickets came along carrying destruction wherever they went, laying our crops to the ground, striping the trees of all their leaves and fruit, bringing poverty and desolation throughout this beautiful valley. It was not then as it is now, there were no trains running bringing fruits and vegetables from California or any other place. All our importing and exporting was done by the slow process of ox teams.

Oh how I suffered of cold and hunger and the keenest of all was to hear my little ones crying for bread, and I had none to give them; but in all the Lord was with us and gave us grace and faith to stand it all. I have seen Bro, Brigham, Bro's Taylor Woodruff and Snow, Rule this great work and pass on to their rewards and now Brother Joseph F. Smith[.] I hope the Lord will spare him if tis his holy will for many many years, to guide the Gospel ship to a harbor of safety, and I know they will if the people will only listen and obey the teachings of these good great and holy men. I have lived right here in Salt Lake City for fifty two years, and I have had the privilege of going into the Temple and being baptized for some of my dead[.]

I am now over eighty years old (Her brother Isaac said she was born in 1813.)⁹⁹ and I am nearly blind which is a great trial to me, it is the greatest trial I have ever been called upon to bear, but I hope my eyesight will be spared to me poor as it is that I may be able to go to meeting, and to the temple to do more work for my dead[.]

I am a widow, my husband Isaac James died in November 1891. I have seen my husband and all my children but two, Laid away in the silent tomb. But the Lord protects me, and takes good care of me, in my helpless condition, and I want to say right here, that my faith in the Gospel of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is as strong today, nay, it is if possible stronger than it was the day I was first baptized[.] I pay my tithes and offerings, keep the word of wisdom, I

go to bed early and rise early, I try in my feeble way to set a good example to all; I have had eighteen grand children eight of them are living, also seven great grand children[.] I live in my little home with my brother (Isaac who is good to me)¹⁰⁰ we are the last two of my mothers family (I want him to stay there after me).¹⁰¹

This is just a concise (but true)¹⁰² sketch of my life and experience[.]

Yours in truth

Jane Elizabeth James

Jane Elizabeth James called on me to write this. It was her own statement and she declared it was true. The only error, or you may call it evasion, was her reticence pertaining to one of her children. She stated in her brothers presence that all but two were born in the valley, one Silas was born on their way to the valley but the other was born before she was baptized or soon after.

Patriarch John Smith read or heard her history read, he said that when she came to Nauvoo she had a boy five or six years old at any rate he said that he was a good chunk of a boy, and told me to find out about it; I could not get any thing out of Jane but her brother Isaac came to my house one day and he said that the boy was Sylvester, that he was born in Conn, at her mothers, that he was the child of a white man a preacher, but he could not tell if he was the child of the Presbyterian or a Methodist preacher, that Jane was nearly eighteen or quite that old when the child was born, and her mother kept the child and Jane went back to the Fitch family, and then she heard the Gospel and was baptized, and soon after she got her mother and the whole family to be baptized. Isaac said in a year or two after they all started for Nauvoo as Jane has stated in her sketch[.]

Elizabeth J.D. Roundy

FOOTNOTES

1. Research for this study has benefited from the cooperation of private citizens and public officials who have taken the time to furnish access to local records and also aid in using them. Among others, the following persons were particularly helpful: George Frodsham, deputy recorder for Salt Lake County, who provided guidance in the use of early-day property records; Elaine Me. Hofeling, who located a large number of nineteenth century assessment rolls for Salt Lake City; Herman J. Hogensen, Salt Lake City Recorder, and Mildred V. Higham, his deputy, who granted access to these rolls; and Weldon Nichols, Office Supervisor at the Salt Lake City Cemetery, and Marci Jackman, his assistant, who furnished aid in the use of burial and death records held by their institution. Research for this study was aided by a grant from the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

For conciseness, the following abbreviations have been used both in the text and footnotes in designating research institutions whose records have been used for this study: CHD=Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; GS=Genealogical Society, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; USA=Utah State Archives; USHS=Utah State Historical Society; and UU=Western Americana Section, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

2. The earliest record furnishing information on the nativity of Jane E. James is a patriarchal blessing issued in 1844, which states she was born May 11, 1818, the daughter of Isaac and Eliza Manning. Two of her sisters, one older and one younger than she, received patriarchal blessings at this time also, and their parents' names are listed as Isaac and Eliza Manning. [Entries for "Jane Manning," "Angeline Manning," and "Sarah Stebbins," Early Church Information File, GS. Later records, which offer variants of this information on nativity, include the following: Journal History, HD, June 21, 1847; Eighth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Record of Members, Early - 1905, Lib. No. 7767, pp. 24 and 37, microfilm copy; and "Jane Elizabeth Manning James," Patriarchal Blessing File, CHD.]

