

MORMONISM — SHADOW or REALITY?

In 1966 Wallace Turner, a correspondent for the *New York Times*, wrote the following:

Dr. Thomas F. O'Dea, a sociologist at Columbia University, who wrote a major study called *The Mormons* when he taught at the University of Utah, insists that the church is in the midst of a crisis . . . in keeping with Dr. O'Dea's theory of the sleeping crisis, one of the most influential apostates of the 1960s has been a young machinist, who with his wife, left the church and now makes a living printing books and documents which contradict official Mormon pronouncements.

His name is Jerald Tanner. His wife, Sandra, is a great-great-granddaughter of Brigham Young . . .

The Tanners operate as the Modern Microfilm Company. They specialize in copying books and documents that are out of print, or have been suppressed in one way or another, but that bear on the history and doctrine of the LDS church. When I talked with them, they had thirty-one titles for sale, the best seller was *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* prepared by them jointly. They had sold about 3000 copies . . . The Tanners' masterwork, *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* is an intricate weaving of arguments from many sources against the fundamental precept of the Saints' doctrine—that Joseph Smith, Jr. , was a prophet of God . . .

With the Tanners the church today finds itself faced by its own techniques of argument and its own words turned back against it to create doubts and uneasiness among some members. The campaign is effective, too, and of this there is no doubt. (*The Mormon Establishment*, by Wallace Turner, Boston, 1966, pages 153-156, 159, 160 and 162)

Since printing the book *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* in 1964, many important things have happened. By far the most important was the rediscovery of the papyri from which Joseph Smith "translated" the Book of Abraham, for these papyri prove that the Book of Abraham is the work of Joseph Smith's own imagination. Another important discovery was that the Mormon Church had been suppressing important accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision which differ from the account printed in the *Pearl of Great Price*. Wesley P. Walters discovered an original document which proves beyond all doubt that Joseph Smith was a "glass looker" and that he was arrested, tried and found guilty by a justice of the peace in Bainbridge, New York, in 1826. Wesley P. Walters has also discovered that there was no revival in Palmyra, New York, in 1820 as the Mormon Church has always maintained.

Many other important discoveries have also been made since we published *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* in 1964. These discoveries, which have come to light one right after another, have taken a great deal of our time. In 1967 we began printing our work, *The Case Against Mormonism*. This was a three-volume work and dealt with many of the new discoveries. We have also completed a two-volume work entitled *The Mormon Kingdom*. Besides this we have printed a number of other books concerning Mormonism. The publication of these new books has kept us very busy.

After printing thousands of copies of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* the metal plates began to break down. We hoped to get out an enlarged edition of this book, but we were unable to find the time. Consequently, *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* went out of print for a number of years. We are now happy to announce, however, that we have found the time to bring out a new enlarged and revised edition of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* This is by far our most important work, for we have taken the best material out of the old edition and combined it with the most important material from the publications we have printed since 1964. In addition we have added a great deal of new material that has never before appeared in print. Condensing all this material into one volume has been a tremendous task, but we feel that our efforts will be rewarded by the fact that more people will have access to the material. This new edition actually contains more than twice as much material as the old edition.



Photograph of Jerald and Sandra Tanner and their children—April, Dennis and Teresa

Just as we were preparing to print the new edition of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* Michael Marquardt called our attention to some new and important information concerning the Mormon doctrines about the Negro and polygamy. Fortunately, we were able to add this new information in Appendix B.

IMPORTANT DOCUMENT ON NEGROES

A very important document concerning the anti-Negro doctrine of the Mormon Church was found in the George Albert Smith Papers at the University of Utah Library. George Albert Smith served as President of the Mormon Church from 1945 to 1951. His private papers are preserved at the University of Utah Library. Among this collection is a document listed as, "Excerpts From the Weekly Council Meetings of the Quorum of the Church, 1849-1940." Since this document throws a great deal of light on the development of the anti-Negro doctrine, we printed it in its entirety in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 582-585. The first Council Meeting is dated January 25, 1940. In the report of this Council Meeting we find the following about the Negro:

President Clark said at his request the clerk of the Council had copied from the old records of the Council discussions that have been had in the past on this subject. He said that he was positive that it was impossible with reference to the Brazilians to tell those who have Negro blood and those who have not, and we are baptizing these people into the Church. . . .

