2021-08-06

Peculiar Students of a Peculiar Institution: A Historical Analysis of Racial Minority Students and Race Relations at Brigham Young University as Presented in the Banyan From 1911-1985

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Honors Thesis

PECULIAR STUDENTS OF A PECULIAR INSTITUTION: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF RACIAL MINORITY STUDENTS AND RACE RELATIONS AT BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY AS PRESENTED IN *THE BANYAN* FROM 1911-1985

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Submitted to Brigham Young University in partial fulfillment of graduation requirements for University Honors

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August 2021

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ABSTRACT

PECULIAR STUDENTS OF A PECULIAR INSTITUTION: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF RACIAL MINORITY STUDENTS AND RACE RELATIONS AT BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY AS PRESENTED IN *THE BANYAN* FROM 1911-1985

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This thesis examines the yearbook for Brigham Young University which ran from 1911-1985. It analyzes the ways in which white students not only asserted and defended their whiteness, but how they superimposed narratives and identities upon other groups. Black students were largely ignored and their inclusion depended upon the schools need to defend itself against accusations of racism and for white students to remain in racial innocence. White students also exhibited various anti-Black behaviors in an attempt to distance themselves from blackness to attain whiteness. Native American students were homogenized and forced to fit into the white students and administrations Lamanite narrative found in *The Book of Mormon* denying them of their unique tribal heritage and

cultures. As apart of this narrative white students were able to place themselves at the top of a racial hierarchy, making it their mission to “redeem” and “uplift” Native Americans who they viewed as a fallen people. Asian students on the other hand were allowed more control over their narrative only because there was no prescribed theological identity to place upon them like in the case of Native Americans. White students exhibited an immense fascination for Asian peoples and cultures in an often voyeuristic and ignorant ways.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to thank my parents for always believing in me and giving me opportunities to grow and cultivate my talents and skills. Your love and support mean the world to me and it is because of you that I am here today. I am also grateful for my dear friends who have made my college experience so memorable and bright. You have all lifted me through tough times and I couldn't have wished for better people to share this experience with.

I am also grateful for all of the staff and faculty and Brigham Young University who have guided me through this journey. I'm eternally in debt to Dr. Hadfield who brought me under her wing before the first day of class even started and introduced me to the Civil Rights Seminar where I met so many other amazing faculty. I'm thankful for Dr. Rugh for being such a key mentor and advisor and for giving me the opportunity to work as his teaching assistant for SOC 323: Sociology of Race and Ethnicity and HONORS 227: Race & Music. I would also like to thank Dr. Jones for an amazing advisor and mentor for this honors thesis and for giving me the chance to do original research in regards to church history. Your help and support were critical to my education.

Lastly, I would like to thank each of these individuals for their kindness, support, guidance, and expertise. Each of them inspires me to be a better scholar and I can only hope to live up to them one day. Thank you Dr. Spencer, Dr. Mason, Dr. Gabriel, Dr. DeSchweinitz, Dr. Anderson, Dr. Neilson, and Anthony Bates.

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INTRODUCTION

Jell-O, polygamy, minivans, golden plates, and knee length shorts, all concepts and items that seemingly have no relation, yet find a happy home in the unique space that is Mormonism. Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in particular tend to cling to their perceived difference and uniqueness, often referring to themselves as a "peculiar people." From the early days of the church, influential figures like Joseph Young proclaimed to his fellow saints that he was "aware that [they were] a peculiar people" in regards to their "circumstances" as the righteous servants of God.[1] The Church's current, President Russell M. Nelson, has also advised members of the church in the semi-annual general conference, that they should interpret the word peculiar not to mean "unusual, eccentric or strange," but rather as "valued treasure, made, or selected by God," and therefore to be "identified [as] servants of the Lord, as… peculiar people, is a compliment of the highest order."[2]

Even more peculiar within the confines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are its academic organizations ranging from universities in Rexburg, Idaho, Laie, Hawaii, and Salt Lake City, Utah to its earliest and most recognizable institution of higher education, Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. The university began as Brigham Young Academy in 1875 remained in relative obscurity until the late 1960's when its sports teams became a popular site of protest surrounding the church's stance on

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[1] Joseph Young, "Remarks of Behalf of the Indians," Journal of Discourses, July 18, 1855, accessed June, 2021, https://journalofdiscourses.com/9/42.

[2] Russell M. Nelson, "Children of the Covenant," The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, April, 1995, accessed June, 2021, https://abn.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/general-conference/1995/04/children-of-the-covenant?lang=eng.

Black ordination. Since then, BYU has seen more consistent media coverage and is known in broader American society as the "Mormon school." Likely, most well-known for its honor code that restricts students from wearing immodest clothing, growing beards, using drugs, and drinking alcohol, leading the school to be ranked No. 1 on the Princeton's Review's list of the most "Stone-Cold Sober Schools" for twenty-three consecutive years.[3] And those that know the school more intimately can see that the honor code has led to many unique traditions and activities that could be labeled anywhere from wholesome to childish, like a custom cookie shop in the student center, a slip n' slide filled with blue foam for freshman, and the prominence of the university creamery's chocolate milk which recently made national headlines when Senator Mitt Romney brought a bottle onto the senate floor during President Trump's impeachment trial in 2020.[4]

Odder yet is Brigham Young University's student population. In 1891 the school's student newspaper published that "the Brigham Young Academy welcomes to its halls, students of both [sexes], of all nationalities, religions, races and colors. The only entrance condition imposed, is that the applicant be a moral and a studious person, and willing to obey the rules and regulations of the Academy. Summed up thes[e] rules are: every student is required to be a gentleman or a lady of honor and refinement."[5] The lack

[3] The Princeton Review, "Stone-Cold Sober Schools," accessed June, 2021, https://www.princetonreview.com/college-rankings?rankings=stone-cold-sober-schools
[4] Eliza Relman, "Mitt Romney violated Senate rules by drinking chocolate milk out of a bottle during the impeachment trial," Business Insider, January 28, 2020, accessed June, 2021, https://www.businessinsider.com/mitt-romney-drinks-chocolate-milk-during-the-impeachment-trial-2020-1.
[5] B.Y.A Student, "B.Y.A. Student 1891-02-02 vol. 1 no. 2'" BYU Library Digital Collections, February 3, 1891, accessed March, 2021, https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/whiteblue/id/11338/rec/3

of formal attendance restrictions based on race, gender, religion, etc. made BYU distinctive from other American institutions. While schools like Yale didn't begin to accept female students until 1969, BYU always had women in both its faculty and student body. Also, while other schools, particularly in the Jim Crow South, had high profile desegregation cases like Autherine Lucy Foster at the University of Alabama in 1956 and James Meredith at the University of Mississippi in 1962, since the early days of the academy, BYU has had a small, albeit consistent non-white student population.

While the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and Brigham Young University itself are unique and peculiar in their own distinctive ways, the particular peculiarity this thesis will focus on is BYU's non-white student population and particularly the ways in which the white students interacted with them. The ultimate minority amongst minorities, the non-white student experience reveals the complexity and peculiarity of race relations within the LDS Church and the school itself. These unique experiences have been documented in many sources, but none more underutilized than the university's yearbook, *The Banyan*, which ran from 1911 to 1985.

Yearbooks, like the discipline of history itself, center on the creation of a narrative. Yearbooks tell the story of an academic institution for a particular year, documenting academic and athletic victories, highlighting exceptional students and faculty, and promoting school spirit and pride. They capture an extensively curated narrative that is meant for its audience to remember for years to come as seen in a note from *The Banyan* editors in 1917 who claimed the yearbook was "a true record of Brigham Young University student life… a readable record of the present for the future has been our aim… but above all we hope the present students in years to come, will find

here a reminder of happy days and dear friends."[6] Most importantly, yearbooks capture the stories and narratives we tell ourselves. While history is meant to be read by a broad audience, yearbooks are created for a relatively small population. Their purpose isn't to inform large groups of people of the institution's history, but rather the members of the institution itself. This makes yearbooks a crucial record to help one understand how an institutions population saw itself, and what they wanted themselves to remember and be documented for the future. In terms of this thesis, *The Banyan* serves as the window into the lives of white and non-white students and the ways they interacted with one another, and in particular it represents how the institution and white students who edited the yearbook wanted these relationships to be remembered. It shows not only how they viewed themselves and their white identities, but how they saw the non-white students in their midst. A close reading of these yearbooks shows that white students, with few exceptions, consistently asserted their whiteness by placing themselves in comparison to those who they deemed to be non-white. By "othering," peculiarizing in the traditional sense of the word, and racializing non-white students in *The Banyan*, white students purposefully crafted a narrative of a white dominant and white serving institution with non-white students serving as ornaments of fascination and props used in public relations to defend the school, LDS Church, and white students themselves from accusations of racism and bigotry.

[6] Banyan Editorial Staff, "The Banyan 1917," 1917, accessed January, 2021, https://archive.org/details/banyan1917brig/page/212/mode/2up.

BLACK/WHITE RELATIONS IN THE LDS CHURCH

African Americans have been a part of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints since its inception. The same year Joseph Smith officially organized the church, Peter, also known as "Black Pete," began worshiping with Latter-day Saints and was "considered a member of their company" by local newspapers in Kirtland, Ohio.[7] Two years later, Elijah Able, one of the most well-known Black Mormons was baptized in Cincinnati, Ohio. Able was even ordained into the church's priesthood and served in the Third Quorum of the Seventy as a missionary, completing "three proselyting missions… including one stint to New York and Canada in 1838."[8] Another prominent Black convert was Jane Elizabeth Manning James, a freed woman who after being baptized in 1842 walked a thousand miles from Connecticut in order to join the rest of the Latter-day Saints in Nauvoo, Illinois. James even lived for a time in the same house as Joseph Smith in Nauvoo and became close friends with his wife Emma Smith. She had such close relations with the Smith family that they offered to "adopt" her into their family "as a child" in the church's sealing ceremony meant to bind families, kin, and close friends together in the eternities.[9] But this seeming openess on behalf of white members and leadership drastically changed in the wake of the Mormon's expulsion from Nauvoo.