3. In her "Life Sketch," published with this article, Mrs. James refers to four brothers and sisters as members of the party that made the trek from Connecticut to Nauvoo. The 1820 federal census for Wilton lists the household of Isaac Manning as containing five members, a man and a woman between the ages of 26 and 44 and three youngsters--one boy and two girls--under 13. The 1830 census for Wilton lists Phillis Manning as the head of a free black household containing five members, a woman between the ages of 36 and 55, a

young woman between 10 and 24, and three youngsters--two boys and a girl--under 10. Given the relative scarcity of blacks in southwestern Connecticut, as well as Mrs. James' reference to her mother as "Phillis" in her "Life Sketch," it is likely that the household listed in the 1820 census under Isaac Manning is basically the same household listed in the 1830 census under Phillis Manning. A thorough search of the 1840 census for Fairfield County has located no black household under the name of Manning that corresponds to the Manning households found in the 1820 and 1830 censuses. The 1820, 1830, and 1840 censuses list a household headed by Joseph P. Fitch, residing in Wilton, but the household does not contain a young black girl who might be identified as Jane Elizabeth Manning. [1820 Federal Census, Connecticut, Fairfield County, pp. 294 and 297; 1830 Federal Census, Connecticut, Fairfield County, pp. 214 and 233; and 1840 Federal Census, Connecticut, Fairfield County, p. 338, microfilm copies, GS.]

4. Estate of Silas F. James, decd., No. 1204, Third District Court for Salt Lake County, Probate Division, USA; "Notice," attached to Third Amended Complaint, sworn Apr. 6, 1909, in the case of Sylvester James v. Ellen M. McLean, No. 10219, Third District Court for Salt Lake County, Civil Division, USA; and "A Reminiscence of Joseph Smith," Dialogue, 5 (Summer 1970): p. 128.

5. Times and Seasons, 2, pp. 544-45, and 3, pp. 763-65.

6. Clarence Merrill, "History of Albert Merrill with Some Information and Dates of His Ancestors...", pp.5-7, xerox of the handwritten original, CHD; and Times and Seasons, 3, pp. 844-45, and 4, pp. 174-75 and 302.

7. "Life Sketch." The Record of Members for the Eighth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, as well as Mrs. James' letter to John Taylor of December 27, 1844, states that she was baptized and confirmed into the Church on October 14, 1843. This date is clearly in error, for the records on Church members arriving in Nauvoo (cited below in footnote 10) state that she and several relatives had received recommends testifying to their standing within the Church on September 10, 1843. They could not have secured such recommends without having been baptized into the Church. Since Mrs. James reported that she was a member of the Church for about a year before her departure for Nauvoo, it appears that she was baptized in 1842, possibly on the October 14 date that she gave. The Record of Members also states that Mrs. James' brother, Isaac L. Manning, was baptized into the Church by Albert Merrill in December of an undesignated year. Since Merrill was not converted until December of 1841 and the Mannings had left Connecticut by December of 1843, it appears that

Isaac L. Manning entered the Church in December of 1842, about two months after his sister had joined.

8. Times and Seasons, 4, p. 302.

9. "Life Sketch"; and Jane E. James to John Taylor, December 27, 1884, published with this article.

10. Record of Members, Nauvoo, 1839-46, under the entry, "Members who came to Nauvoo since July 31, 1843," microfilm copy, GS. Isaac L. and Lucinda Manning are listed as having been received as members on January 15, 1844, Jane F. Manning on January 25, 1844, Angelie Manning on March 4, 1844, and Anthony and Sarah Ann Stebbins on August 5, 1845. The Early Church Information File reveals that Angeline and Jane Manning, together with Anthony and Sarah Stebbins, received blessings at the hands of Patriarch Hyrum Smith on March 4, 1844, several months before his death.

11. "Life Sketch"; Eighth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Record of Members, Early - 1905, p. 84; and Ibid., Journal History, June 21, 1847.

12. A list of the emigrants, arranged by "tens," "fifties," and "hundreds," can be found in Journal History, June 21, 1847. Details of the journey have been taken from the account contained in a record entitled Emigration, Vol. I, 1831-1848, CHD. These Emigration volumes are unpaginated but are organized chronologically by company of emigrants.

13. The following reminiscence was found among the WPA Biographical Sketches (All88) at the Utah State Historical Society. There is nothing in the file to indicate when, where, or by whom the information was given.

Jame Elizabeth James came to Utah Sept. 22, 1847 and camped on the temple block fixing their wagons in a circle around them. First had a house built in the center of the block north of the Temple block for four years and then moved one-half a mile from Liberty Park and lived for sixteen years by the Theatre before they went down to live at Liberty Park. She used to go down and get milk off Isaac Chase's wife, Elizabeth. When she had not one thing in the house to eat and felt very bad at having to beg milk but had to do so for the sake of her little child. The mill was built by Isaac Chase and called the Chase Mill. Then i[t] was sold to Brigham Young.

14. As quoted in Kate B. Carter, The Story of the Negro Pioneer (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company for the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1965), pp. 9-10.

15. 1850 Federal Census, Utah Territory, p. 56, microfilm copy, GS.

