Addams, R. Jean
“The Temple Lot in Independence: Its Acquisition, Early Buildings, and Other Uses”

In June 1831 Joseph Smith and others were told by revelation to travel to Missouri. Soon after his arrival in July 1831, Smith was told, again by revelation, that Jackson County was indeed "the place for the city of Zion" and Independence was the "center place and a spot for the temple is...upon a lot not far from the court-house." However, "that lot" was part of "squatter's claim" held by local shopkeeper and postmaster Jones H. Flournoy.

This presentation will briefly discuss the terminology of "squatters" rights and "Seminary" land and how those designations played an important part in the effort to acquire the property that became known as the "Temple Lot." Arrangements for permission and access, I believe, in advance of Smith's planned Temple Lot dedication and for the subsequent purchase of a 63.27-acre portion of Flournoy's claim to 160 acres when it became available for sale by the State of Missouri the following December. The purchase of that odd-shaped parcel from Flournoy included an existing, but abandoned, brick trading-post that had been Flournoy's original place of business before moving his store near the square when lots became available some two years previous. Following the purchase, the Saints constructed a school and cabins and put some of the acreage to other uses before their forced exodus in the fall of 1833. I also intend to display an original brick from the Flournoy trading-post.

Allen, Julie K.
“Parallel Promised Lands: Scandinavian Saints in Pioneer-Era Pleasant Grove”

While the main centers of Scandinavian settlement in territorial Utah—Sanpete and Sevier counties in the south, Cache and Box Elder counties in the north—are well known for their preservation of Scandinavian cultural markers, from foodways to language, the significant Scandinavian communities in Salt Lake and Utah counties have been less visible in Mormon history, in large part because of the ethnic diversity of those counties, in comparison to the counties with a more ethnically homogenous Scandinavian population.

Despite the Scandinavian convert-immigrants embrace of LDS theology, cultural tensions with their non-Scandinavian neighbors in Utah county towns like Pleasant Grove led to the emergence of parallel communities, divided by language and ethnic identity. Some Scandinavians, like church historian Andrew Jenson, opted to integrate as fully as possible into the Anglo-American mainstream, which others, like farmer Peter Selleback and Hans and Mine Jørgensen, developed subsidiary support networks within the Scandinavian community. Drawing on personal narratives and both city and church records, this paper interrogates the ways in which the parallel societies in Pleasant Grove formed and functioned during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in terms of economic exchanges, religious observation, and social interactions, paying particular attention to the ways in which the ethnic isolation of Scandinavian convert-immigrants intersected with LDS doctrine and integration programs.
Andersen, Rebecca

“Looking for Mormons: Imagining a Land, Creating a People”

In this paper I analyze an early example of local color writing from Florence Merriam’s *My Summer in a Mormon Village* (1894), Zane Grey’s novel *The Heritage of the Desert* (1910), and Wallace Stegner’s *Mormon Country* (1942). I look at how these writers used the land as an important metaphor to communicate a particular perception of Mormon values and culture to the wider reading public. Local color writing like Merriam’s established important tropes that later regionalists employed in their writings. Zane Grey’s novel lies at an important juncture in this regional/local color writing genre. Although Grey’s writing at times reflects common anti-Mormon prejudices of his day, these undesirable qualities are rendered more understandable for readers. Mormons can be hardened yet generous, much like the land they inhabit. Finally, Stegner’s classic not only represents a high point in regional writing, but firmly locates the only authentic Mormon Country in picturesque agricultural villages far from the Wasatch Front’s urban corridor.

Augustine-Adams, Kif

“Opposition Strategies”

With respect to civil rights in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints generally took a conservative stance that favored the status quo rather than increasing rights and protection. The Church, both directly and through its associated institutions, actively opposed legal change and the practical implementation of new laws regarding sex and gender equality. For example, the Church’s opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, both through the First Presidency and mobilization of the Relief Society, is well-known and researched. That opposition was part and parcel of the failure to ratify the ERA in the late 1970s.