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[7] Matt McBride, "Peter," Century of Black Mormons, accessed June 2021, https://exhibits.lib.utah.edu/s/century-of-black-mormons/page/peter#_ftn1.
[8] W. Paul Reeve, "Elijah Able," Century of Black Mormons, accessed June 2021, https://exhibits.lib.utah.edu/s/century-of-black-mormons/page/able-elijah#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=-83%2C-213%2C1642%2C1741.
[9] Quincy D. Newell, "Jane Elizabeth Manning James," Century of Black Mormons, accessed June 2021, https://exhibits.lib.utah.edu/s/century-of-black-

The Mormon Pioneers trek westward into what was then Mexican territory is a classic American tale, but the reasons behind the trek are often oversimplified or misunderstood. The Pioneers were not only fleeing violent persecution due to their religion, but also to their perceived racial difference. Citizens in Missouri justified their persecution of the church by insisting that Mormons were "foreign and [had an] alien like aspect."[10] One petition for Mormon removal even claimed that Mormons were "eastern men, whose manners, habits, customs and even dialect, are essentially different from our own."[11] Critics of the church often cited polygamy as a "violat[ion] [of] the liberty and morality of the American family," and even went as far as to claim that polygamy "produced a physical decline" in Mormon children.[12] These accusations appeared to come as a shock to some members of the church who were almost entirely white Americans and white European immigrants who saw themselves as white. Church leader Parley P. Pratt, after being expelled from Missouri, expressed his confusion saying that it was "as if we had been some savage tribe, or colored race of foreigners."[13] Despite their objections, polygamy, perceived racial integration, and theocracy cast Mormons as "too un-American… [too] incapable of democracy" and a representation of "a backward racial descent."[14]

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mormons/page/james-jane-elizabeth-manning#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-1212%2C-1%2C4483%2C3289.

[10] W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015), 21.

[11] Ibid

[12] W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for* Whiteness, 32 & 19 respectively.

[13] Parley P. Pratt, *Late Persecution of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (New York: J. W. Harrison, 1840), 59.

[14] W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015), 7-8.

Rather than continue to be persecuted and deemed non-white and un-American by their neighbors, the church's leadership began the westward trek. Church leader Heber C. Kimball even proclaimed that "[Mormons] are not accounted as white people, and we don't want to live among them. I had rather live with the buffalo in the wilderness."[15] But the move to Utah didn't solve their problems. In 1848, the Mexican-American War ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. As a result of the treaty, Mexico was forced to cede over half of its territory to the United States which included Mormon settlements in modern Utah, creating the Utah Territory. Brigham Young was made the territorial governor and immediately began petitions for Utah to gain statehood. It had only been a few years since the Mormons were chased out of Nauvoo and accusation of un-American behavior and racial decline still abounded. In an attempt to emphasize Mormon whiteness and American identity, Brigham Young prioritized laws and changes in theocracy that differentiated Mormons from Blackness and Black people.

The most prominent example was the beginnings of the church's Priesthood and Temple Ban. During a series of debates in the Utah Legislature, Brigham Young acting as both territorial governor and prophet of the church, declared "if there never was a prophet, or apostle of Jesus Christ spoke it before, I tell you, this people that are commonly called negroes are the children of Cain. I know they are, I know that they cannot bare rule in the priesthood."[16] From this point onward until 1978 the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints forbade anyone with Black African heritage from being

[15] W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness*, 24.
[16] Matthew L. Harris & Newell G. Bringhurst, *The Mormon Church & Blacks: A Documentary History*, (Chicago, Il: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 38.

ordinated into the priesthood and participating in sacred temple rituals like endowments and marriage sealings. By instituting the ban, Brigham Young attempted to assert whiteness and re-assimilate Mormons back to the top of the American racial hierarchy.

To justify the ban, a plethora of rationales were produced by church leaders and members alike that ranged from actively and willingly promoting racism to attempting to feign innocence from accusations of bigotry. The most common rationale for the ban in the nineteenth century was the Curse of Ham or the Curse of Cain, which were both commonly used in proslavery arguments by Christians across the world. A unique Mormon twist, that became popular in the twentieth century, is the idea that Black people were less righteous or valiant in the "premortal life." Church leader Bruce R. McConkie combined both of these theories when he stated that "those who are less valiant in the pre-existence and who thereby had certain spiritual restrictions imposed upon them during mortality are those known as Negroes. Such spirits are sent to the earth through the lineage of Cain, the mark put upon him for his rebellion against God and his murder of Able being a black skin… The present status of the Negro rests purely and simply on the foundation of pre-existence."[17]

While church leadership has since distanced itself from these theories and promoted ideas of diversity, equality, and re-emphasizing that all are children of God, these theories and other anti-Black attitudes reigned during the run of *The Banyan* as white students at Brigham Young University followed in the steps of Brigham Young to claim whiteness by contrasting it with Blackness.

[17] Darron T. Smith, *When Race Religion, and Sport Collide,* (Lanham, MA: Rowan & Littlefield, 2017), 47-48.

A LONG HISTORY OF BLACKFACE

The first "Black face" one encounters in *The Banyan* is in its 1914 edition which spotlights two students in blackface for a theatre production. At the time, Brigham Young University also housed an elementary school as well as a high school. This particular production was performed by high school students (pictured in *Figure 1*). These productions proved to be a common fixture at the university until the 1970s when the last white student donning traditional black face would be prominently displayed in *The Banyan*.

Figure 1: "HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES, 1914, IN DRAMATIC AND OTHER POSES. The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1914).

Black face was common throughout many of the university's theatrical productions. In 1925 the high school's annual play was entitled "Secret Service" and a female cast member in blackface is positioned in the center of the cast photo printed in *The Banyan* (see *Figure 2* in Appendix). In 1939, the university did its own production of Eugene O'Neil's box-office hit, *The Emperor Jones*. The play follows Brutus Jones, an African American man, who escapes from the United States to an island in the West Indies after being accused of murder. Jones takes control of the island, making himself emperor, and is eventually killed by islanders who oppose his rule. In BYU's production, several cast members are photographed wearing not only makeup on their face, but full body black makeup covering their legs and arms as they depicted the islanders and Emperor Jones himself (see *Figure 3* & *Figure 4* in appendix). As late as 1985 in the university's

production of *Othello,* the student playing Othello darkened his skin in order to demonstrate Othello's non-white identity.

Outside of theatre, blackface was a consistently well documented aspect of student life and entertainment. In the 1920s the university held an annual "Pep Vodie," which served as a pep rally before that athletic season's most anticipated sporting event. Typically, there was a skit competition in which social units and clubs could compete for cash prizes. In 1926 the Dixie Club, consisting of students from southern Utah, won the Pep Vodie competition with a skit entitled "The Dixie Derby." The photo included in *The Banyan* shows one student representing BYU in a horse race with another student dressed in a Native American headdress representing the University of Utah whose mascot was the Ute tribe. Cheering the riders on is a group of about a dozen students, the majority of whom are in blackface. The yearbook describes this as a "clever stunt" and a "another feather in [the] cap" of the Dixie Club (See *Figure 5* in appendix).[18]

[18] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1926), 266.

In 1933 another social unit, the Tausigs, won the Pep Vodie competition with their own blackface skit. *The Banyan* entitles the skit as the "Fate of the Big Four" and the plot follows as "the scene was laid in a tropic forest, where four white men were being held captive by a band of cannibals. The four represented the different colleges in the basketball conference. The one withstanding the tortures of the tribe was to be crowned king" (see *Figure 7*).[19] The yearbook also claims that the skit was "a very effective act and won much applause."[20]

Figure 6: "The Big Four," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1933).

[19] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1933), 35.
[20] Ibid.

Another instance of blackface used for entertainment during assemblies was in 1952. At what the yearbook refers to as "Thursday morning student body assemblies," the Brickers social group's blackface production appears to be the main event.[21] Members of the social unit can be seen in both the foreground and background of the photograph in blackface and minstrel costumes (see *Figure 7)*. There is also a giant painted backdrop featuring a Black caricature, suggesting that this skit was meant to be the main focus of the assembly if not a reoccurring act in which the background could be reused. The yearbook simply entitles the photograph as "entertaining assemblies."[22]

Figure 7: "entertaining assemblies," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1952).

Assemblies and performances that featured blackface seem to peak in the 1950s. Featured in the 1954 edition of *The Banyan*, a member of a social unit participating in the Bricker and O. S. Trovata combined show performed as "darkie Wayne Keith" in a skit entitled "Harlem Nocturne" (see *Figure 8* in appendix).[23] On a larger scale in 1956, the Student Program Bureau sponsored a Minstrel Show that "provided outstanding

[21] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1952), 363.
[22] Ibid.
[23] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1954), 133.

entertainment throughout the Intermountain West … [and] received plaudits from every presentation" (see *Figure 9*).[24] The show is reported to have included "comic acts, precision tap routines, vocal solos, Negro spirituals, Charleston routines and Al Jolson imitations," and was performed "in stake houses and high schools in Kaysville, Brigham City, Tremonton, Bountiful, Morgan, and Ogden." [25] Faculty advisor for the Student Program Bureau, Janie Thompson, commented that "[the] minstrel [show was] always funny, bright, and there [was] never a dull moment."[26]

Figure 9: "Student Program Bureau Traveling Minstrel Show," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1956).

Students can also be seen proudly wearing blackface and vaudeville or "African savage" inspirited outfits at various university sponsored dances. Photographs of these costumes are prominently displayed in *The Banyan*. In 1947 the yearbook describes one such instance as "the best party of the year" where "B.Y.U. Co-eds entertained themselves [at what was] a strictly costume affair. There was juke box music for dancing, and soda pop, hot dogs and ice cream cones gave refreshment to 'dog patchers,' 'darkies,' [and] 'ghosts.' [It was] a lot of fun and frolic" (See *Figure 10* in appendix).[27]

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[24] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1956), 197.
[25] "Touring Minstrels to Present Show For Studentbody," Brigham Young Universe, March 22, 1956, accessed June, 2021, https://archive.org/details/brighamyounguniv887asso/mode/2up.
[26] Ibid
[27] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1947), 169.

Lastly, perhaps the strangest occurrence of blackface in *The Banyan* occurs in 1928. In the section highlighting the various clubs at the university the Home Economics Club is pictured. There's no caption, but the photo shows thirty-nine members of the club all seemingly in costume. Immediately noticeable however is that seven of these students spread throughout the group are wearing blackface (see *Figure 11* in appendix).