16. 28 households in the First Ward held more property than did the Jameses, while 18 held less, and three others held the same amount. [Salt Lake City Assessment Rolls, 1856 Volume, 1st Ward, Office of the Salt Lake City Recorder, Salt Lake City-County Building.] It should be noted that these comparisons furnish only a rough index of relative wealth. They do not take into account the number of working family members, the number of persons that the head of a household supported, or those households that held neither real nor personal property. The city assessment rolls, moreover, would not include property owned outside the city. In evaluating the figures for the period following 1860, it is important to recognize that the First Ward was predominantly rural and relatively underpopulated in comparison with other wards in the city. The wealth of its residents was but a fraction of that of those wards nearer the center of town where the commercial and professional classes settled.

17. Mrs. James listed her children by name in her "Life Sketch," but misplaced punctuation in the revision of the sketch has separated middle from first names and left the number of children unclear. Six Utah-born children are reported in one or more of the federal censuses of 1850, 1860 and 1870. One other child, Isaac, is listed in the Salt Lake Cemetery's Books of the Dead as stillborn on April 22, 1854. The 1860 census gives the family's Utah-born children as Mary Ann, age 12, Miriam, 8, Ellen D., 7, Jesse J., 4, and Vilate, 1. [A two-page compilation of Utah's Black population in 1860, prepared from the census by George Olin Zabriskie, is located in the subject files of the Utah State Historical Society under "Negroes."]

18. 16 households within the ward owned more property than the Jameses, while 18 owned less. [Ibid., Salt Lake City Assessment Rolls, 1860 Volume, 1st Ward.]

19. "Report of 1st Regiment, 2d Brigade, Nauvoo Legion, Dec. 27, 1861," in "Record of Orders, Returns and Court Martial &c. of 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, Nauvoo Legion," p. 45, typescript copy, GS.

20. Salt Lake County Assessment Rolls, 1861-65 Volumes, 1st Ward, microfilm copies, USA. This description of the James' property holdings should not lead to the conclusion that farming was their major source of family income. The 1860 census and the 1869 directory list Isaac James' occupation as laborer. Given the size of lots in early-day Salt Lake City, eight one-and-a-quarter-acre lots comprising a ten acre block, and the rural nature of the community, many households, whatever the occupation of their heads, cultivated garden

plots and maintained domestic farm animals. Moreover, the changing character of Isaac James' personal property during the early 1860s indicates that he engaged in considerable barter or trade. This observation is reinforced by the 1863 tax list, located among the county assessment rolls, which reports that he paid his \$6.95 levy in "Cont[r]aband Cash & Scrip."

21. Isaac James to Jane E. James, quit claim deed, recorded May 23, 1870, Book A-4, p. 4, Abstracts of Title Volumes, Office of the Salt Lake County Recorder, Salt Lake City-County Building. Isaac sold the remainder of the family property two years later to Feramorz Little for two hundred dollars. Little was a prominent Mormon businessman and Church leader who was later to serve as mayor of Salt Lake City. [Isaac James to Feramorz Little, quit claim deed, recorded May 17, 1872, ibid.]

22. Eighth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Record of Members, Early - 1905, p. 24. This record indicates that her husband was Frank Perkins. Little is known of his origins, but it seems clear that he arrived in Utah as one of the slaves of Reuben Perkins, who settled in Bountiful, Davis County, as a farmer. [Ibid., Negro Pioneer, p. 28; and Zabriski, "Compilation of the Black Population from the 1860 Federal Census for Utah."] The Relief Society Minute Books for the Eighth Ward list contributors and their donations on a monthly basis throughout the 1870s and early 1880s. Mrs. James is first mentioned as "Sister Jane Perkins" in the August 20, 1874 entry for receipts. From this date to April 20, 1876 she is listed seven times as "Perkins" and twice (October 20 and November 20, 1875, the next to last entries during the period) as "James." [Eighth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Relief Society, Minute Book A, 1867-77 (Lib. No. C3978), passim.] In the only recorded property transaction that falls within the period, she signed herself as "Jane E. Perkins," and the recorder described her as "Jane Elizabeth Perkins, formerly Jane Elizabeth James." [Jane E. Perkins to E. M. Cort, lease, recorded October 16, 1874, Book B-8, p. 153, Abstracts of Title Volumes.] Mrs. James use of "Perkins" as her surname in business transactions that were a matter of public record demonstrates that her relationship with Frank Perkins was meant to be permanent.

23. "Petition for Sale of Real Estate," subscribed February 19, 1889, Estate of Silas F. James, decd., No. 1204, Third District Court for Salt Lake County, Probate Division.

24. "Final Account and Petition for Final Settlement and Distribution," subscribed April 5, 1889, ibid.; Isaac James to Jane Elizabeth James, quit claim deed, recorded Mar. 27, 1889, Book B-14, p. 149, Abstracts of Title Volumes; Eighth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Record of Members, Early - 1905, p. 84; "Isaac James, : Patriarchal Blessing File; and Ibid., Journal History, November 19, 1891.