President Clark suggested that this matter be referred to the Twelve who might appoint a sub-committee to go into the matter with great care and make some ruling or re-affirm whatever ruling has been made on this question in the past as to **whether or not one drop of negro blood deprives a man of the right to receive the priesthood.** ("Excerpts From the Weekly Council Meetings of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, . . ." as printed in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 582.)

As we examine these discussions from the "old records of the Council" it is plain to see that the Mormon doctrine forbidding Negroes the Priesthood or access to the temple rites grew out of rumor and prejudice and did not come by revelation as the Mormon leaders have always claimed.

Joseph F. Smith, the sixth "Prophet, Seer and Revelator" of the Mormon Church, seemed to have no revelation on this subject. The following is taken from a Council Meeting held January 2, 1902:

President Smith, replying to this, referred to the doctrine taught by President Young which . . . he believed in himself, to the effect that the children of Gentile parents, in whose veins may exist a single drop of the blood of Ephraim, might be all pure-blooded Gentiles excepting one, and that one might extract all the blood of Ephraim from his parents' veins, and be actually a full-blooded Ephraimite. He also referred to the case of a man named Billingsby, whose ancestor away back married an Indian woman, and whose descendants in every branch of his family were pure whites, with one exception, and that

exception was one pure blooded Indian in every branch of the family . . . the same had been found to be the case with stockmen engaged in the improvement of breeds. Assuming therefore this doctrine to be sound, while the children of a man in whose veins may exist a single drop of negro blood, might be entirely white, yet one of his descendants might turn out to be a pronounced negro. **And the question in President Smith's mind was, when shall we get light enough to determine each case of its merits?** He gave it as **his opinion** that in all cases where the blood of Cain showed itself, however slight, **the line should be drawn there; but where children of tainted parents were found to be pure Ephraimites, they might be admitted to the temple.** This was **only an opinion**, however, the subject would no doubt be considered later. ("Extracts" as printed in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality*, pages 583-584)

On August 26, 1908, President Joseph F. Smith told that a Negro woman was sealed as a servant to Joseph Smith:

The same efforts he said had been made by Aunt Jane to receive her endowments and be sealed to her husband and have her children sealed to their parents and her appeal was made to all the Presidents from President Young down to the present First Presidency. But President Cannon conceived the idea that, under the circumstances, it would be proper to **permit her to go to the temple to be adopted to the Prophet Joseph Smith as his servant and this was done.** This seemed to ease her mind for a little while but did not satisfy her, and she still pleaded for her endowments.

The idea that this Negro woman should be sealed as a servant apparently stems from the teaching that slavery was a "divine institution." Brigham Young, the second President of the Mormon Church, once stated that the Civil War could not free the slaves:

Ham will continue to be **servant of servants**, as the Lord decreed, until the curse is removed. **Will the present struggle free the slave? No; . . . for Ham must be the servant of servants until the curse is removed.** Can you destroy the decrees of the Almighty? **You cannot.** (*Millennial Star*, vol. 25, page 787; also published in *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 10, page 250)

The idea that the Negro is only worthy of the position of a servant has deep roots in Mormon theology. Mark E. Petersen, who is now serving as an Apostle in the Church, said that if a "Negro is faithful all his days, he can and will enter the celestial kingdom. He will go there **as a servant**, but he will get celestial glory" (*Race Problems—As They Affect the Church*, address by Mark E. Petersen at the Convention of Teachers of Religion on the College Level, Brigham Young University, August 27, 1954).

In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 266, we quote Brigham Young as saying:

Shall I tell you **the law of God** in regard to the **African race?** If the **white** man who belongs to the chosen seed **mixes his blood** with the seed of Cain, the **penalty**, under the **law of God, is death on the spot. This will always be so.** (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 10, page 110)

In the "Excerpts From the Weekly Council Meetings of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles," Brigham Young's statement is cited under the date of March 8, 1863. In a Council Meeting held August 22, 1895, we read the following:

President Cannon remarked that the Prophet Joseph taught this doctrine: That the seed of Cain could not receive the Priesthood nor act in any of the offices of the priesthood until the seed of Abel should come forward and take precedence over Cain's offspring; and that **any white man who mingled his seed with that of Cain should be killed, and thus prevent any of the seed of Cain's coming into possession of the priesthood.**

In a report of a Council Meeting held December 15, 1897, we find the following:

A letter . . . was read, . . . enclosing a letter from Elder S. P. Oldham, who asked Brother Lyman the following questions, and Brother Lyman forwarded it to be answered by the First Presidency:

"Can a man (white) be permitted to receive the priesthood, who has a wife is either black or is tainted with negro blood?"