White students performed these minstrel acts and donned blackface as a way to affirm their own white identity. By its very nature blackface was never intended to represent or accurately portray African Americans. It was purposefully crafted to overexaggerate Black features and to rely on caricatures and stereotypes associated with Blackness. When a white person performs in blackface they are signaling that Blackness is something they are not a part of. The very act of having to put on "the mask" and put on a performance demonstrates how polarized whiteness and stereotypical Blackness are from one another. Dr. Lisa M. Anderson who studies minstrelsy claims that "the exaggerated characters onstage enhanced a feeling of racial superiority and belonging" for the white performers and audience members.[28] By prominently featuring these photos in the yearbook, white students were affirming their white identity by highlighting what they were *not*.

Similarly, minstrel productions also helped white students to situate themselves into the American story. Blackface was one of "America's first distinct art forms and its most popular genre of public entertainment."[29] Featuring these shows in the yearbook

[28] Annika Neklason, "Blackface Was Never Harmless," The Atlantic, February 16, 2019, accessed July 2021, https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2019/02/legacy-blackface-ralph-northam-didnt-understand/582733/.
[29] Ibid.

reminded white students that they were Americans because they were entertaining themselves with the ultimate form of American entertainment.

THE "COLORED STUDENT ON CAMPUS"

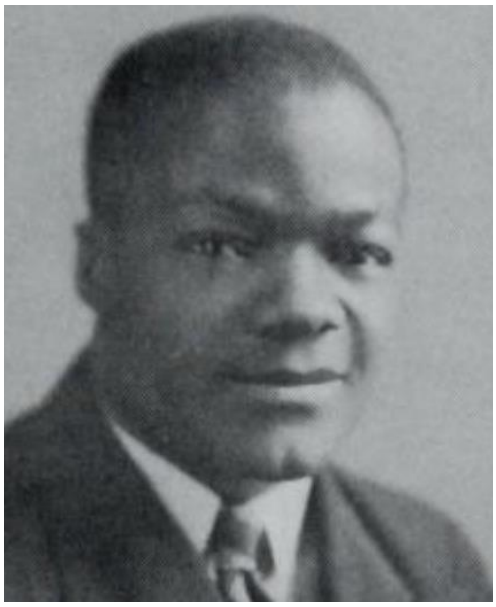

Figure 12: "Norman Wilson 1938 Yearbook Photo," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1938).

Brigham Young University's first Black student, Norman Wilson attended the school from 1937-1939 as a master's student studying agricultural economics (see *Figure 12*). Wilson was a young farmer turned scholar from Gibsland, Louisiana. His parents, Leon and Flavory, encouraged him from a young age to seek after knowledge, and though they had no formal education were able to help prepare Wilson to attend Morehouse College when he came of age.[30] After graduating from Morehouse in 1935 with an A.B. degree in economics, Wilson returned to Louisiana where he met and married Ernestine Veritos Matthews.

In the summer of 1937 Wilson, leaving Ernestine in New Orleans, began hitchhiking his way to Brigham Young University. He "hoboed" there on and off trains and often times walked through forests outside of populated areas for fear of being lynched.[31] He was even assaulted by a white train conductor when he was found sleeping

[30] Heidi Vessel and Norman Wilson Jr., interview by author, November 21, 2020.
[31] Ibid.

in an empty train car.[32] However, when Wilson arrived in Provo, Utah he found that while there were no objections to his admission due to his race, he was not accepted by many of the white students and townspeople around him. For the first several months Wilson slept in the local jailhouse as the school provided no accommodations and there were no other Black families in town that he could board with. However, he was eventually able to secure a rent house in the area. Wilson himself also mentions that he received all his meals while in Provo from the owners of the Hotel Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. Ed Burton, which leads one to question if Wilson was allowed to eat in the school cafeteria or other restaurants in town.[33]

Wilson likely avoided any violent racially motivated encounters due to his unique circumstances. Wilson was never a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, so he had no reason to openly object to the church's stance on Black ordination. There is also no doubt that Wilson would have been seen as more of a threat to white women in town if he were single, as the church vehemently opposed interracial marriage and miscegenation. However, given that he was already married to Black woman, white students, faculty, and townsfolk were likely put at ease. Lastly, Wilson never intended on staying in Provo upon graduation. He wanted to continue his education by obtaining a doctorate and move back to the South. Given these circumstances, Wilson in no way attempted to challenge white identity and authority at BYU. For him BYU was simply a vehicle for his educational pursuits.

[32] Ibid.
[33] Norman Wilson, *Mathematics,* (NC: Rowan Printing Company, 1954), 6.

Though he attended the university for two years, Wilson is only in the 1938 edition of *The Banyan*. He is pictured twice, once alongside the other master's students, and a second time his photograph is included with other members of the International Relations Club. Wilson is not found in any other photographs or mentioned. While at BYU he was seemingly collectively acknowledged as the "colored student on campus," participated in the International Relations club, and is reported as representing Ethiopia in a mock UN debate on campus.[34] He was also very active in the local Provo community. He participated in several integrated boxing matches which were covered in the local news, and gave a lecture at a local non-LDS church group on "Race Relationships."[35] He was even mentioned several times in the school's various newspapers and was given his own column upon graduation highlighting that he was the first Black student to ever attend the university. His seeming acceptance by both the campus and local community makes his absence from the yearbooks quite curious. Wilson's lack of presence in the yearbook suggests that he is not something the white students wanted to remember long term. While he was included and remembered at the time, as a Black man, Wilson was never meant to be a part of the larger white BYU legacy. Wilsons exclusion from the broader narrative led to his presence fading from memory. Until 2020 when I found Wilson's photograph in *The Banyan* it was believed that the first African American student attended the university in the 1960s.

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[34] "First Y Negro Gets M.A. Degree," The Y News, September 30, 1938, accessed September 2020, https://archive.org/details/ynews182brig/page/n1/mode/2up?q=%22norman+wilson%22.

[35] "Sunday Services," Provo Sunday Herald, June 12, 1938, accessed November, 2021, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/details?id=22700944&q=%22Norman+Wilson%22&year_start=1938&year_end=1944.

AFRICAN STUDENTS AT BYU

While there is evidence that suggests a Black student attended the university exactly a decade after Norman Wilson officially graduated in 1939, the next Black student to be featured in *The Banyan* was Nndem Etuk Udo Nndem (see *Figure 13* in appendix).[36] Nndem was a Nigerian student who attended the university from 1955-1957. There is little mention of him in *The Banyan* and he is only pictured once in the 1956 edition, and is simply mentioned in the student index of the 1957 edition. Nndem's experience appears to be similar to Wilson's in many regards. For example, he too was denied housing during his time at BYU. According to Albert B. Fritz, the Salt Lake City chapter president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1960, Nndem "had to live in the attic of a Protestant church because the people of Provo would not rent their apartments to a colored student."[37] More critically however is that both Wilson and Nndem were purposefully left out of the university's narrative in regards to *The Banyan*. They were both only featured in one yearbook, although they each attended for two years, and there is no photo of them interacting with the other students on campus. Again, while this doesn't inherently suggest mistreatment, it implies that the mainstream white student population chose to forget them.

[36] In a 1949 letter to the editor of the student newspaper *Brigham Young Universe,* an unnamed student referred to as "a member of the Negro race" is said to have been denied access to a local barber shop. The Legislative and Executive Council, "Council Makes Racial Ruling," Brigham Young Universe, March 3, 1949, accessed June, 2021, https://archive.org/details/brighamyounguniv119asso/page/n3/mode/2up?q=negro.
[37] Rita Wheeler, "America – All Races and Religions," Daily Universe, March 23, 1960, accessed July, 2021, https://archive.org/details/dailyuniverse12112asso/mode/2up?q=1960.

A notable difference however is Suzanne Blankson Ikpe, the first documented Black women to attend BYU. Ikpe, like Nndem was also a Nigerian student and is only documented to have attended the university from 1957-58. The 1958 edition of *The Banyan* has a spread that details the events of "Hello Week" in which the "approximately 9,000" new students of the university were able to meet and connect with one another.[38] During the "Hello Week Assembly" each new student was gathered into the gymnasium and was sectioned off into groups based on their national origins. Photographs in the spread show students from Greece, Guam, and Japan, as well as designated sections for students from the various U.S. states. However, unlike Wilson and Nndem, Ikpe was specifically highlighted in *The Banyan*. During the Hello Week Assembly, she is pictured as being brought down to the stage so she in particular would be introduced to the new students (See *Figure 14*). While the motivations behind Suzanne's deliberate inclusion in *The Banyan* are unclear, it is possible that the yearbook editors where trying to create a narrative of acceptance for themselves. Suzanne attended the university only three years after *Brown v Board of Education* and only one year after Autherine Lucy Foster's previously mentioned high profile desegregation case at the University of Alabama. Unlike other schools, Brigham Young University didn't have to be desegregated and white editors could have emphasized this as a way to absolve

Figure 14: "Suzanne Ikpe at Hello Week assembly," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1958).

[38] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1958), 27.

themselves from any accusations of racism. With Suzanne's apparent acceptance, any white student could look back at the yearbook and feel satisfied that they weren't racist.

After Ikpe, African, specifically Nigerian students at BYU, were few and far between until the late 1970's. This is largely due to the removal of funding for Nigerian students. While there was a "formal scholarship [that] subsidized the enrollment of Nigerian" students in the early 1960's, by 1965 the board of trustees decided to "discontinue… efforts to encourage other Nigerian students to attend BYU," and ended the scholarship program which "terminated the enrollment process" for any new Nigerian applicants.[39] Any significant resurgence of African students at the university didn't occur until the 1990's.

BYU ATHLETIC PROTESTS OF 1968-71

During the height of the Civil Rights Movement, Brigham Young University like many other institutions in the United States could no longer evade the country's racial tension. After major civil rights legislation like the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that prohibited racial discrimination, activists across America began to turn to their attention to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint's continued policy of refusing to ordain Black men and restricting Black men and women from most ceremonies performed in its temples. The church, and subsequently BYU, were accused of racist bigotry.

Particularly in the wake of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., 1968 saw a rise in number and intensity of student protests and demonstrations across the country.

[39] Gary James Bergera, "This Time of Crisis: The Race-Based Anti-BYU Athletic Protests of 1968-1971," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, no. 3 (Summer 2013): 10-11, accessed February 2021, https://issuu.com/utah10/docs/uhq_volume81_2013_number3.