25. Jane E. James to Joseph F. Smith, February 7, 1890, published with this article.
26. Ibid., Journal History, November 19, 1891; and Zina D. H. Young to Joseph F. Smith, January 15, 1894, published with this article.
27. 1870 Federal Census, Utah, Salt Lake County, Salt Lake City, Eighth Ward, p. 10, microfilm copy, G.S. According to the census, taken after Mrs. James had moved from her First Ward homestead, her household included the following relatives: two sons, Silas and Jessie, ages 24 and 15, both working as "laborers"; two daughters, Ellen and Vilate, ages 18 and 11, neither of whom listed an occupation, and a granddaughter, Malvina, age one.
28. Feramorz Little to Jane E. James, quit claim deed, recorded July 13, 1871, Book A-2, p. 244, and Jane E. James to Fermaorz Little, quite claim deed, recorded July 3, 1871, Book A-4, p. 4, Abstracts of Title Volumes.
29. Interview with Mrs. Henrietta Bankhead of Murray, Utah, December, 1972.
30. Salt Lake City Assessment Rolls, 1871-92 Volumes, Eighth Ward.
31. The Minute Books of the Relief Society for the Eighth Ward not only list the amount of individual contributions but designate whether they took the form of cash or sundries. If the contributions were sundries, the records describe the items involved. Throughout the period 1870-1904 more than four-fifths of Mrs. James' contributions are listed as "cash." [Eighth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Relief Society, Minute Book A., 1867-77 (Lib. No. C3978), Minute Book C, 1879-85 (Lib. No. C3980), Minute Book, 1882 (Lib. No. C3981), Receipt Book, 1894-1902 (Lib. No. C3982), and Minute Book, 1905-13 (Lib. No. C3983R), CHD.]
32. Salt Lake City Assessment Rolls, 1884 Volume, Eighth Ward.
33. Jane Elizabeth Perkins to E. M. Cast, lease, recorded October 16, 1874, and Jane Elizabeth James to Erick M. Cast, lease, recorded September 23, 1879, Book B-8, pp. 153 and 155, Abstracts of Title Volumes. Some idea of the slight value of this land can be gained from the terms of the original lease. In 1874 Mrs. James leased the property for \$15 a year. In 1889 she sold it outright for \$500. [W. A. Wiseman to Jane E. James, receipt of part purchase, recorded February 11, 1889, and Jane Elizabeth James to William A. Wiseman, warranty deed, recorded May 24, 1889, Book B-14, p. 149, Abstracts of Title Volumes.]

34. 1880 Federal Census, Salt Lake County, Salt Lake City, 8th Ward, p. 28, microfilm copy, GS. This census listed Mrs. James' occupation as "laundress." The household was reported to include Mrs. James and two grandchildren. One of these was Malvina Robinson, age ten, a daughter of Miriam James Robinson, then deceased. Malvina had been listed as a member of Mrs. James' household in the 1870 census. The parentage of the other grandchild, Jessie James, age five months in the 1880 census, cannot be determined.

35. Robert W. Sloan, ed., Utah Gazetteer and Directory...1884 (Salt Lake City: Herald Printing and Publishing Company, 1884); Salt Lake City Directory...1885 (New York: U.S. Directory Publishing Company, n.d.); Lorenzo Stenhouse, ed., Utah Gazetteer and Directory...1888 (n.p.); and R. L. Polk and Company, Salt Lake City Directory, 1893 and 1894-95 volumes (published annually in Salt Lake City since 1890, except for single volumes covering the years 1891-92 and 1894-95).

36. "Historical Sketch of the Relief Society for the Jubilee," dated March 17, 1892, in Eighth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Relief Society, Minute Book, 1882.

37. Eighth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Historical Record, 1856-75 (Lib. No. A7384), CHD; and Eighth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Relief Society, Minute Book A., 1867-77, Minute Book C, 1879-85, Minute Book, 1882, Receipt Book, 1894-1902, and Minute Book, 1905-13, passim.

38. Deseret Evening News, April 17, 1911; and statement of Anna Shipp, as reported in Carter, Negro Pioneer, p. 9.

39. "A Reminiscence of Joseph Smith," pp. 128-30.

40. For discussions of Joseph Smith's attitude toward slavery and race, see Stephen G. Taggart, Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970), passim, and Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery and Mormon Doctrine," Western Humanities Review, 2 (Autumn 1967): 329-30. Lythgoe, following William L. Mulder, "The Mormons in American History" (21st Annual Reynolds Lecture, Salt Lake City: University of Utah), 48, No. 11, January 14, 1957), argues that Joseph Smith was a "gradualist" on the slavery question. Smith's policy of compensated emancipation placed him to the right of William Lloyd Garrison and others who proposed immediate and complete emancipation. Within the context of American politics in 1844, however, even gradual emancipation was a quite radical proposal. It had been only seven years, for instance, since Elijah P. Lovejoy had been murdered for his abolitionist stand in Alton, Illinois, and it is doubtful that any form of abolitionism had gained significant support in the state since that time.