President Cannon said he had understood President Taylor to say that a man who had the priesthood who would marry a woman of the accursed seed, that if **the law of the Lord** were administered upon him . . . **He would be killed, and his offspring**, for the reason that the Lord had determined that the seed of Cain should not receive the priesthood in the flesh; and that this

was the penalty put upon Cain, because if he had received the priesthood the seed of the murderer would get ahead of the seed of Abel who was murdered. The point, President Cannon said, which President Taylor sought to make was that if a white man who had received the priesthood should have children by a negro woman, he could go back and act for his dead ancestors on his wife's side, and he therefore thought it would be improper for a man, as for instance the case referred to, to receive the priesthood for the reasons assigned as being those given by President Taylor.

While there was no formal action taken, this seemed to be the mind of the Council, President Snow adding that the way might be opened for the man referred to in the case under consideration to get a divorce from his present wife and marry a white woman, and he would then be entitled to the priesthood. ("Extracts" as printed in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 582)

This document certainly reveals the state of confusion that the Mormon leaders found themselves in as they tried to formulate their anti-Negro doctrine. It is plain to see that they did not know where to draw the line as to who could be ordained to the Priesthood. The Apostle John Henry Smith felt that "persons in whose veins **the white blood predominated should not be barred from the temple.**" Joseph F. Smith, the sixth President of the Church, gave it as his opinion that "in all cases where the blood of Cain showed itself, however slight, the line should be drawn there; but where **children of tainted parents were found to be pure Ephraimites, they might be admitted to the temple.**" While Joseph F. Smith was still serving as President of the Church, the following decision was reached: "Number 3—The descendants of Ham may receive baptism and confirmation but no one known to have in his veins negro blood, (**it matters not how remote a degree**) can either have the Priesthood in any degree or the blessings of the Temple of God; **no matter how otherwise worthy he may be**" ("Extracts," as printed in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 584).

This is the policy that the Mormon leaders claim they follow today. In our new edition of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we point out that there have been a number of cases where people with Negro blood have been ordained to the Priesthood. For instance, the Negro blood in Elijah Abel and his descendants did not prevent them from holding the Priesthood. Although there is some false information concerning Elijah Abel in the "Excerpts From the Weekly Council Meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles," these records show that on August 22, 1895:

President Joseph F. Smith told of Brother Abel having been **ordained a Seventy and afterwards a High Priest at Kirtland under the direction of the Prophet Joseph Smith.**

In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we pointed out that some of Elijah Abel's children married into the white race and that their descendants hold the Priesthood and do missionary work for the Mormon Church today. Although the Mormon leaders are aware of this, no attempt has been made to remove these special privileges from Elijah Abel's descendants. The hypocrisy of this whole matter of giving special privileges was made plain in a letter from Joseph E. Taylor to John Taylor, the third President of the Church:

President J. Taylor Sept. 5th, 1885

Dear Brother

Now comes a case of a young girl residing in the Eighteenth Ward of the City by the name of Laura Berry whose mother was a white woman but whose father was a very light mullatto. It appears she has fallen in love with brother Barons Son and it is reciprocated.

But the question of jeopardizing his future by such an alliance has caused a halt. She now desires to **press her claim to privileges that others who are tainted with that blood have received.** For example, the Meads family in the Eleventh Ward Mrs. Jones Elder Sister; (the former now resides in Logan) **I am cognizant of all these having received their endowments here.**

Brother Meads is a white man he married his wife many years ago; she was a quadroon and died some three years ago their children (the oldest a girl, are married to a white man) are **all very dark.**

The question I desire to ask is: Can you give this girl any **privileges of a like character?** The girl is very pretty and quite white and **would not be suspected as having tainted blood** in her veins unless her parentage was known Again I subscribe myself your brother in the Faith (Letter from Joseph E. Taylor to President John Taylor, Sept. 5, 1885, Church Historical Department, John Taylor Letter File, b1346, Box 20, file #3, typed copy)

GENESIS GROUP

Because of the anti-Negro doctrine there are not many blacks in the Mormon Church, and there is reason to believe that some of the blacks within the Church are almost at the point of rebellion. Recently a group was organized within the Church which is known as the "Genesis Group." H. Michael Marquardt has interviewed a member of this group and has obtained some important information. In his notes of an interview held November 7, 1971, we find the following concerning the Genesis Group:

Set up for Black missionary work . . . The Group hopes to reactivate Black members in the Salt Lake Area. **Main objective is to get the Priesthood** and then do missionary work among the Black both in America and throughout the world. . . . June 24, 1971 was the first time that the First Presidency and Twelve have prayed in the Temple about whether Black members of the Church should hold the Priesthood. The First Presidency and Twelve were not in agreement on the question. But they did agree that the Genesis Group should be formed.