Less well-known in both public and academic fora, is the Church’s opposition to successfully enacted anti-sex and gender discrimination legislation and implementing regulations. With its flagship educational institution Brigham Young University taking the public lead, the Church resisted the generally applicable federal civil rights law found in Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, also known as the Fair Housing Act, and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972.

The Church’s strategies of opposition against the Fair Housing Act and Title IX differed from those deployed against the ERA. In the mid-1970s, BYU, and then-President Dallin Oaks, led nationwide religious resistance to Title IX and its implementing regulations through confrontation and negotiation with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the federal agency charged with enforcing Title IX. Likewise, when the Department of Justice sought to enforce the Fair Housing Act against BYU’s gender-segregated housing requirement, BYU negotiated a settlement that avoided litigation. In both cases, BYU defended core Latter-day Saint principles of gender differentiation and sexual morality against the values enacted in federal civil rights law.
Barber, Ian E.
“‘A Strange and Interesting Document’: the Latter-day Saint Shaping of a Prophetic Māori Covenant”

In 1950, the official Latter-day Saint periodical Improvement Era published Apostle Matthew Cowley’s account of the discovery of a document identified as a New Zealand Māori ‘covenant’. Headed ‘He Kawenata’, this document was associated with 19th century Māori prophet, Paora Potangaroa. Cowley advised that the covenant had been “concealed from public view” until a Māori Latter-day Saint presented it to him in New Zealand in 1944. The covenant as translated by Cowley recorded the “hidden words” revealed to Potangaroa by “the spirit of Jehovah” on 16 March 1881. It set out a timeline of yearly events between 1881-1883 that Cowley interpreted as a prophecy of the Latter-day Saint mission to Māori. Cowley also read text and imagery from He Kawenata as prophetic anticipation of architectural elements of the Salt Lake City temple.

This covenant as delivered to Cowley is available now to scholars as a result of its acquisition by the Church History Library after 2013. In this presentation I consider New Zealand Māori and Latter-day Saint culture histories of the covenant. I compare Cowley’s text and my own translation of He Kawenata from the library copy, and the implications of Cowley’s particular shaping of He Kawenata’s text and iconography.

Barnes, Darcee
“Presidential Pardon for Polygamy”

John Richard Barnes (1833-1919) was one of the many men who were convicted of the crime of unlawful cohabitation under the 1882 Edmunds Act. Through the influence of a Salt Lake City Jewish businessman, Isadore Morris (1844-1906), Barnes obtained a pardon from President Grover Cleveland on June 13, 1888, having been convicted in April 1888. Morris’s influence included getting prominent Utah “Gentiles” to support the pardon. Barnes’ pardon was one of several that President Cleveland issued to other convicted polygamists, often given for reasons of age and infirmity, as was Barnes’ in part. He was also pardoned because his willingness to “comply with the law” without renouncing his marital relationships was accepted by the President. This same willingness to comply without renouncing the relationship had not been accepted by the Courts in other cases. These pardons were part of Cleveland’s policy of showing leniency to the members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints during the time of “The Raid,” when practitioners of plural marriage were being intensely pursued, prosecuted, and imprisoned. In addition to Morris’s influence, other men, such as Franklin S. Richards and Frank J. Cannon, lobbied the President and may have been a factor in Cleveland’s willingness to issue pardons. Isadore Morris helped other men besides John R. Barnes obtain pardons, and was also part of the effort in getting the 1893 and 1894 general amnesties for polygamy that were issued by Presidents Benjamin Harrison and Grover Cleveland.
Bartholomew, Ronald E.
“From the Margins to the Center: Latter-day Saint Integration in the Mission Studies Academy”

Although Missiology did not emerge as an academic discipline until the mid-nineteenth century, scholarship examining the missions of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints would not appear for an additional 100 years. As Latter-day Saints mission studies scholarship expanded beyond several masters’ theses and PhD dissertations into publications in academic journals and books; save one exception, almost all scholarship published in the twentieth century was focused towards a provincial, Latter-day Saint audience. The dawn of the 21st century saw an expansion as Latter-day Saint Mission Studies scholars began to publish outside those venues.