BYU's first encounter with student protestors was on April 13. BYU's track team was set to compete against the University of Texas at El Paso, when seven of the opposing teams' Black athletes boycotted the meet. The El Paso team captain defended their decision saying "[the] reason for the track team's boycott… may sound like a small thing to a white person, but who the hell wants to go up there and run your tail off in front of a bunch of spectators who think you've got horns."[40] The President of the University of Texas El Paso, Joseph M. Ray, proceeded to suspend the seven athletes and send a rather revealing letter to BYU President Ernest Wilkinson. Ray began by saying "without any suggestion at all of trying to run your business, I think your institution will be a thorn in the side of the [Western Athletic] Conference until such time as you recruit at least a token Negro athlete."[41]

BYU's next run in with protestors would occur at the start of the 1968 football season. During the summer Olympics two San Jose State University track members, Tommie Smith and John Carolos, made global headlines when they raised black-gloved fists during the playing of the US national anthem during their medal ceremony for the 200-meter race. While they weren't forced to return their medals, the pair was highly criticized both in the American and global media for being perceived as overly political and as having unsportsmanlike conduct. Following this demonstration other students at San Jose State began to protest university administrators and among a list of demands

[40] Gary James Bergera, "This Time of Crisis: The Race-Based Anti-BYU Athletic Protests of 1968-1971," 14 https://issuu.com/utah10/docs/uhq_volume81_2013_number3.
[41] Ernest L. Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years Volume 3*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 471.

was a request to "take all possible steps to cancel [the school's] football contract with BYU."[42] However the game was still played on November 30th.

Other protests included demonstrations at the University of Arizona, the University of New Mexico, Oregon State, and Colorado State University among others. Even Stanford University dropped all athletic ties with BYU in 1969 due to "the church's practice of discrimination."[43]

The most well-known protest against BYU football also occurred during the 1969 football season. Fourteen Black players from the University of Wyoming approached their coach in the days leading up to the BYU game if they could wear Black armbands during their game to stand in solidarity with the school's Black Students Alliance. University of Wyoming coach, Lloyd Eaton immediately dismissed all of the players from the team and what proceeded was a tense and heated match. "The threat of violence was high" and the pressure had its toll on the BYU players who lost 7 to 40.[44]

Up until 1970 Brigham Young University had avoided recruiting African American athletes for its sports teams. While the school gave many rationales for this hesitancy, BYU football coach Tommy Hudspeth claimed "the real reason" the university

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[42] Gary James Bergera, "This Time of Crisis: The Race-Based Anti-BYU Athletic Protests of 1968-1971," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, no. 3 (Summer 2013): 15, accessed February 2021, https://issuu.com/utah10/docs/uhq_volume81_2013_number3/s/10418366.

[43] Gary James Bergera, "This Time of Crisis: The Race-Based Anti-BYU Athletic Protests of 1968-1971," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, no. 3 (Summer 2013): 22, accessed February 2021, https://issuu.com/utah10/docs/uhq_volume81_2013_number3.

[44] Gary James Bergera, "This Time of Crisis: The Race-Based Anti-BYU Athletic Protests of 1968-1971," 20, https://issuu.com/utah10/docs/uhq_volume81_2013_number3.

refused to recruit Black athletes was due to a fear of interracial dating.[45] However, the negative publicity and accusations of racism proved too much, and the university seemingly took Joseph M. Ray's advice to recruit a "token negro athlete." Ronnie Knight, a senior from Oklahoma, became Brigham Young University's first Black athlete during the 1970-71 football season. Hudspeth later confessed that Knight was admitted after he was "'made aware' that LDS Church leadership wanted him to add African American players to his team."[46]

History shows that the 1968-71 school years proved to be a tense and divisive time for Brigham Young University's athletic program. However, that is not how university president Wilkinson and *The Banyan* remembered it. In 1975 to celebrate BYU's one-hundred-year anniversary, the school released a four-volume history of the institution entitled *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, in which President Wilkinson was a main editor. The third volume in this collection touches on this time period in a section called "Accusations of Racism" where it claims that "the only thing that threatened to mar BYU's otherwise successful intercollegiate athletic program during the Wilkinson years was the unfortunate eruption… of racial accusations. Because there are few Latter-day Saint blacks, and BYU for that reason, generally did not have a black student on one of its teams, the school was accused of being racist."[47] The text goes on to claim that the situation, especially regarding Stanford's refusal to compete

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[45] Darron T. Smith, *When Race Religion, and Sport Collide*, (Lanham, MA: Rowan & Littlefield, 2017), 91.
[46] Jay Drew, "Former coach established foundation for BYU's success," The Salt Lake Tribune, June 23, 2015, accessed November, 2020, https://archive.sltrib.com/article.php?id=2655917&itype=CMSID.
[47] Ernest L. Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years Volume 3*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 471.

against the university as "ludicrous."[48] Later in a small section entitled "Rebound from Demoralizing Accusations" the text reads "in many ways, this test of adversity brought the school greater stature and respect from all sectors than it enjoyed before the accusations of racism were made."[49]

The Banyans during this time period offer little commentary on the protests. While documenting some injuries on both the football and basketball teams, the yearbook's main focus was on the team's achievements even claiming that "BYU had a [football] team to be proud of," and that the team had "a bright future."[50] There are only four indications of anything related to race and sport, one of which is in the 1970 yearbook where the crowd at the football stadium is seen holding up placards that form a

Figure 15: "Uniting of Black and White on and off the Field," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1970).

white and Black arm clasping hands with the caption "card stunt shows the uniting of black and white, on and off the field" (see *Figure 15*).[51] The second being the 1971 yearbook where Ronnie Knight is pictured playing cards with teammates on a plane,

[48] Ernest L. Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years Volume 3*, 478,
[49] Ibid, 481.
[50] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1968), 198.
[51] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1970), 173.

suggesting Knights acceptance and inclusion on the team (see *Figure* 16 in appendix). The third and fourth instances also occur in 1971. The same page shows one photograph of protestors with the caption "racial dissenters stirred little ferment against the Cougar athletes. Few fans noticed the abrupt departure of a small number of black spectators during the second quarter [(of the University of Arizona game)], and the sign bearers pacing quietly outside the stadium drew little, if any, attention."[52] And right next to that photo is a picture of two Black men, Bruce Eggers and Lorenzo Cotton, who were sent from the University of Arizona as a fact-finding committee to investigate racial discrimination at BYU. Alongside their photograph, the caption quotes the two men's final report which claimed "the fact-finding committee could find nothing to indicate that Brigham Young University is a racist institution or that there may be any more or less racism present than at any other school."[53] Each of these four instances paint a very particular narrative of white students and the university itself. Editors likely placed the results of the fact-finding committee next to the photo of the protestor's to intentionally delegitimize the protestors' cause, and absolve the university and its students from accusations of racism. Similarly, the photos of Knight playing cards and the card display at a football game, create a false narrative of inclusion and acceptance. Any white student that was to look back upon the yearbook would be given a false narrative of unity, purposefully crafted to obscure the reality of racial tension and allegations of discrimination that plagued the university at that time.

[52] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1956), 259.
[53] Ibid, 258.

AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS FROM 1960-85

After Norman Wilson attended the university in 1938, it would take two decades for other African American students to appear in *The Banyan*. Darius Gray was likely the first Black baptized member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to attend the school. Gray was baptized in 1964, a year before he attended the university. In an interview with the *Deseret News* Gray recalled all the people who "stopped and stared" at him during his first day in Provo, making him conscious that he was the "darkest thing walking down the street."[54] At the time, there was only about two dozen other Black residents in the entire county, leaving Gray, and one other unidentified African American woman who was also a student, as likely the only Black people in the entire city.[55] Gray left BYU after one school year, transferring to the University of Utah. He would later to go on to help found the Genesis Group, an auxiliary organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints created to fulfill the particular needs of Black members of the faith. Curiously, Gray is not pictured in the 1965 edition of *The Banyan* and is also not included in the index. While there are many possible explanations for this, it is odd that yearbook editors would not highlight his presence at the university given the timing and context of the Civil Rights Movement and the beginning of racist accusations facing the university.

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[54] Tad Walch, "Black LDS leader Darius Gray makes, contributes to Mormon history," Deseret News, June 16, 2014, accessed June 2021, https://www.deseret.com/2014/6/16/20543422/black-lds-leader-darius-gray-makes-contributes-to-mormon-history#darius-gray-poses-for-a-photo-near-temple-square-in-salt-lake-city-on-friday-june-13-2014. =

[55] Pamela S. Perlich, "Utah Minorites: The Story Told by 150 Years of Census Data," *Bureau of Economic and Research*, 11, accessed May, 2021, https://gardner.utah.edu/bebr/Documents/studies/Utah_Minorities.pdf? x71849.

After Gray left BYU, the next African American pictured in the yearbook is Ronnie Knight. After Knight's first and only year at the university, BYU would continue to consistently recruit one or two "token negro athletes" for their athletic program.

Figure 17: "Robert Stevenson," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1977).

Though, surprisingly in 1977 an African American student, Robert Stevenson, was elected Student Body Vice President (see *Figure 17*). Stevenson's vice presidency is curious given the history of Black students running for office at the university. In 1960, then university president Ernest L. Wilkinson notified schools board of trustees that "a colored boy on the campus [(whose identity is unknown)] [had] been a candidate for the vice presidency of a class and receive[ed] a very large vote."[56] As a result, the board of trustees initially proposed "barring colored students from the BYU," but eventually decided to send a letter to "black applicants from the administration, dissuading them from attending the institution by citing that Utah was, in essence, a cultural desert where few black people lived, especially in Provo, the home of BYU."[57] Also, in light of this situation, then apostle of the Church of Jesus Christ of

[56] Gary James Bergera, "This Time of Crisis: The Race-Based Anti-BYU Athletic Protests of 1968-1971," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, no. 3 (Summer 2013): 9, accessed February 2021, https://issuu.com/utah10/docs/uhq_volume81_2013_number3.
[57] Gary James Bergera, "This Time of Crisis: The Race-Based Anti-BYU Athletic Protests of 1968-1971," 9, https://issuu.com/utah10/docs/uhq_volume81_2013_number3, & Darron T. Smith, *When Race Religion, and Sport Collide,* (Lanham, MA: Rowan & Littlefield, 2017), 96, respectively.