41. Note the suggestion contained in the letter of A us M. Cannon to Jane E. James, June 16, 1888, published with this article.
42. Jane E. James to Joseph F. Smith, February 7, 1890, published with this article.
43. In a letter of September 5, 1885, relating to Temple ordinances for members of the Church who were Black, Joseph E. Taylor, acting president of Salt Lake Stake reported personal knowledge of several specific cases in which Blacks or Mulattos had received their endowments. [Taylor to John Taylor and George Q. Cannon, Joseph E. Taylor MSS, CHD.] Elijah Able was another Black who made repeated requests without success for his endowments. [Joseph F. Smith Journals, May 28, 1879, Joseph F. Smith Collection, Box 41, CHD; and entries for Council Meetings of January 2, 1902 and August 26, 1908, "Excerpts from the Weekly Council Meetings of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, Dealing with the Rights of Negroes in the Church, 1849-1940," George Albert Smith Papers, UU.]
44. Entry for Council Meeting of January 2, 1902, "Excerpts from the Weekly Council Meetings...", published with this article.
45. Deseret Evening News, April 21, 1908.
46. Mary Ann Robinson, under date of April 9, 1871, and Mariam [sic] Williams, under date of December 8, 1874, Books of the Dead.
47. Deseret Evening News, March 4, 1897.
48. Silas F. James, under date of May 17, 1872, and Jessie J. James, under date of May 22, 1894, Books of the Dead; and Ibid., Salt Lake City Directory, 1894-95 Volume.
49. Data for this statistic were compiled from census reports and Church membership lists for the families of Sylvester James, Miriam Williams, and Mary Ann Robinson. An even grimmer statistic might be compiled if information on the families of Mrs. James' children were more complete, for in her "Life Sketch," she states that but eight of her eighteen grandchildren were then living.
50. "Life Sketch"; Ibid., "A Reminiscence of Joseph Smith," p. 128.
51. Eighth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Record Members, Early - 1905, Part 2, p. 7; and Deseret Evening News, April 17, 1911.
52. Ibid., Salt Lake City Directory, 1894-95 to 1906 Volumes.

53. The Third District Court for Salt Lake County, in a case involving the settlement of Mrs. James' estate, issued the following statement as a portion of its findings of fact: "During the lifetime of said Jane Elizabeth James and up to a few years before her death she and her said brother, Isaac L. Manning, constantly worked and practically made their own living." [Sylvester James v. Ellen M. McLean, No. 10219, Third District Court for Salt Lake County, Civil Division.]

54. Ibid., "Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law."

55. Eighth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Relief Society, Record of Disbursements, 1908-15 (Lib. No. C3984R), passim. It is a testimony to Mrs. James' faith and generosity that in 1904-05, while she was receiving occasional aid from the Relief Society, she still made intermittent cash contributions to the organization. [Eighth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Relief Society, Minute Book, 1905-13, entries under "Receipts for the Year 1904" and "Receipts for the Year 1905."]

56. "Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law," James v. McLean, No. 10219, Third District Court for Salt Lake County, Civil Division, and Deseret Evening News, April 16, 1908.

57. Jane E. James to Marion [sic] Williams, quit claim deed, recorded May 29, 1872, Book A-2, p. 244, Joseph Williams, by Leonard G. Hardy, to Tracy A. Hardy, certificate of sale, recorded February 9, 1889, Book B-2, p. 36, and Jane Elizabeth James to Estella Elizabeth Williams, Josephine Williams, and Lucretia Emeline Williams, warranty deed, recorded January 8, 1890, Book B-2, p. 217, Abstracts of Title Volumes.

58. This conclusion is drawn from the various complaints and the findings of fact filed in the case of James v. McLean, No. 10219, Third District Court for Salt Lake County, Civil Division. The following property transactions tend to substantiate the conclusions of the court: Jane E. James to Ellen M. Wallace, warranty deed, recorded June 5, 1886; Wallace to James, lease, recorded July 16, 1886; Wallace and James to David Woodmansee, mortgage, recorded October 1, 1887; and Wallace and James to John A. Williams, mortgage, recorded January 5, 1888, Book A-10, p. 211; and Wallace to James, warranty deed, recorded April 21, 1888, Book A-10, p. 279, Abstracts of Title Volumes. The case of James v. McLean involved a disputed deed to Mrs. James' Eighth Ward homesite. Mrs. James had deeded the homesite for no financial consideration to her daughter Ellen in 1907, after having made a will in 1905 that left the property as a life estate to her brother, Isaac L. Manning. Following Mrs. James' death and the reading of her will, her son Sylvester challenged the validity of the deed, charging that his sister Ellen had obtained it fraudulently. The court ruled for

Sylvester, taking note of Mrs. James' infirm condition, Ellen's failure to claim the property before her mother's death, and her previous manipulations of her mother's property.

59. One of her great-granddaughters note that she was "very particular and fussy" in preparing for church or other public occasions. [Statement of Mrs. Henrietta Bankhead, as quoted in Ibid., Carter, Negro Pioneer, p. 9.]

60. "Life Sketch."

61. A compilation of statistics for Utah's Black population, broken down by counties for the period 1850-1960, can be found in Margaret Judy Maag, "Discrimination Against the Negro and Institutional Efforts to Eliminate It," (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1970), pp. 103-4.