An article concerning the Genesis Group which appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune* caused some confusion among members of the Church. In this article we find these statements:

A **stake** for black members of the Church . . . has been formed in Salt Lake City. The organization, called Genesis Group, is part of the auxiliary program of the Liberty Stake.

Ruffin Bridgeforth Jr., president of the group, said the stake was in total concordance with the Mormon Church. Gordon B. Hinckley, Thomas S. Monson and Boyd K. Packer, members of the Council of Twelve Apostles, set the stake apart Oct. 19. (*Salt Lake Tribune*, October 24, 1971)

This article caused confusion because it referred to the group as a "stake." Now, if the group were actually a "stake" this would mean that the blacks had received the Priesthood, and that Ruffin Bridgeforth is a stake president—a stake president, of course, has to hold the Priesthood.

That the Church did **not** give the Priesthood to the blacks is very plain from an article which appeared in the Church Section of the *Deseret News*—the Mormon newspaper. This article does not use the word "stake" or even the word "branch" when referring to the Genesis Group:

An **organization** for black members of the Church, called the Genesis Group, was formed as part of the auxiliary program of Liberty Stake in Salt Lake City. Designed to serve all black members in the Salt Lake Valley, the **group** will meet and conduct Relief Society, Primary and MIA for the benefit and enjoyment of their members, but will attend their respective Sunday School and sacrament meetings in their home wards, where they will retain their membership.

The **group** will meet in the Third Ward facility at 119 E. 7th South.

A **group presidency** was called, sustained and set apart as follows: President Ruffin Bridgeforth, Darius Gray, first counselor, and Eugene Orr, second counselor . . .

The **group** will work with the auxiliaries of Liberty Stake. Liberty Stake also has the Danish, Norwegian, Chinese and Japanese branches as part of the stake. (*Deseret News*, October 23, 1971)

The reader will notice that the Genesis Group is never referred to in this article as a "stake." It is referred to only as a "part of the auxiliary program of Liberty Stake." While the article speaks of the "Danish, Norwegian, Chinese and Japanese branches," the word "branch" is not used with regard to the Genesis Group. It is only a "group." It has a "group presidency," not a Stake Presidency nor even a Branch Presidency. This "group presidency" has no Priesthood authority and can only preside over meetings for the women and young people. They must return to their home wards for "their respective Sunday School and sacrament meetings." The reason that the black people have to return to their own wards for the meetings on Sunday is very clear: these meetings require someone who has the Priesthood. The sacrament is passed twice on Sunday, and black people can neither bless nor pass it. Therefore, they have to return to their "home wards" on Sunday so that the white boys can serve them the sacrament!

At first glance, it would appear that the Genesis Group is moving in the wrong direction—i.e., they seem to be moving toward segregation. As we examine the matter more closely, however, we see that segregation could actually be a victory for the black people. The Mormon Church cannot allow blacks to become completely segregated because this would mean they would have to give them the Priesthood. Other churches which discriminate against

blacks at least allow them to have their own congregations and perform their own ordinances. The Mormon leaders, however, say that the ordinances of the Mormon Church cannot be performed without their Priesthood, and since blacks cannot have the Priesthood they cannot even achieve segregation! If they could perform ordinances for their own people, it would actually be a step toward equality. It is reported that the Genesis Group is friendly toward white people and that they are welcomed into the services. From all this we conclude that the Genesis Group really wants Priesthood, and that they are only using segregation as a means of obtaining it.

On July 2, 1972, Joseph Fielding Smith, the tenth President of the Mormon Church, had a heart attack and died. Although President Smith was responsible for much of the anti-Negro feelings in the Mormon Church, there is no evidence that there will be a change in policy. On July 8, 1972, the *Salt Lake Tribune*, carried an article which contained this information:

Harold B. Lee was chosen Friday as president of the Church . . .

President Lee was asked if any change is contemplated in spiritual interpretations of the church which bars blacks from holding the priesthood.

"To one who doesn't believe in revelation, as we do, there can be no adequate explanation," he responded. "We stand by and **wait** until the Lord speaks." (*Salt Lake Tribune*, July 8, 1972)

For more information concerning the origin and development of the anti-Negro doctrine in the Mormon Church, see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 262-293.