Seeking integration in the academy at the national and international level, Latter-day Saint Mission Studies scholars sought membership and full engagement in The International Association of Mission Studies (IAMS), the American Society of Missiology (ASM), and the Yale-Edinburgh Group. However, they discovered that complete integration required affiliation with either the Catholic, Conciliar Protestant, or Independent Christian traditions, and at that time the Church was classified as “Marginal Christians,” isolating their full participation. Dr. Todd Johnson, the editor of the print and electronic volumes responsible for these classifications was approached with a request to reevaluate that classification. After an academic roundtable discussion, Dr. Johnson formally changed the Church’s nomenclature from “Marginal” to “Independent” in January of 2014, facilitating complete integration.

This paper will examine Latter-day Saint scholarly engagement historically in the larger context of national and international Mission Studies, as well as how that scholarship has been perceived and received in the Academy. Furthermore, this paper will recount the events surrounding the reevaluation and subsequent change of the Church’s global classification leading to the relatively recent yet historic enhanced integration of Latter-day Saint Mission Studies scholars in the Mission Studies academy.

Baugh, Alexander
“Another Prophet in the City of the Saints: Joseph Smith III’s 1876 Visit to Utah Territory”

In 1863, the first RLDS missionaries who came to Utah found fertile ground for converts. At the time of RLDS president Joseph Smith III visit in 1876, sizeable congregations could be found in Salt Lake City, Ogden, and Provo, and satellite congregations elsewhere. During his three-week stay in the territory, despite suffering from a physical ailment known as neuralgia, Joseph Smith III met with local RLDS members and leaders, visited relatives (including his first cousins Samuel H. Bailey Smith, John and Joseph F. Smith, and John Henry Smith, a more distant cousin), interviewed a number of Latter-day Saints, studied, did some sightseeing, preached a funeral sermon, and gave five public speeches on the tenets of the Reorganization.

This paper will discuss the activities of the RLDS leader during his time in Utah and explore some of the implications and ramifications that occurred as a result. Joseph Smith III recognized that the Mormons in the Intermountain region were generally committed to follow the leadership of Brigham Young and the Twelve. However, he also perceived his personal
influence might be the means of breaking that loyalty. In addition, he felt confident that he could be successful in taking the RLDS message, which included denunciations of plural marriage, to sway those Latter-day Saints who had difficulty accepting polygamy to embrace a more moderate form of Mormonism. In the end, it was his sincere, deep-rooted conviction to RLDS doctrines, combined with his aversion to Utah Mormonism and the practice of plural marriage, that led him to decide to visit the “Brighamites” and preach to them on their own turf. This same zeal also led him to return to Utah on three future occasions in the 1880s (1885, 1887–88, and 1889) to continue what he had undertaken to do in 1876.

Bennett, Richard E.
“Mormon Fundamentalism on Trial: Recent British Columbia Supreme Court Rulings on Polygamy in Canada”

This paper will discuss the nature of the following two recent British Columbia Supreme Court cases, the current state of legal and constitutional affairs in Canada pertaining to plural marriage, and their implications for the future. They center first on the abduction of under-age girls from Canada into the United States for FLDS marriage purposes; and second, on the constitutional challenges to the legality of plural marriage within Canada. As you might expect, the topic is a highly charged and very important discussion currently in Canada and has implications for many other constituencies both in Canada and the United States. I will also be speaking from the vantage point of having been an “expert witness” of the “Crown” or B. C. government which has been plaintiff for both cases. The recent rulings by the court in favor of the Crown have established a remarkable new precedent for settling similar future cases.