62. 1870 Federal Census, Utah Territory, Salt Lake County. The families that are listed one after another and hence apparently lived side by side were those of Miles Litchford and Green Flake, residing in South Cottonwood, Samuel Chambers and Edward Lagrove [Leggroan], residing in Salt Lake City's First Ward, and Samuel Bankhead and James Valentine, residing in the city's Nineth Ward.

63. Salt Lake County Assessment Rolls, 1872-78 Volumes, Salt Lake City, Eighth Ward. The families were those of Samuel Chambers, Ned Lagrone [Leggroan], and Joseph Williams. The latter was Mrs. James' son-in-law.

64. Ibid., 1876-77 Volumes, South Cottonwood, and 1878-84 Volumes, Union; and 1880 Federal Census, Utah Territory, Salt Lake County, Union, pp. 19-20. The families holding property in this area were Green and Abram Flake, Daniel Freeman, Miles Litchford, and George Stevens, and the boarder holding property was Mark Wales.

65. In this respect it is significant to recognize that the only apparent area in which Utah legalized and institutionalized racial discrimination was that of marriage between Blacks and whites. The territorial slave code of 1851 included a provision against sexual intercourse between Blacks and whites, and this feature of race relations caught the attention of such astute observers of the Utah scene as Richard F. Burton and Jules Remy. [Dennis L. Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery in Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly, 39(Winter, 1971): 51-52, and "Negro Slavery in Utah," (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1966), pp. 75-86.] In the 1880s, the Church refused to solemnize marriages between whites and Polynesians. [Joseph E. Taylor to John Taylor, September 5 and November 5, 1885, Joseph E. Taylor MSS, CHD; and John Taylor and George Q. Cannon to Joseph E. Taylor, September 7, 1885, and John Taylor to Joseph E. Taylor, November 20, 1885, John Taylor Letterpress Copybooks, CHD.] Utah's first statute on marriage,

passed in 1888 by a predominantly Mormon legislature and signed into law by a Gentile governor, prohibited marriages between whites and Blacks, and between whites and "Mongolians." [Mormon Legislation Against Polygamy," untitled four-page sheet, CHD).

66. William Henry James to Sylvester Perkins, warranty deed, recorded October 30, 1893, Book B-9, p. 54, Abstracts of Title Volumes; Ibid., Carter, Negro Pioneer, pp. 28-30; and "Statement for Final Account and Petition for Distribution," Estate of Sylvester James, decd., No. 11164, Third District Court for Salt Lake County, Probate Division, USA.

67. 1870 Federal Census, Utah Territory, Salt Lake County, Salt Lake City, First Ward, pp. 1 and 4.

68. Feramorz Little to Ned Legroc [Leggroan], quit claim deed, recorded May 27, 1871, Book A-2, p. 244, and Ned and Susan Leggrove [Leggroan] to Herrmann Hill, warranty deed, recorded November 18, 1879, Book A010, p. 31, Abstracts of Title Volumes; Salt Lake County Assessment Rolls, 1872-80 Volumes, Salt Lake City, Eighth Ward, 1878 Volume, South Cottonwood, 1880-83 Volumes, Butler; Ibid., Carter, Negro Pioneer, pp. 30 and 50-51; and Ibid., Salt Lake City Directory, 1908-20 Volumes. The marriages united Esther Jane James and Henry Leggroan, and Nettie James and Louis Leggroan.

69. Undated petition, signed by members of the Afro-American Republican Club of Salt Lake City in support of Elias H. Parsons for United States Marshal, Record Group 46, Senate Nomination Papers, 51st Congress, "E. H. Parsons," National Archives. The newspaper was The Broad Ax, edited by Julius F. Taylor and Deomocratic in its political orientation. [J. Cecil Alter, Early Utah Journalism (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1938), p. 274; and Salt Lake City Directory, 1896-99 Volumes.] The 1891-92 city directory contains the first listing for a predominantly Black congregation, Methodist in affiliation. The congregation is listed in the directory during the remaining years of the nineteenth century, but the frequent changes in address and pastor suggest that it had yet to obtain a permanent structure and location for services. The first predominantly Black Baptist congregation was formed in 1896 by a group of women who met in private homes. It was only after the turn of the twentieth century that this congregation secured a permanent site and building. The Methodist congregation eventually became the African Methodist Episcopal Church and later Trinity Methodist Church, while the Baptist congregation became Calvary Baptist Church. (Interview with Mrs. Mignon Barker Richmond of Salt Lake City, December, 1972.)

70. Although absence from the family household obscured the last

twenty years of Isaac James' life, before his departure the census and city directory listed his occupation as laborer, and during his early years in Utah he had been a farmer. His eldest son, Sylvester, lived past the age of 80, and at the time of his death in 1920 he owned realty and water rights that were valued at twenty-five hundred dollars. In the late nineteenth century his occupation had been listed alternately as a farmer, gardener, and laborer. (Estate of Sylvester James, decd., No. 11164, Third District Court for Salt Lake County, Probate Division.) The second son, Silas, died in 1872 at age 25, owning five acres of land on the East Bench of Salt Lake City, the value of which was no more than a few hundred dollars at best. The 1870 census listed his occupation as laborer. (Estate of Silas F. James, decd., No. 1204, Third District Court for Salt Lake County, Probate Division.) The third son, Jessie, died in 1894 at age 37. Living at his mother's home most of his life, he apparently accumulated no property while working as a laborer and porter.