SECRET WIVES AND CONCUBINES

On July 12, 1843, the Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith dictated the revelation which sanctioned the practice of plural marriage. This revelation is still printed in the *Doctrine and Covenants*—one of the four standard works of the Mormon Church. It appears as Section 132. In verse 52, Joseph Smith's wife is instructed to receive the other women:

And let mine handmaid, Emma Smith, **receive all those that have been given unto my servant Joseph**, and who are virtuous and pure before me; and those who are not pure, and have said they were pure, shall be destroyed, saith the Lord God.

History shows that Emma Smith had a difficult time receiving this commandment. Lucy W. Kimball made this statement:

. . . the Prophet Joseph and his wife Emma offered us a home in their family. . . . **I was married to Joseph Smith** on the 4th of March 1843, . . . My sister **Eliza was also married to Joseph** a few days later. **This was done without the knowledge of Emma Smith.** Two months afterward she consented to give her husband two wives, providing he would give her the privilege of choosing them. She accordingly chose my sister Eliza and myself, and **to save family trouble brother Joseph thought it best to have another ceremony performed.** Accordingly on the 11th of May, 1843, we were sealed to Joseph Smith a second time, in Emma's presence. . . . From that very hour, however, Emma was our **bitter enemy**, . . . we were obligated to leave the house and find another home. (*Historical Record*, page 240)

Plural marriage led to some very serious quarrels between Joseph and Emma Smith. For additional information on this subject see our new edition of *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 210-211.

No one knows for sure how many wives Joseph Smith had. The Assistant Church Historian Andrew Jenson listed 27 women who were married to him (see *Historical Record*, pages 233-234). The Mormon writer John J. Stewart, however, states that Joseph Smith may have married 36 or even 48 wives: ". . . he married many other women, perhaps three or four dozen or more, . . ." (*Brigham Young and His Wives*, page 31). Stanley S. Ivins stated that the number of Joseph Smith's wives "can only be guessed at but it might have gone as high as sixty or more" (*Western Humanities Review*, vol. 10, pages 232-233).

After Joseph Smith's death the Mormon leaders sealed over 200 women to him to be his wives in eternity.

In an article published in *Western Humanities Review*, vol. 10, pages 232-233, Stanley S. Ivins stated that "Brigham Young is usually credited with only twenty-seven wives, but he was sealed to **more than twice that many living women, and to at least 150 more who had died.**" The Mormon writer John J. Stewart lists the names of 52 women who were sealed to Brigham Young, and then he makes this statement: "There were perhaps one or two

others, **plus the some 150 dead women** whom he had sealed to him; also a few women who were sealed to him **after his death**" (*Brigham Young and His Wives*, page 96).

The Mormon leaders became obsessed with building up their own kingdoms. According to Stanley S. Ivins, the Endowment House Records reveal that on November 22, 1870, the Mormon Apostle Orson Pratt had himself sealed to 101 dead women. On November 29, 1870, he was sealed to 109 dead women. The same day (November 29, 1870) 91 dead women were sealed to his brother, Parley P. Pratt, who had died in 1857. Mr. Ivins found that the St. George Temple Records show that Wilford Woodruff—who later became the fourth President of the Mormon Church—was sealed to 189 dead women in a period of slightly over two years (January 29, 1879, to March 14, 1881). Moses Franklin Farnsworth was sealed to 345 dead women in a two year period.

The Apostle Abraham H. Cannon recorded this interesting item in his diary in 1894:

Thursday, April 5th, 1894 . . . I met with the Quorum and Presidency in the temple . . . **President Woodruff** then spoke ". . . In searching out my genealogy **I found about four hundred of my femal[e] kindred who were never married.** I asked Pres. Young what I should do with them. He said for me **to have them sealed to me unless there were more than [than?] 999 of them.** The doctrine startled me, but **I had it done . . .**" ("Daily Journal of Abraham H. Cannon," April 5, 1894, vol. 18, pages 66-67)

Heber C. Kimball, a member of the First Presidency under Brigham Young, believed that in the resurrection he would be able to have "thousands" of wives (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 212-213).