The first trial centered (2016) on the Crown’s charge of Illegal kidnapping of FLDS underage girls/Canadian minors across international boundaries for plural marriage purposes. The second trial, in 2017, brought on in large measure because of the Crown’s success in the above trial, was far more sweeping in its implications. The defense argued that Section 293 “clearly interferes” with the ability of some who sincerely hold plural marriage as part of their religion, that it is an infringement of their freedoms of religion, and that it does so “in a manner that is more than trivial or insubstantial”. The Crown plaintiffs, however, argued that such “infringement” is justified under Section 1 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Their reasoning? Polygamy is a crime because of its “collective harms to women, children, and society”, that it is a threat to monogamous marriages, and encourages abuses of many other kinds in modern Canadian society.

The Crown won their case, but most legal experts believe that this case, or another much like it, will eventually make its way all the way up to the Canadian Supreme Court in the near future. The ruling has implications not only for the FLDS community but also for the growing Muslim community in Canada, a part of which adheres to the practice of plural marriage.
Benoit, Kate E.
“‘Zion is Where the People of God Are’: Radio and the LDS Church’s Evolution of Gathering in the Early Twentieth Century”

Using news articles, radio broadcasts, talks and publications, and manuscript collections, this paper explores the evolution of Mormon gathering rhetoric and the relationship between mass media technology and Zion building / boundary-making in the early twentieth century. Since radio shortened the distance between Salt Lake City’s Temple Square and the periphery, it made Mormon leaders, messages, and music instantly accessible to listeners across the continent and even the Pacific. I argue that the LDS Church’s embrace of radio in the 1920s and 1930s led to a growing Mormon diaspora and that KZN/KSL made a spiritual Zion possible for Latter-day Saints outside of the Intermountain West.

Radio served as both an outlet for LDS leaders in Utah to disseminate religious counsel and a means by which members outside of Utah could put the Church’s messages into practice and build up Zion without migrating to Utah. As a result, I argue that KZN/KSL’s religious programming influenced modern interpretations of the commandment of gathering and helped create imagined communities of believers who saw Zion not so much as a singular Kingdom but a conglomeration of many kingdoms of Latter-day Saints spread far and wide. I contend that though radio did not raise Mormonism to a ubiquitous cultural presence, it did enable modern Mormonism’s emergent (and changing) conceptions of gathering and Zion to take root.

Blythe, Christine Elyse
“‘We Have One Little Angel in Heaven’: Child Death in Nineteenth-Century Mormonism”

On 18 July 1840, Phebe Woodruff wrote her husband then on a mission in England with the news that their toddler, Sarah Emma, had passed away. As in so many comparable documents, Phebe’s words vacillate between faithful resolve (“She was too pure for this world,” “We have One Little Angel in Heaven,” “I would not be surprised if [her spirit] had paid you a visit.”) to deep sorrow and assurances that she had done all she could to tend to her. She described the process of trying to keep her child alive through multiple anointings and prayer meetings in the family’s hovel along the Mississippi. Phebe wondered why her daughter was taken by death’s “iron hand,” when others were alleged to have been healed. She turned to poetry, describing her child’s absence in heartbreaking terms. She narrated her solitary grieving by the Sarah’s grave, wondering how they would have money enough to place a small fence around the site.

Mormon records are replete with accounts of parents suffering from the loss of their children. Child death was an almost universal experience of nineteenth-century parents. Its presence and the subsequent shadow it cast across Mormon lives demands our careful attention. The study of Mormonism and death has blossomed with the work of Douglas Davies and Samuel Brown shedding light on the mediation of death via official responses and much needed context. Yet, these studies are too organizational and hierarchical in their content. This paper acknowledges the place of sealing ceremonies and official discourse, but analyzes the way families coped in the context of familial relationships. Such methods included preliminary death rituals which might help prepare the child for its mortal departure – blessings, priesthood
ordinations, prayer meetings – and grieving practices-informal mourning, revelations, and visualizing the afterlife. Although ritual and theology are crucial elements to “death conquest,” at the level of lived experience, as many scholars of grief have suggested previously, we argue that it is through assigning specific meanings to death and specifically through storytelling that many early Saints sought to cope with the loss of their children. In doing so, this essay looks at the cultural construction of the deceased child in the nineteenth century Mormon imagination.