71. Salt Lake County Assessment Rolls, 1872-78 Volumes, Salt Lake City, Eighth Ward, 1876-77 Volumes, South Cottonwood, and 1878-84 Volumes, Union.

72. In this respect, impressions gained from research on the James family have been reinforced by a discussion with William Hartley of the Church Historical Department who has been studying the family of Samuel Chambers, another early-day black settler.

73. Mrs. James' children appear to have been raised in the Church, if the experience of her youngest daughter is typical of that of the other children in the family. (Deseret Evening News, March 4, 1897).

Her eldest son, Sylvester, remained a member of the Church until 1885, when he was excommunicated for "unchristianlike conduct," a vague charge that could cover a multitude of greater and lesser offenses. He never returned to the Church thereafter. (First Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Record of Members, Early - 1904 (Lib. No. 6578), p. 14, microfilm copy, CHD) Her youngest son, Jessie, was baptized into the Church at an early age, but seems to have been inactive as a member until less than a year before his death, when he was rebaptized. (Eighth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Record of Members, Early - 1905, Pt. 2, p. 9.)

74. The formation of the "Genesis Group" may indicate that the Mormon Church now recognizes a need for institutions to serve its Black constituency. This group, with its own Black officers, was formed in October, 1971 as an auxiliary organization for Black Mormons throughout the Salt Lake Valley. [Deseret Evening News, October 23, 1971.]

75. Interpretations in this paragraph are based on the figures furnished in Maag, Margaret J., "Discrimination Against the Negro," (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1971), 103-4.

76. The documents printed here are full and exact copies of the originals, except in the case of "Excerpts from the Weekly Council Meetings of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, Dealing with the Rights of Negroes in the Church, 1849-1940," in which sections relating to Mrs. James have been abstracted from the main body of the manuscript. In cases where punctuation, letters, or words have been added to the documents to clarify the meaning, the additions are noted through the use of brackets. The differences between the spelling and punctuation used in the three letters signed by Mrs. James suggest that these manuscripts, though handwritten, were dictated by her to friends who served as scribes.

77. Endowments are a religious ordinance and Temple ceremonies that in the nineteenth century could be performed for the Latter-day Saint as a sign of worthiness on such special occasions as entrance into marriage or departure on a mission.

78. Early Church records indicate that the Manning party left Connecticut in 1843, hence the figure here should be forty-one instead of forty-two years. See comments on pp. 2-3.

79. For a discussion of church policy regarding the Law of Adoption in the late nineteenth century, see James R. Clark, ed., Messages of the First Presidency, 3 (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), pp.252-60.

80. George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith--members of the First Presidency of the Latter-day Saint Church and respectively first and second counselors to President John Taylor.

81. A search of the official letterbooks for John Taylor, held by the Church Historical Department, has revealed no reply to this letter.

82. In this respect, notice the following extract from a letter of William I. Appleby, written from Batavia, New York, on June 2, 1847:

At this place I found a colored brother by the name of Lewis, a barber and an Elder in the Church, ordained by William Smith. This Lewis I am also informed has a son who is married to a white girl and both are members of the Church there. Now, dear brother, I wish to know 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 to learn it.

[Quoted in Lythgoe, "Negro Slavery and Mormon Doctrine," p. 334, and

cited as Journal History, June 2, 1847.]

83. A search of the letterbooks of Joseph F. Smith, held by the Church Historical Department, has revealed no reply to this letter.

84. The use of the "curse of Cain" concept as a theological justification for denying Black Mormons the priesthood and Temple ordinances was common throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For further evidence on this point, see the following: "Excerpts from the Weekly Council Meetings...Dealing with the Rights of Negroes in the Church, 1849-1940"; Abraham H. Cannon Journals, October 1, 1890, and March 29, 1892, xerox copies UU; Heber J. Grant Journals, October 1, 1890, CHD; and Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund to David McKay, March 16, 1904, Joseph F. Smith Letterpress Copybooks (MSS f259, Reel5), CHD.

85. A search of the letterbooks of Joseph F. Smith, held by the Church Historical Department, has revealed no reply to this letter.

86. Although the "Life Sketch" may have been dictated originally in 1893, internal evidence strongly suggests that it was later revised and updated. For example, the "Life Sketch" mentions Lorenzo Snow and Joseph F. Smith as presidents of the Latter-day Saint Church, but these men did not assume this position until 1898 and 1901. Mrs. James also states in the "Life Sketch" that but two of her children were then living, yet four of her children were alive in 1893, one of these dying in 1894 and another in 1897.

87. Crossed out in the original. The Eighth Ward Record Members originally listed Mrs. James' mother as "Filles Abbott" but this was later replaced by "Eliza Mead," which corresponds with the listing furnished for Isaac L. Manning, her brother. The Patriarchal Blessing File listed her mother as "Phillis Manning," which corresponds with the head of a free Black household listed in the 1830 census for Wilton, Connecticut, Mrs. James' birthplace.