At any rate, the Mormon leaders found themselves in serious trouble with the U.S. Government because of the practice of polygamy. They did everything in their power to escape the federal deputies. Wilford Woodruff, who became the fourth President of the Mormon Church, had an armed guard to protect him. In a letter written in 1887, Wilford Woodruff stated:

I have a large stout man who goes with me every ----[where?] night and day **carried 2 pistols & a double barrel shot gun and says he will shoot the marshals if they come to take me** (Don't tell anybody this) so I am ----well garded . . . (Letter from Wilford Woodruff to Miss Nellie Atkin, dated September 3, 1887, microfilm copy of the original)

Under the dates of October 17 and 18, 1890, the Apostle Abraham H. Cannon recorded the following in his journal:

Uncle David came in about noon and told me that he had a conversation with Lindsey Sprague, a deputy marshal, who told him that there were papers out for me and he learned that it was indeed a fact that a warrant was issued and in Doyle's hands for my arrest. . . .

Saturday, Oct. 18th, 1890. . . Bro. Wilcken came and informed me that **he had bought Doyle off**, and had got his promise that I should not be molested, nor should any other person without sufficient notice being given for them to escape, and to get witnesses out of the way. He gave Bro. Wilcken the names of some 51 persons whose arrest he intended to try and effect on a trip he and another deputy intended to undertake today, through Utah and Emery counties. **A messenger was therefore despatched to give these people warning. Thus with a little money a channel of communication is kept open** between the government offices and the suffering and persecuted Church members. ("Daily Journal of Abraham H. Cannon," October 17 and 18, 1890)

Before the year 1890 the Mormon leaders were declaring that plural marriage was essential for "man's highest exaltation in the life to come," and that the Church never could give up this principle (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* pages 228-234).

Before Wilford Woodruff became President of the Mormon Church he stated that the church could not give up polygamy (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 13, page 166). After he became President he even claimed to receive a revelation that he should not yield to the pressure of the government. Under the date of December 19, 1889, the Apostle Abraham H. Cannon recorded the following in his journal:

During our meeting a **revelation was read which Pres. Woodruff received Sunday evening.** Nov. 24th. Propositions had been made for the Church to make some concessions to the Courts in regard to its principles.

Both of Pres. Woodruff's counselors refused to advise him as to the course he should pursue, and he therefore laid the matter before the Lord. The answer came quick and strong. **The word of the Lord was for us not to yield one particle of that which he had revealed** and established. He had done and would continue to care for his work and those of the Saints who were faithful, and we need have no fear of our enemies when we were in the line of our duty. We are promised redemption and deliverance if we will trust in God and not in the arm of flesh . . . The whole revelation was filled with words of the greatest encouragement and comfort, and my heart was filled with joy and peace during the entire reading. It sets all doubts at rest concerning the course to pursue. ("Daily Journal of Abraham H. Cannon," December 29, 1889)

Before a year had passed Wilford Woodruff had issued the Manifesto which was supposed to end the practice of plural marriage in the Church. Because of the fact that Woodruff had previously taught that polygamy could not be discontinued and had even claimed to receive revelation to that effect, the other leaders of the Mormon Church were confused by his Manifesto. That there was division among the highest leaders of the Mormon Church at the time the Manifesto was issued is evident from the journal of the Apostle Abraham H. Cannon (see quotations in *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 234).

Although the leaders of the Mormon Church promised to obey the laws of the land, many of them broke their promises. Very few people, however, realized to what extent they had deviated from their word until they were called on to testify in the "Proceedings Before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United State Senate in the Matter of the Protests Against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator From the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat." Joseph F. Smith, the sixth President of the Mormon Church, admitted that he had continued to practice unlawful cohabitation after the Manifesto:

Senator Overman. Is there not a revelation that you shall abide by the laws of the State and of the land?

Mr. Smith. yes, sir.

Senator Overman. If that is a revelation, **are you not violating the laws of God?**

Mr. Smith. **I have admitted that, Mr. Senator, a great many times here.** (*Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 1, page 312)

In *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* we present a great deal of information which proves that the Mormon leaders were not only engaging in unlawful cohabitation after the Manifesto, but that they were actually performing new plural marriages. Many of these marriages were performed in Mexico. On pages 237-238 we show that Joseph F. Smith married a plural wife to the Apostle Abraham H. Cannon off the coast of California some six years after the Manifesto was issued. Mrs. Wilhelmina C. Ellis, who had been a plural wife of the Mormon Apostle Abraham H. Cannon, gave this testimony:

Mr. Tayler. How old were you when you married Abraham Cannon?

Mrs. Ellis. Nineteen.

Mr. Tayler. You were a plural wife?