Latter-day Saints, Harold B. Lee, penned a letter to Wilkinson during this time saying "if a granddaughter of mine should ever go to BYU and become engaged to a colored boy there, I will hold you responsible."[58]

Given this history, the significance of Stevenson's election can only be understood when placed in broader context. In the 1950s and 60s the LDS church and BYU as a whole were intensely fixated on preventing interracial marriages amongst its members and students. In 1954 the First Presidency of the LDS Church stated that "the Church is opposed on biological and other grounds, to intermarriage between whites and negroes, and…it discourages all social relationships and associations between the races, as among its members, that might lead to such marriages."[59] That same year apostle Mark E. Petersen claimed in a speech given at BYU that "the negro seeks absorption with the white race. He will not be satisfied until he achieves it by intermarriage. That is his objective and we must face it. We must not allow our feelings to carry us away, nor must we feel so sorry for the negros that we will open our arms and embrace them with everything we have." With this in mind it's understandable why the university would be opposed to a Black man gaining popularity and favor in 1960. With Stevenson's election in 1977 however, the LDS Church was in a much different situation regarding race relations. The LDS Church was one of the last major American institutions that was still upholding racial discrimination in religious worship and leadership roles, and was being accused of bigotry in local and national headlines. The Church was also one year away

[58] Darron T. Smith, *When Race Religion, and Sport Collide,* (Lanham, MA: Rowan & Littlefield, 2017), 90-91.
[59] Taylor G. Petrey, *Tabernacles of Clay: Sexuality and Gender in Modern Mormonism,* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 25.

from removing said racial restrictions, a decision then prophet Spencer W. Kimball was actively struggling over. Given the accusations of racism and Kimball's emerging change of heart, it is reasonable to assume that Stevenson's election was actually beneficial for the school. For example, in 1976 the year Stevenson initially won the election, *The New York Times* published an article that quoted Stevenson claiming he was "comfortable" at BYU, that the "Mormon Church was [his] road to salvation," and that "he found very little prejudice" at BYU unlike "the gross discrimination" he faced had experienced elsewhere.[60] This positive publicity boded well for the university as they could point to the words of a Black man in a leadership position to feign innocence from any allegations of racism.

Aside from Robert Stevenson, most African Americans to attend the university between 1977-85 were student athletes. During the 1977-78 season, Keith Rice and Danny Frazier became the first Black players on the BYU basketball team. Fraizer would later become one of the first Black missionaries for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-

[60] Grace Lichtenstein, "Mormon School Elects a Black to Student Office," The New York Times, April 4, 1976, accessed July, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/1976/04/04/archives/mormon-school-elects-a-black-to-student-office.html.

day Saints after the lifting of the Priesthood and Temple Ban in June of 1978.[61] The same season also saw Clay Blackwell join the football team alongside Frazier who also played football. They would be followed by Adam Haysbert who played from 1980-84, Mark Mickinney (1980-81), and Leon White (1981-85). The next Black basketball player was Eric Kellogg who played from 1984-85. Lastly, Rhonda Shelby was the first Black woman to ever become a member of the university's dance team, the Cougarettes, and later a captain of the cheer squad (see *Figure 18*).

Figure 18: "Song Leaders," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1985).

LAMANITE GENERATION

THE BOOK OF MORMON AND LDS RACIAL THEOLOGY

When *The Book of Mormon* was first published in 1830, it made unique and seemingly radical assumptions and claims about Native Americans. The book begins with an Israelite family fleeing Jerusalem six hundred years before the birth of Christ. The

[61] Doug Robinson, "Blessing in disguise: career-ending injury didn't stop BYU athlete," Deseret News, August 31, 2011, accessed November, 2020, https://www.deseret.com/2011/8/31/20212906/blessing-in-disguise-career-ending-injury-didn-t-stop-byu-athlete#former-byu-football-and-basketball-player-and-one-of-the-first-blacks-to-serve-a-mission-danny-frazier-broke-his-neck-in-a-football-game-he-went-on-to-become-a-lawyer-his-son-jameson-plays-for-byu-now-danny-poses-monday-aug-29-2011-for-photos-in-his-office-for-a-profile-story

family, composed of patriarch Lehi, his wife Sariah, and their sons Laman, Lemuel, Sam, Nephi, Jacob, and Joseph, build a boat with divine instruction and travel across the ocean to the Americas which they refer to as the "promised land." Soon after arriving, Laman and Lemuel seek to kill their brother Nephi, the brother who is most favored by God, in order to control the new settlement. Nephi is warned of their plans by God and flees in the night with the rest of siblings. Once separated the two groups create new societies calling themselves the Lamanites and Nephites respectively. For attempting to murder Nephi, God punishes the Lamanites by "cut[ing] them off from his presence," and cursing them with "a skin of blackness."[62] For the rest of the book the Nephites and Lamanites are almost always at war with one another until around four hundred years after the resurrected Christ visited the promised land, the last Nephite, Moroni, dies.

In 1830 members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints interpreted the curse of "a skin of blackness" literally. They believed that while they were the chosen "white and delightsome" followers of God, that Native Americans were the "literal [fallen] descendants of ancient Israelites," and that it was their responsibility "to help elevate them from their current depraved 'Indian' state, [by] restor[ing] them to the faith of their forefathers" and returning to them to the knowledge of their "Lamanite history."[63] Members of the church believed *The Book of Mormon* laid out a "covenantal contract" in which any Native American or "Lamanite" that joined the church and abandoned their

[62] 2 Nephi 5:20-21
[63] Max Perry Mueller, *Race and the Making of the Mormon People* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 64.

Native culture would eventually overcome God's curse and physically become more "white and delightsome."[64]

This interpretation of scripture created a particular white savior complex that was unique to Mormonism. Church members didn't believe they were just "civilizing" Native Americans by promoting Western ideals, they thought they were saving their souls by bringing them back into the presence of God. Ultimately, these attitudes found their way to BYU where students presented Native Americans in a way that asserted white racial and cultural superiority, while also creating the narrative that BYU and whiteness were a gift and redeeming force for Native Americans.

Figure 19: "Gertrude Simmons Bonnin & William F. Hanson," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1913).

WHITE ENTITLEMENT AND NATIVE AMERICAN PRODUCTIONS

Similar to blackface and minstrel shows, operas, plays, and performances that depicted stereotypical representations of Indigeneity were a common fixture at Brigham Young University. One of the most critically acclaimed performances was the university's production of *The Sun Dance Opera* in 1915. The opera was originally composed in 1913 by Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, a Native American musician, and William F. Hanson a white composer and professor at BYU (see *Figure 19*). Scholar P. Jane Hafen explains that the opera included elements of Bonnin's "Plain culture" in regards to "costuming, singing, [and] dancing" along with

[64] Max Perry Mueller, *Race and the Making of the Mormon People*, 72.

"an orchestral accompaniment and dramatic plot [that] infuse[d] elements of western civilization," resulting in "an uneasy duet of two cultures."[65]

The opera left a complicated legacy in its wake. At the time of its release, "the practice of the Sun Dance was outlawed on the Uintah Ouray reservation."[66] P. Jane Hafen suggests that while in both the original and BYU productions the main roles were played by white performers, the opera created a space in which Native American dancers could participate in "these [otherwise] forbidden rituals, provid[ing] an opportunity to sing familiar songs and dance traditional steps."[67] However, the opera also demonstrates a sense of entitlement white members of the LDS Church and students at Brigham Young University had towards Native American culture. *The Banyan* described the opera as a "Lamanitish production."[68] This descriptor indicates that students at the university didn't only view the opera as Native American in subject matter, but rather specifically Lamanite in origin. By connecting Native American culture to that of the Lamanites, white students were able to give themselves the authority to insert themselves into a culture and tradition that wasn't their own. And by fusing traditional Native American elements into the western tradition, rather than opting for authenticity, it leans into the narrative of racial uplift. Meaning that by assimilating Native culture into their own,

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[65] P. Jane Hafen, "A Cultural Duet Zitkala Sa And *The Sun Dance Opera*," *Great Plains Quarterly*, (Spring, 1998): 103, accessed July, 2021, https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3027&context=greatplainsquarterly.
[66] P. Jane Hafen, "A Cultural Duet Zitkala Sa And *The Sun Dance Opera*," 105.
[67] Ibid.
[68] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1915), 163.

white students believed they were aiding the so-called Lamanites to become more white and delightsome.

The next major Native American inspired production at the university was *Tam-Man Nacup,* another original opera composed by Willian F. Hanson first performed in 1928. Similarly to *The Sun Dance Opera,* the performance revolves around another Native American traditional dance, specifically the Ute tribe's ceremonial Bear Dance. *The Banyan* describes the performance as follows: "The Ute songs, civilized a bit but retaining their weird charm were used throughout the production, as were the Ute dances and traditions. Long and careful research among the Utes on the part of the author made the presentation of historical interest as well as an artistic triumph. The songs and choruses of *Tam-Man Nacup* were unsually and weirdly beautiful and effective. All the principle as well as the chorus so lived the ceremonial that the audience was immediately transported to the very hearts of the Ute Indians where they beheld their simple faith, heard their simple superstitions, and enjoyed their meaningful dances."[69]

Much more explicitly than with *The Sun Dance Opera The Baynan's* recollection of the performance highlights the students sense of entitlement and superiority over Native Americans and Indigenous culture. Despite Hanson's relationship with Native American people, he is described as being "colonially oblivious," and yet he felt qualified to compose these works given his relationships and white Mormon heritage.[70] Similarly, students believed they were authorized and entitled to Indigenous culture to the point

[69] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1928), 129.
[70] P. Jane Hafen, "A Cultural Duet Zitkala Sa And *The Sun Dance Opera*," *Great Plains Quarterly*, (Spring, 1998): 106, accessed July, 2021, https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3027&context=greatplainsquarterly.

they could "transport" the audience to a place of "civilized authenticity."[71] A few years later in 1935 Hanson claimed sole creation credit for both operas when *The Sun Dance Opera* was "revived at BYU in 1935, and selected for performance on Broadway in 1938."[72] Eventually, he gave the copyright to both operas to BYU. It wasn't until his memoir that he gave Bonnin credit, emphasizing the entitlement to and erasure of Native voices.

Figure 20: "The Bleeding Heart," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1937).