88. One of Mrs. James' brothers was Isaac Lewis Manning, and it appears that the person who transcribed the sketch erred in placing a comma between the names "Isaac" and "Lewis."

89. Early Church records indicate that the Manning party left Connecticut in 1843 rather than 1840. See comments on pp. 2-3.

90. "and would not take us farther"---added, as an insertion between the lines, to the text of the document.

91. "after"---added, as an insertion between the lines, to the text of the document.

92. "Dr. Bernhisel"---refers to John M. Bernhisel, prominent

churchman who later served as Utah's delegate to Congress.

93. In this respect, the following notice from the Nauvoo Neighbor of December 6, 1843, is pertinent:

LOST

ABOUT six weeks ago a company of saints arrived in this place escorted by Elder Wandal who had in his charge a trunk belonging to Jane Elizabeth Manning: - Sister Manning was not here then but has since arrived and can obtain no intelligence of her trunk; it is presumed that some one has got it in mistake as there was a number of passengers arrived at the same time. The trunk is about three feet long and covered with a light red hair skin, with the exception of the back, on which there is some white. It is directed to 'Jane Elizabeth Manning, Nauvoo.' Whoever will give such information as shall lead to the discovery of the trunk will be handsomely rewarded by applying to this office.
Nauvoo, Dec. 6, 1843.

94. "Urim and Thumim"--believed by the Latter-day Saints to have been used by Joseph Smith in translating the original Book of Mormon.

95. "Calhoon"--perhaps Reynolds Cahoon, prominent churchman and resident of Nauvoo.

96. "Keg Creek"--probably written originally as Hog Creek and inaccurately transcribed in the revision of the sketch for the Journal History of June 21, 1847 lists Silas' birthplace as Hog Creek.

97. Mrs. James' youngest son is listed in censuses, city directories, and church records as either "Jessie J." or "Jessie Boan," and it appears that the person who transcribed the sketch may have erred in placing commas between "Jessie" and "Jerry," and "Jerry" and "Boam."

98. Kate B. Carter, in her Story of the Negro Pioneer (pp. 34-35), furnishes several accounts of a Black man named Isaac who served as Brigham Young's coachman, and she designates him as one of the slaves originally owned by Thomas Bedford Graham. The 1850, 1860, and 1870 censuses, however, fail to list any slaves belonging to Graham or any Blacks named Isaac Graham. In fact, only one Black man whose first name is Isaac is listed in any of these censuses, and he is Isaac James. Hence, taking Mrs. James' statement into consideration, it is possible that her husband may have worked as Brigham Young's coachman.

99. The portion of the text placed in parentheses at this point was originally added to the document as an insertion between the lines. The year of birth furnished here agrees with none of the earlier records, all of which place the year between 1818 and 1822.

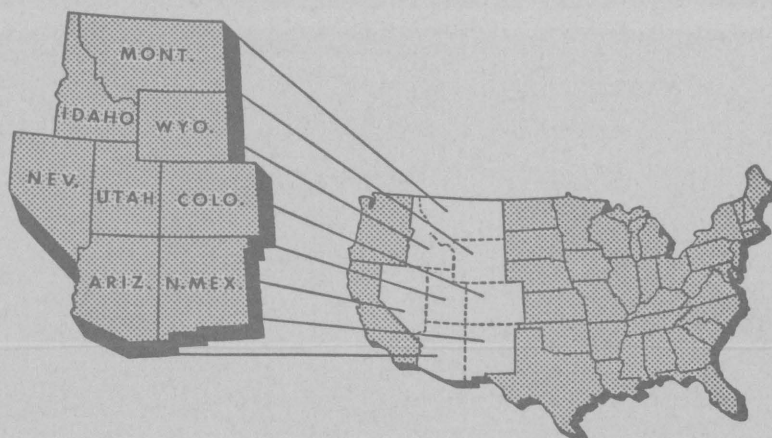
100. The portion of the text placed in parentheses at this point was originally added to the document as an insertion between the lines.

101. Same as above.

102. Same as above.

AMERICAN WEST CENTER

Occasional Papers



University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah

SOCIAL ACCOMMODATION IN UTAH

Clark Knowlton, Editor
Director, Social Research & Development

American West Center
Occasional Papers #4
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah
1975

SOCIAL ACCOMMODATION IN UTAH

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction. Social Accommodation: A Personal View by Clark S. Knowlton.....	1
The Secularization of the Utah Labor Movement by J. Kenneth Davies.....	19
The Second Gathering: The New Migrants to Utah by John L. Sorenson.....	65
The Cradlebaugh Court (1859): A Study in Early Mormon-Gentile Misunderstanding by Davis Bitton.....	71
Public Schools as a Vehicle of Social Accommodation in Utah: The Strangers Within our Gates by Frederick S. Buchanan and Raymond G. Briscoe.....	98
A Test of Faith: Jane Elizabeth James and the Origins of the Utah Black Community by Henry J. Wolfinger.....	126