Mrs. Ellis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Tayler. When did he marry **Lillian Hamlin?**

Mrs. Ellis. I do not know the date.

Mr. Tayler. I do not care about the exact date.

Mrs. Ellis. After June 12 and before July 2.

Mr. Tayler. Of what year?

Mrs. Ellis. **1896.**

Mr. Tayler. He was at that time an **Apostle?**

Mrs. Ellis. Yes, sir.

Mr. Tayler. Did he say he was going away that day, or that evening, to California?

Mrs. Ellis. He told me to pack his grip or his satchel and told me he was going to this trip.

Mr. Tayler. What did he say about Miss Hamlin?

Mrs. Ellis. Of course I understood, in fact **he said she was going with him and President Smith.**

Mr. Tayler. **And President Smith?**

Mrs. Ellis. **Yes, sir.**

Mr. Tayler. And that **they were going to be married?**

Mrs. Ellis. **Yes, sir**

Mr. Tayler. Did you not know they were married on the high sea?

Mrs. Ellis. Only from reports.

Mr. Tayler. That is not an essential part of the inquiry. [To the witness.] I was an inference from the fact that **your husband said he was going to marry**

her, and went away to California for that purpose, and **that Joseph F. Smith went along with them. From that you inferred that Joseph F. Smith had married them?**

Mrs. Ellis. Yes, sir. (*Reed Smoot Case*, Vol. 2, pages 141-144)

President Smith denied that he performed the marriage ceremony, but he acknowledged that he did go on a trip with Lillian Hamlin and the Apostle Cannon at the very time when the marriage was supposed to have taken place:

Mr. Smith. . . . The first time I ever saw her [Lillian Hamlin], . . . was some time in June—I do not remember the date—1896. I was at that time president of the Sterling Mining and Milling Company . . . I was asked by the board of directors to accompany Abraham H. Cannon to Los Angeles, . . . **I accompanied Abraham H. Cannon and his wife on that trip**, and had one of my wives with me on that trip.

Mr. Tayler. When did you first learn that Lillian Hamlin was his wife?

Mr. Smith. The first that **I suspected** anything of the kind was on that trip, because I never knew the lady before. (*The Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 1, page 111)

Mr. Tayler. Did you have any talk on that journey . . . as to when they were married?

Mr. Smith. No, sir.

Mr. Tayler. Did you have any talk with either of them?

Mr. Smith. **Not in the least.**

Mr. Tayler. **Not in the least?**

Mr. Smith. **Not in the least**, sir; and no one ever mentioned to me that they were or were not married. **I simply judged they were married because they were living together as husband and wife.**

Mr. Tayler. **Did you say anything by way of criticism to Abraham Cannon?**

Mr. Smith. **No, sir.**

Mr. Tayler. For going about with this wife?

Mr. Smith. **No, sir; I did not.** (*Ibid.*, pages 127-128)

Mr. Tayler. Now, the church—I gather from your statement the officials of the church have been ever since 1890, and are now, very sensitive as to the charge that plural marriages have been solemnized.

Mr. Worthington. Since the manifesto?

Mr. Tayler. Since the manifesto.

Mr. Smith. Yes; I think **we have been very sensitive about that.**

Mr. Tayler. Very sensitive?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Mr. Tayler. What inquiry did you make to find out whether Abraham H. Cannon, one of the twelve apostles of the church, had made a plural marriage?

Mr. Smith. **I made no inquiry at all.**

Mr. Tayler. Did you have any interest in finding out whether there had been—

Mr. Smith. **Not the least.** (*Ibid.*, pages 476-477)

Frank J. Cannon claimed that his father, George Q. Cannon, told him that Joseph F. Smith performed the ceremony (see *Mormonism—Shadow or Reality?* page 238)

In the *Reed Smoot Case*, vol. 2, page 265, Abraham H. Cannon's widow, Mrs. Ellis, was questioned about his diary. She replied: "I have seen it, but not since his death." Recently many diaries belonging to Abraham H. Cannon have come to light. Unfortunately, however, if Cannon kept a diary at the time of his marriage in 1896, it has not been made public.

Even though we do not have the Apostle Cannon's diary for 1896, Michael Marquardt has pointed out some references in his diary for 1894 which throw important light on this marriage and on the attitude of the Mormon leaders concerning polygamy after the Manifesto. (The Apostle Cannon's diaries are now located in the Brigham Young University Library and photocopies are found at the University of Utah Library and the Utah State Historical Society.)