The last major production performed by a primarily white cast was an opera entitled *The Bleeding Heart* in 1937. Also composed by Hanson, the opera "is a fantasy telling of an imaginary people who lived at the foot of Mount Timpanogos," a massive mountain that towers over BYU and the surrounding area.[73] The plot follows, Utahna, a Native American woman, who climbs to the top off the peak "to throw herself from the

[71] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1928), 129.
[72] P. Jane Hafen, "A Cultural Duet Zitkala Sa And *The Sun Dance Opera*," *Great Plains Quarterly*, (Spring, 1998): 106, accessed July, 2021, https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3027&context=greatplainsquarterly.
[73] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1937), 160.

cliffs as a sacrifice to the God of the mountain" (see *Figure 20*).[74] She is stopped by her lover, Red Eagle, who disguises himself as the mountain God and convinces Utahna to marry him. At the end of the opera the cast performs a version of the Bear Dance. In line with the two previous operas, *The Bleeding Heart* demonstrates how white students and faculty alike felt qualified and entitled to Native American culture to the point of creating a false origin story using traditional cultural dances, costumes, and songs. All of this ultimately highlighting both their white privilege and self-imposed notions of white superiority over Indigenous peoples, cultures, and traditions.

"AMBUSH THE UTES" NATIVE AMERICAN IMAGERY AND SPORT

Figure 21: "History-Y Holds Utes Scoreless," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1929).

Aside from productions focusing on Native American stereotypes, a common theme throughout the entire run of *The Banyan* is the use of racist depictions of Native Americans in regards to athletic events. The university's longest athletic rival is the University of Utah whose mascot has ranged from a Native American man, a Native American boy named Hoyo, the "Redskins," the Crimson Warrior, to its current mascot Swoop, a red-tailed hawk.

During the years the University of Utah had an explicitly Native American mascot, *The Banyan* would include drawings as well as photographs that reflected the outcomes of that particular year's football and basketball games. For example, in 1929

[74] Ibid.

The Banyan included a drawing of a cougar holding onto a cartoonish depiction of a Native American man running with a football (see *Figure 21*). That year BYU and Utah had tied 0-0. In 1936 when BYU lost the football game 0-18, *The Banyan* included another racist depiction of a Native American man carrying a cougar over his shoulder as his fellow tribe members shout "bring 'um kitty to camp" (see *Figure 22* in appendix).[75]

Figure 24: "Chief Massasoit,: The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1982).

The 1966 and 1982 yearbooks both include photographs of students creating racist Native American imagery under the guise of school pride. In 1966 during a parade the Dileas Chalean and Alpha Phi Omega social units created a float depicting a cougar who had killed a Native American man by pushing him off of a mountain (see *Figure 23* in appendix). That year BYU football team had beaten Utah 35-13. Two decades later the 1982 edition of *The Banyan* sees the school's statue of Chief Massasoit, that was made to represent peace and unity, covered in arrows with a sign that reads "Ambush the Utes" (see *Figure 24*).

All four of these instances presented in *The Banyan* are another representation of white students perceived racial superiority over Native American peoples. Their identity as members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as well as students at BYU required them to maintain that narrative. Even though the University of Utah's football and basketball teams were composed of primarily white players, BYU students still believed that they had to show their dominance over any

[75] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1936), 273.

manifestation of Indigeneity. When the school was successful in beating the University of Utah, the defeat was praised and memorialized as honorable often times demonstrating physical violence towards Native Americans. When they lost however, it was depicted as shameful, as something that needed to be met with a strong rebuttal of racial dominance in order to protect their interpretation of *The Book of Mormon*'s prophecies.

Another important factor to consider is how the use of Native American imagery and mascots in sporting events denies Native American people and students the right to express their own identity. The word mascot originally derives from the French term *mascotte* which refers "to any object or talisman that brought luck to a person or household."[76] Overtime however, mascots particularly in America became "racialized and relied on notions of racial hierarchy and identity that equated blackness [and Indigeneity] to animalism."[77] By using these depictions in *The Banyan*, the editors were crafting their own narrative of what it was to be Native. They homogenized all Native groups, representing them as savage, animalistic, and something to be conquered and destroyed. This mindset of Native American culture and the ways in which it keeps Native American students from living authentically is something that would flourish at BYU, particularly with its Indian Studies program.

[76] Jennifer Guiliano, "The Fascination and Frustration with Native American Mascots," The Society Pages, August 20, 2013, accessed July, 2021, https://thesocietypages.org/specials/mascots/.
[77] Ibid.

INDIAN STUDENT EDUCATION PROGRAM

Spencer W. Kimball, LDS apostle then prophet, had a long history of being a trailblazer in regards to the LDS Church and racial minority relations. While he would later end the Priesthood and Temple Ban in 1978, decades earlier he was "called" to improve relations with the church and Native Americans. In 1945 Kimball was instructed by George Albert Smith, the prophet at the time, to "look after the indians." The next year, Kimball along with other church leadership toured the Navajo Nation. He became enraged at the high levels of poverty and lack of proper nutrition. He began to "question the efficacy of government programs on reservations" and concluded that "Church sponsored" programs would be better equipped aide Native American people than the government. Two years later in 1947, Kimball and Golden Buchanan, a local church leader, devised of a program in which Native American children would be placed in Mormon households during the school year.

This program would later be called the Indian Student Placement Program. In the beginning, Kimball and Buchannan personally invited white LDS families to host Native American children in the hopes that "they would be treated exactly as sons and daughters… [to] be trained in scholastic affairs in the schools,… learn to keep house, tend to a family, [and] manage a house and a farm."[78] The pair saw these arrangements as mutually beneficial, with the children assimilating into the Church and white society, the white families would also "be fulfilling the prophetic mission of bringing the gospel to the Lamanites.[79] After a few trial years, the program became an official LDS Church

[78] *Essays on American Indian and Mormon History*, ed. P. Jane Hafen, Brenden W. Rensink (Salt Lake City, UT: The University of Utah Press, 2019), 229.
[79] Ibid.

operation in 1954, expanding rapidly in the 1960's. As a result, Native American education programs at BYU "grew naturally out of the Indian Placement Program."[80]

Beginning in 1960 Brigham Young University began experimenting with various academic programs targeted at Native Americans. Initially the school focused on "track[ing] Indian students into vocational and technical fields" and helping Native American students make it through to graduation.[81] Over a few years, the program evolved to attempt to promote "Lamanite identity and promote conversion" to the Church.[82] Unlike other Native American studies programs across the country, BYU avoided teaching students Native American history, culture, languages, and arts, opting instead to teach them what it was to be a Lamanite. To do so Native American students had to forgo their unique tribal and cultural differences, as they were forced to amalgamate into a singular Lamanite identity created by white students, faculty, and church leaders. Ultimately the schools Indian Education Program "emphasiz[ed] Indian *students* rather than Indian studies."[83]

This new approach had detrimental effects on Native American students' academic success. Little to no academic support was given to students–many of who came from the Indian Student Placement Program–even though they "had been admitted at a comparative disadvantage to their non-Indian peers."[84] A study in 1972 found that

[80] *Essays on American Indian and Mormon History*, ed. P. Jane Hafen, Brenden W. Rensink, 230.
[81] *Essays on American Indian and Mormon History*, ed. P. Jane Hafen, Brenden W. Rensink (Salt Lake City, UT: The University of Utah Press, 2019), 230.
[82] *Essays on American Indian and Mormon History*, ed. P. Jane Hafen, Brenden W. Rensink, 231.
[83] Ibid.
[84] *Essays on American Indian and Mormon History*, ed. P. Jane Hafen, Brenden W. Rensink, 232.

Native American students "entered BYU with a mean ACT score of only 12.77 and a composite GPA of only 1.85–scores so low that fully 87 percent entered the university on academic probation."[85] BYU administration, fully aware of these statistics, ignored the academic struggles of Native American students, and instead focused on ways they could curate a strong Lamanite identity.

In 1971, university faculty created a song and dance group called Lamanite Generation. The group was meant to be used as "a proselyting tool to draw attention to the Church's Indian programs" as it performed across the country and eventually across seas (see *Figure 25*).[86] And while taking inspiration from various Native American cultures, the troupe performed "highly anglicized song and dance routines" that were meant to cultivate a very specific form of Lamanite identity amongst the performers. From 1971 and onward in *The Banyan*, the majority of Native American representation was focused on the Indian Studies Program and Lamanite Generation. Photos of performances filled the pages of each yearbook showing Native American students not on their own terms, but rather an intricately created narrative that the school administration and Church leadership wanted current and potential students to see. The school didn't

Figure 25: "Lamanite Generation at Disney Land," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1975).

[85] Ibid.
[86] *Essays on American Indian and Mormon History*, ed. P. Jane Hafen, Brenden W. Rensink (Salt Lake City, UT: The University of Utah Press, 2019), 235.

want to present authentic Indigeneity, but rather what they believed was Lamanite culture. This ultimately created a paradox in which BYU administration believed they were "saving" Native American students and helping them to become more white and delightsome while simultaneously barring them from achieving whiteness, forcing them to become Lamanites.

Over the years, spreads in *The Banyan* about the Indian Studies Program were focused on how BYU was uplifting Native American students and preparing them to go back to their homes and reservations and teach their family members the "proper" ways of life. In 1967, the first *Banyan* to explicitly mention the program, it claims that the program "helped [Native American students] with their personal problems, provided them with social activities and helped them to budget money and understand the importance of public health… [preparing them to return] to their homes to teach homemaking skills, nutrition, agriculture, and technical skills to their people."[87] In 1968 the yearbook asserts that the program is one of the best ways in which Native American students could acquaint "them[selves] with their cultural heritage… [and prepare] for useful and productive lives."[88] These statements alone highlight major assumptions that university administration made in regards to Native people and cultures. First being a major white saviorism complex in which they felt that they were the most qualified to "uplift" and teach Native students about their culture and proper civilization. It also shows that the university didn't value authentic Native American culture, as they believed that only they were capable of teaching Native students about their "true"

[87] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1967), 54.
[88] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1968), 46.

culture and heritage, i.e. teaching them to become Lamanites. These spreads ultimately told Native American students and white students alike that whiteness had the sole authority to dictating how one should live and express themselves, permanently cementing a sense of white superiority.

Native American students attempted to find ways in which they could authentically live and promote how they viewed indigeneity. In the early 1950's Native American students created a club called Tribe of Many Feathers with the goal of "cultivating a deeper friendship among Indian students on campus."[89] The club was one of the few places on campus in which Native American students were able to tell their own stories and control their narrative. Students also created their own campus newspaper, the *Eagles's Eye*, that began in 1971 which focused on Native American topics and issues and ran sporadically for over three decades. The Tribe of Many Feathers club also sponsored the annual Miss Indian BYU Pageant (see *Figure 26*). Each year the winner would be chosen based on her knowledge of "Tribal history and culture as well as on her contemporary talents and knowledge of world events."[90] Unfortunately, these endeavors are rarely covered in *The Banyan*. While the university homecoming queen, the Daily Universe Newspaper staff, and Lamanite Generation were given spreads in almost every

Figure 26: "Miss Indian BYU," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1973).