Blythe, Christopher James
“Genealogical Visions and Familial Revelations”

During the period of transition (1890 to 1930), there was a strident effort to discourage Church members from publicly sharing their visions, dreams, and other spiritual gifts. Instead, the Saints were encouraged to only selectively share such spiritual manifestations with their family members and perhaps other trusted friends. It was also during this same period with the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple in 1893 and the formation of the Genealogical Society of Utah that genealogy became a central focus of the faith. Since the mid-nineteenth century some Latter-day Saints had claimed divine aid for locating the names of their ancestors. While the Genealogical Society professionalized the processes of family history, it also generated a greater desire to locate such names. As Church members conducted more temple work for their dead, they had a greater desire to interact with them. The result was a tradition of revelations and visions that were largely confined to the family setting. When they appeared outside of this setting, Church leaders reacted (as was the case when Archie Graham began to share his visions in genealogical society classes.) In this paper, I focus on the writings of several early twentieth century visionaries, the response to their visions, and the place these visions play for their family at the time and in the present. I have located dozens of different accounts, most previously unknown, while researching at the Church History Library and elsewhere. Among these visionaries there were just as many women as there were men, so I foresee providing a gender analysis of these sources.

Bowles, Tiffany Taylor
“Polygamy and Prejudice: The Effect of Plural Marriage on the National Perception of Latter-day Saint Suffragists”

This paper examines the effect of plural marriage on the relationships between Latter-day Saint suffragists and their national contemporaries. After being enfranchised in 1870, Utah women enjoyed the vote until federal legislation disenfranchised polygamous Latter-day Saints in 1882. Some national suffragists supported the disenfranchisement of polygamous women; but when all Utah women lost the vote in 1887, polygamy was temporarily overshadowed by the gravity of the setback to the suffrage cause. When the Woman Suffrage Association of Utah was founded in 1889, women in polygamous marriages were prohibited from holding office. Most national suffragists were opposed to and embarrassed by polygamy. But when the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association merged in 1890, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, president of the new organization, directly addressed those who had tried to exclude Latter-day Saint women from their ranks, saying: “There is such a
thing as being too anxious lest someone ‘hurt the cause’ by what she may say or do.” Though tensions eased after The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints declared an end to plural marriage in 1890, some prejudice against Utah women remained. Ultimately, the support of national suffrage leaders led to full inclusion of Latter-day Saint women in the suffrage movement.

Bowman, Matthew
"Correlation as Restoration: Sacralizing a Reform Movement"

It is easy to judge the correlation program in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to be something quintessentially modern. After all, its bureaucracy, precision, emphasis on rational record keeping and statistics reflects the values of modernity. However, as historians like George Marsden and Grant Wacker have observed of fundamentalism and pentecostalism, two other twentieth century Christian religious movements with an uneasy relationship with the modern age, Mormon correlation is best understood as a product of modernity which simultaneously protests against modernity.

This paper explores some of the ways in which the framers of the correlation movement understood time. It examines in particular the ways in which they emphasized that the correlation movement was a process of restoration; rather than building anything new, the leaders of correlation argued, they were returning the organization of their church back to what it was originally intended to be. Of course, as with many acts of memory, this strategy was as much a process of generation and legitimization as it was of faithful re-creation of the past, and as such, the correlation movement had to generate a new narrative of what the Mormon past was, and find ways to define the boundaries of what was legitimately Mormonism and what was not.