Long before Abraham H. Cannon's diaries came to light, his brother Frank J. Cannon quoted his father George Q. Cannon as saying:

“. . . **President Smith obtained the acquiescence of President Woodruff**, on the plea that it wasn't an ordinary case of polygamy but merely a fulfilment of the biblical instruction that a man should take his dead brother's wife. Lillian was betrothed to **David**, and had been sealed to him in eternity after his death . . ." (*Under the Prophet in Utah*, Boston, 1911, page 177)

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Now, according to the diary of Abraham H. Cannon, his father, George Q. Cannon, a member of the First Presidency, lamented the fact that his sons could not raise up seed to David through polygamy: "My son **David** died without seed, and his brothers cannot do a work for him, in rearing children to bear his name **because of the Manifesto**" ("Daily Journal of Abraham H. Cannon," April 5, 1894, vol. 18, page 70).

From an entry in the Apostle Cannon's diary for October 24, 1894, it would appear that the Mormon leaders had decided that a plural marriage could be performed in Mexico to raise up seed to David. Although the diary has been damaged at this point and a few words are missing, the remaining portion shows that the Mormon leaders did not take the Manifesto seriously:

After meeting I went to the President's Office and _____ Father [George Q. Cannon] about **taking a wife for David**. I told him David had taken Anni[e] _____ cousin, through the veil in life, and suggested she might be a good pe _____ sealed to him for eternity. The suggestion pleased Father very much, and _____ Angus was there, He spoke to him about it in the presence of the Presidency. _____ not object providing Annie is willing. **The Presidents Woodruff and Smith both sa[ic]d] they were willing for such a ceremony to occur, if done in Mexico, and Pres. Woodruff[f] promised the Lord's blessing to follow such an act.** ("Daily Journal of Abraham H. Cannon," October 24, 1894, vol. 18, page 170)

We may never know if Annie was "willing" to enter into this plural marriage, but we do know that less than two years later Lillian Hamlin was married to the Apostle Cannon. Mrs. Wilhelmina C. Ellis, who had been one of Cannon's plural wives testified:

Mrs. Ellis. He said he could marry her out of the State—out of the United States. Mr. Tayler. What conversation did you have with him then about his going away and about his getting married again? What did he say first about going? Mrs. Ellis. He told me **he was going to marry her for time, and that she would be David's wife for eternity.** (*The Reed Smooth Case*, vol. 2, pages 142-143)

The Apostle Abraham H. Cannon's journal not only reveals that the Mormon leaders approved of polygamy after the Manifesto, but it shows that they were considering the idea of a secret system of concubinage wherein men and women could live together without being actually married:

Father [George Q. Cannon] now spoke of the unfortunate condition of the people at present in regard to marriage . . . **I believe in concubinage, or some plan whereby men and women can live together** under sacred ordinances and vows **until they can be married . . . such a condition would have to be kept secret**, until the laws of our government change to permit the holy order of wedlock which God has revealed, which will undoubtedly occur at not distant day, in order to correct the social evil. . . ----**Pres. Snow. "I have no doubt but concubinage will yet be practiced in this Church**, but I had not thought of it in this connection. When the nations are troubled good women will come here for safety and blessing, and men will accept them **as concubines.**" ---- **Pres. Woodruff: "If men enter into some practice of this character** to raise a righteous posterity, **they will be justified in it . . ."** ("Daily Journal of Abraham H. Cannon," April 5, 1894, vol. 18, page 70)

It is interesting to note that Joseph Smith's revelation on polygamy also said that concubinage was justifiable in God's sight: "Abraham received **concubines** and they born him children; and **it was accounted unto him for righteousness**, . . ." (*Doctrine and Covenants* 132:37)

At any rate, the diaries of the Apostle Abraham H. Cannon reveal devastating evidence against the Mormon Church, and this evidence cannot be easily dismissed. The Mormon writer Kenneth W. Godfrey feels that the Apostle Abraham Cannon's diaries present an accurate picture of what was being said by the Mormon leaders in private: ". . . what were the Mormon leaders saying in private? With the recent acquisition of the Abraham H. Cannon diaries it is now possible **to accurately report** what was taking place in meetings of the Council of the Twelve Apostles" (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Autumn 1970, page 22). We understand that there has recently been an attempt to suppress the Cannon diaries, but we know that they are still available at the University of Utah Library and the Utah State Historical Society. These diaries need to be thoroughly searched for they throw a great deal of light on Mormon history.

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