[89] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1952), 418.
[90] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1983), 332.

edition of *The Banyan*, the *Eagles Eye* staff, Tribe of Many Feathers, and Miss Indian BYU were only included a handful of times each. This absence suggests that yearbook editors and administration didn't include these organizations because they didn't fit the Lamanite narrative they wanted to be emphasized and remembered.

OUR ORIENTAL FRIENDS

THE LDS CHURCH AND ASIAN COMMUNITIES

After Mormon pioneers settled in Utah, Church leadership sent missionaries across the globe to spread the message of the gospel. During this time missionaries were sent to Asia but failed to maintain a lasting presence. It wasn't until the years after World War II that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was able to establish "deep roots in Japan, Hong Kong, Korea, Taiwan, and the Philippines."[91] Despite the lack membership in Asia, the Church did however gain many Asian converts in Hawai'i.

In 1850 missionary George Q. Cannon began teaching in the Hawai'ian islands and was aided by an early Hawai'ian convert, Jonathan Nāpela, to translate *The Book of Mormon* into a language other than English for the first time. By 1870, the LDS Church had over 4,000 members on the island and the first temple to be built outside of North America was established in Lā'ie in 1919. Consequently, as Hawai'i's population became more diverse, so did converts to the Church. By the early 20th century the Church created

[91] "The Church in Asia, 1964," The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, accessed July, 2021, https://history.churchofjesuschrist.org/exhibit/the-church-in-asia-1964?lang=eng.

a “Japanese mission” in Hawai’i, leading to an influx of Japanese American members.[92] These events created the conditions in which Asian–primarily Japanese American students–were some of the first and most consistent students of color at Brigham Young University.

AN EXOTIC FASCINATION

The first Asian student documented in *The Banyan* is Henry Kuno, an international Japanese student that attended the university in 1911. He pictured twice in the yearbook, first is his official student photo, and the second is a “meme” entitled “KUNO AT HOME” in which his student photo is superimposed onto the body of a man with a baby strapped to his back walking along a beach with a Japanese woman (see *Figure 27*). While the context behind the photo is unclear, it was included in the yearbooks joke section implying that it was meant to poke fun at Kuno’s differences. The photo also demonstrates the first instance in *The Banyan* where white students are seemingly fascinated by Asian cultures.

Figure 27: “Kuno at Home,” The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1911).

[92] “Facts and Statistics,” The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, accessed July 2021, https://newsroom.churchofjesuschrist.org/facts-and-statistics/state/hawaii.

Just like with minstrel shows and Native American Operas, Brigham Young University hosted a variety of productions inspired by Asian cultures, many of which included yellowface. Amongst these performances are a "Japanese play" performed by the university's elementary school students in 1916, a production of *Lady Precious Storm* in 1939, and *Lute Song* in 1967. The university also hosted several Junior Proms that were inspired by the "Orient." One held in 1923 is described the following: "Greeted by Japanese maids, guests were ushered into a Japanese garden of exquisite color and delicacy, flooded with soft, liquid lights from behind tinted shades. The odor of cherry blossoms, and the fumes of incense, curling in all directions from the hands of the little Jap god in the center, gave a touch of realism to the oriental picture. The orchestra, in true Japanese costumes, with faces masked by the artful strokes of grease paint, played delightfully dreamy and entrancing melodies, while in the garden, the serving maids never tired of supplying one with rice crackers and a deliciously iced substitute for the original tea of the native."[93] Another prom entitled "How Near the Far" was held in 1969 that included a mash up of various stereotypical Asian décor and *The Banyan* claimed that couples were "transported to the Orient."[94]

[93] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1923), 166.
[94] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1969), 189.

Along with a fascination for "the orient" amongst white students is the exoticism of Asian women. In the university's history only two Homecoming queens were non-white women. The first of which being Alice Akita in 1953 (see *Figure 28*). Akita is the only homecoming queen in the entire run of *The Banyan* whose whole body is pictured, and her spread in the yearbook emphasizes her Hawai'ian heritage with the aims of exoticizing and sexualizing her. The second Asian homecoming queen would be Michiko Makamura in 1973, an international student from Japan whose national origin was emphasized multiple times throughout the 1973 Banyan. Similarly, Chinese women were exoticized in 1968 when the women on the Chinese Club's Homecoming float are described as representing peculiar "grandeur and beauty of the orient."[95]

Figure 28: "Alice Akita," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1953).

Asian students unlike Black and Indigenous students, were able to have a voice and control much of their own narrative. While Black students were largely silenced and Native American students controlled, Asian students were able to have more freedom *because* they were peculiar and odd to the white administration and white students. Latter-day Saint theology and *The Book of Mormon* never mention Asians in the way Black and Indigenous people are. Asians are never given a formal religious "role to

[95] *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1968), 167.

play," so their very existence is fascinating to white Latter-day Saints. The Chinese and Japanese clubs and organizations were almost always prominently featured in *The Banyan* and Asian American students were pictured often in the student life sections unlike other racial minorities. It's because white students were so unfamiliar with and fascinated by Asian peoples and cultures, that they allowed them to have more control over their narrative. Asian culture as white students saw it, was something they wanted to experience, witness, and remember.

CONCLUSION

While all deemed peculiar in their own ways, Black, Indigenous, and Asian students at Brigham Young University were remembered by the white student population in uniquely different ways. For Black students, their Blackness and peculiarity in the traditional sense of the word was something white students consistently attempted to separate themselves from. While Black students were always officially welcome at the university, they were often unwanted or used as token evidence for white students and the university to absolve themselves from racist allegations. For Native American students, given the white student's interpretation of *The Book of Mormon*, they were trapped in a paradox of being expected to assimilate and become white and delightsome, while also being forced to accept a Lamanite identity. Overall, Native American students in *The Banyan* were not meant to be remembered as students and peers, but rather as Lamanites and performers that fulfilled students white saviorism and provided entertainment. Lastly, Asian students were given control over their narrative only because they were seen as peculiar and unique peoples. Their freedom of expression can at a cost of being

remembered as exotic beings meant to bring culture, beauty, and entertainment for white student's enjoyment.

Using yearbooks as windows into the eyes of its creators and audience opens new doors to understanding race, ethnicity, and religion. The meticulously curated racial components of *The Banyan* clearly shows how white students viewed and reinforced their whiteness, but also how they created narratives regarding what it meant to be Black, Native, and Asian. By examining how these editors presented students of color in the yearbook it offers insight into the ways they wanted non-white students to be remembered and what that means for their own white identity. There is also significance in the editor's silence. Purposeful erasure of students of color like Norman Wilson is an act of immense racism. To deny someone of their contributions, history, and legacy is a violent act that reveals a good deal of insight in to the creator's priorities, prejudices, and biases. By utilizing yearbooks as sources, historians are better able to understand how groups of people wanted to see themselves and how they wanted others to view themselves in regards to racial and ethnic hierarchies. Ultimately, *The Banyan* offers a unique insight into the minds of educated, white, Latter-day Saints, and the methods they used to create, perform, and enforce racial boundaries.

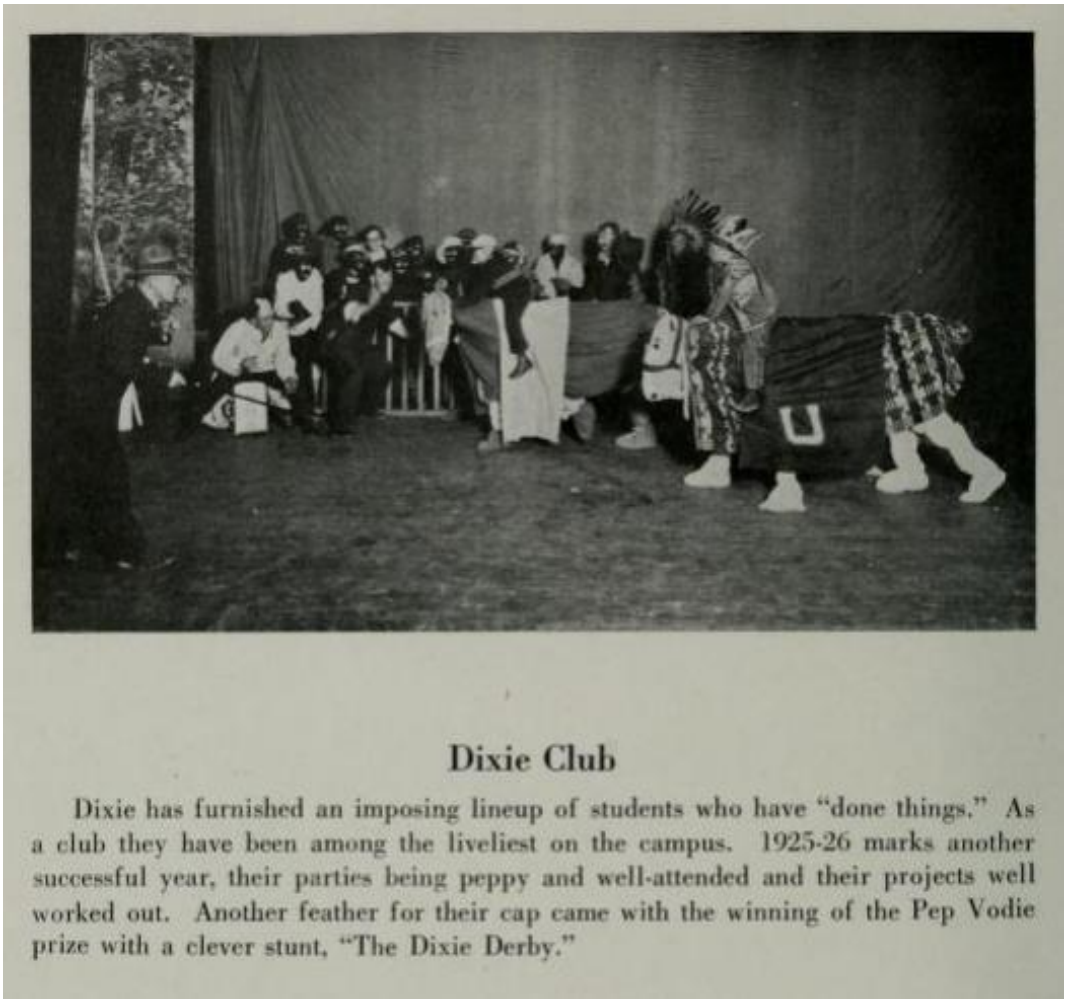
APPENDIX

Figure 1: "HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES, 1914, IN DRAMATIC AND OTHER POSES," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1914).

Figure 2: "HIGH SCHOOL STAGES "SECRET SERVICE," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1925).

Figure 3: "Emperor Jones 1," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1939).

Figure 4: "Emperor Jones 2" The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1939).



Dixie Club

Dixie has furnished an imposing lineup of students who have "done things." As a club they have been among the liveliest on the campus. 1925-26 marks another successful year, their parties being peppy and well-attended and their projects well worked out. Another feather for their cap came with the winning of the Pep Vodie prize with a clever stunt, "The Dixie Derby."

Figure 5: Dixie Club, The Banyan,
(Provo, UT: Brigham Young
University, 1926).

Figure 6: The Fate of the Big Four," *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1933).

Figure 7: "entertaining assemblies," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1952).

Darkie Wayne Keith starred in the Bricker-O S Trovata Night Assembly.

Figure 8: "Darkie Wayne Keith," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1954).

Figure 9: "Student Program Bureau Traveling Minstrel Show," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1956).

Figure 10: "BYU Co-eds entertained themselves," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1947).

Figure 11: "Home Economics Club," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1928).

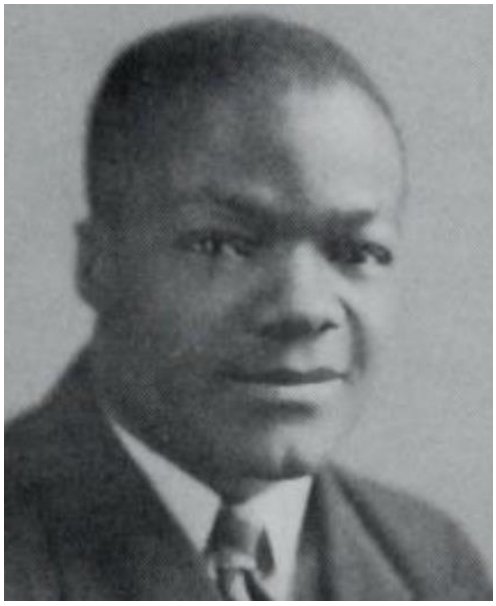


Figure 12: "Norman Wilson 1938 Yearbook Photo," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1938).

Figure 13: "Nndem Nndem 1956 Yearbook Photo," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1956).

Figure 14: "Suzanne Ikpe at Hello Week assembly," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1958).

Figure 15: "Uniting of Black and White on and off the Field," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1970).

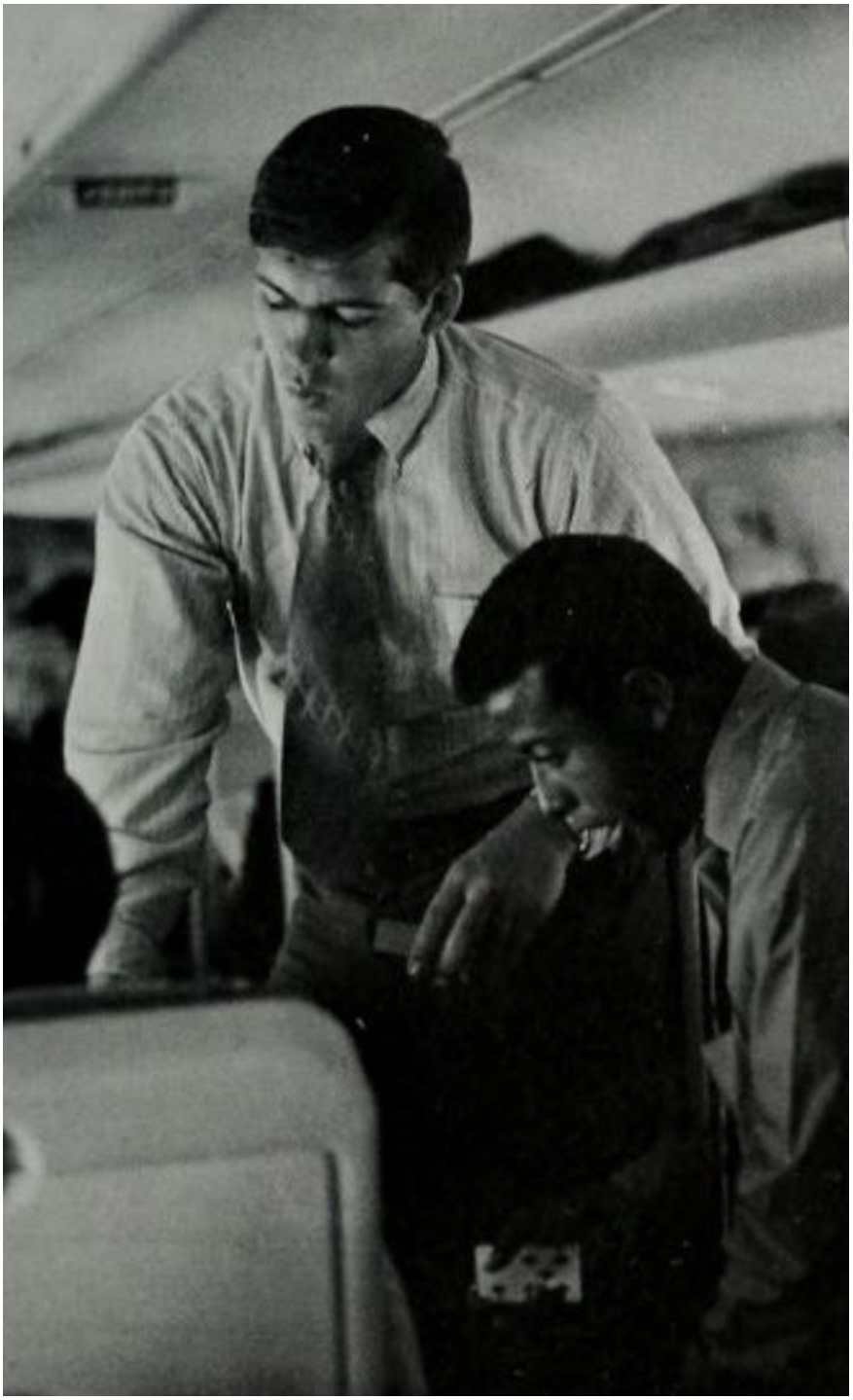


Figure 15: "Ronnie Knight and teammate," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1971).

Figure 17: "Robert Stevenson," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1977).

Figure 18: "Song Leaders," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1985).

Figure 19: "Gertrude Simmons Bonnin & William F. Hanson," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1913).

Figure 20: "The Bleeding Heart," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1937).

Figure 21: "History-Y Holds Utes Scoreless," *The Banyan*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1929).

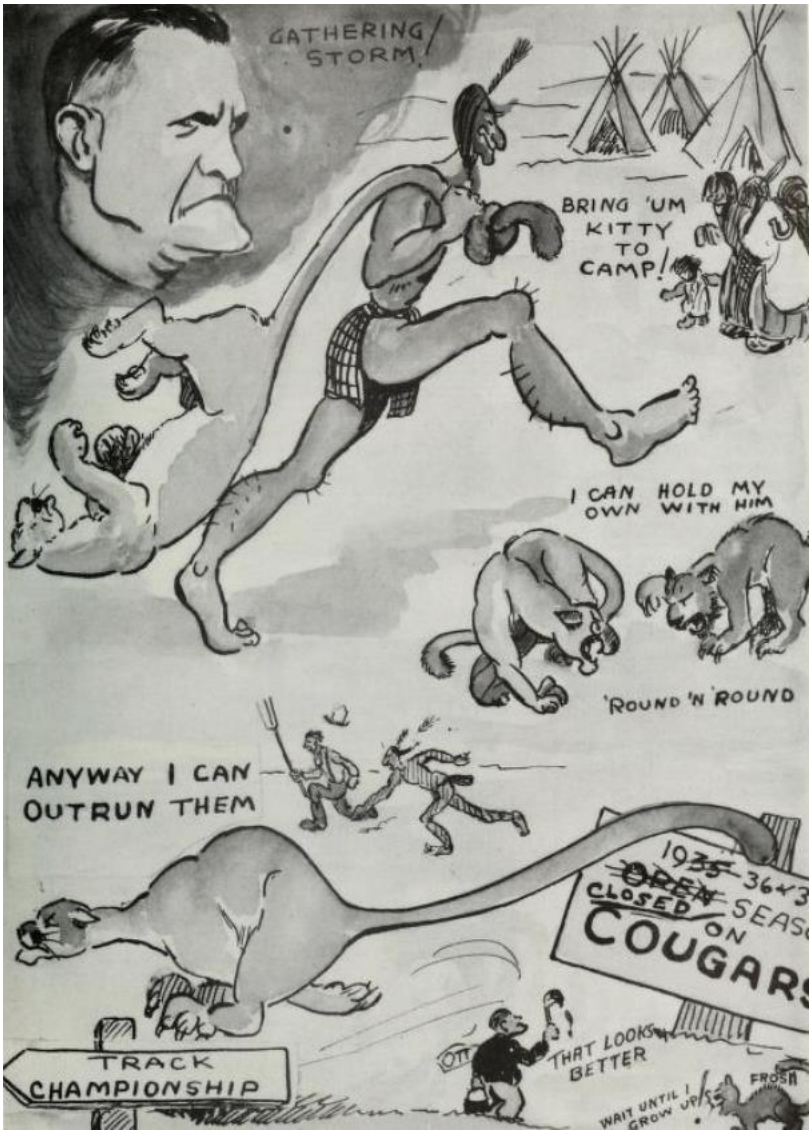


Figure 22: "bring 'um kitty to camp," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1936).

Spectators watch with interest as a Ute Redskin meets his doom on the float sponsored by Dileas Chalean and Alpha Phi Omega.

Figure 23: "Dileas Chalean float," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1966).

Figure 24: "Chief Massasoit," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1982).

Figure 25: "Lamanite Generation at Disney Land," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1975).

Figure 26: "Miss Indian BYU," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1973).

Figure 27: "Kuno at Home," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1911).

Figure 28: "Alice Akita," The Banyan, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1953).

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