This paper approaches this question in terms of thinking about categorization: what is the religious and what is not? What is genuine "restoration" and what is not? It looks at the various answers that Mormon leaders generated to confront these questions, and the ways in which they sought to make correlation a restoration.

Bray, Justin
“Older Women, Genealogy, and Abundant Events”

This paper will explore genealogical research and temple work as religious practice of older Latter-day Saint women in the early twentieth century. Led in large part by Susa Young Gates in the 1910s, the Relief Society, the Genealogical Society of Utah, and the International Society of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers encouraged Latter-day Saints to trace their pedigrees as far back as possible and then vicariously perform salvific rituals in temples on behalf of their deceased ancestors. Because older adults were considered the keepers of family memory and living links to the past, many took up the work and immersed themselves in genealogical research and temple work. Older, empty-nester women, especially, who were no longer full-time mothers, found new meaning and purpose in exploring their lineage and participating in temple rituals. Many reported receiving divine aid in finding the names and birth dates of their
forefathers. Some developed a strong relationship with and nearness to the deceased, while others experienced remarkable visions and dreams in which distant ancestors appeared to them as spirits and requested that their temple work be completed. Genealogy and temple work, moreover, propelled older Latter-day Saint women to expand their ideas about family to include progenitors as well as posterity. Thus, while old age may have disqualified older adults from administrative responsibilities at the local ward and stake level, it enriched their private religious practice and empowered them to claim remarkable experiences with the dead.

Britsch, R. Lanier
“Joseph F. Smith and Hawaii”

I will briefly summarize the history of the Church in Hawaii from 1850 to the building of the Laie Hawaii Temple. My major purpose will be to introduce the significant influence of Joseph F. Smith as missionary, mission president, exiled member of the First Presidency, relatively frequent visitor to Hawaii while President of the Church, and creator of the temple project.

Brown, Samuel Morris
“Language, Translation, and the Problems of Secularity”

Mormonism is a religion of the word. Many of its foundational texts are commonly presented as translations of ancient documents. Almost from the beginning, there’s been a tendency to understand those texts as merely linguistic. But the assumptions about what language is and how language matters have changed out from under everyone in ways that severely limit traditional interpretations. What if we viewed language the way Smith and his predecessors did, as mortal imprints of metaphysically vast reality? What if, in other words, we allowed for hieroglyphs to be voluptuous rather than flat, supercharged rather than deflated? In this talk, I explore ways to reconceive Smith’s translation projects and related scriptures on the basis of more robust sense of language based in Smithian metaphysics. I argue that this approach actually brings us closer to understanding what Smith and his disciples were doing with language and scripture than traditional approaches have.

Cannon, Kenneth L. II
“Murder in Forest Dale: Homicide, Sensation, and Arthur Conan Doyle”

Salt Lake City experienced its quirkiest murder trial in mid-1902. Jimmy Hay, an up-and-coming young businessman, was brutally murdered and buried in a shallow grave. The defendant was his Forest Dale neighbor, Peter Mortensen, a rising architect who was also Hays’ customer and friend. Both were warm, family men. Newspapers were full of accounts and theories for months. Mortensen’s wife, Ruth, took their children and moved to Provo after she spoke with police, apparently believing her husband was guilty. The court had to summon a jury pool of over 1,100 to find twelve men who claimed to be unbiased about Mortensen’s guilt. Mortensen remained cool and calm through the proceedings as prosecutors presented a thoroughly circumstantial case. A dramatic scene in the trial involved Hays’ father-in-law testifying about a revelation he had had of Mortensen killing and burying Hay. Arthur Conan
Doyle later included this vision in a book examining spiritualism and criminology. In the end, Mortensen was convicted and sentenced to die, though he had not received a fair trial. The trial judge took the extraordinary step of asking the Utah Supreme Court to spare Mortensen’s life, but the high court let the sentence stand. Forest Dale Ward chose a new design to replace Mortensen’s lovely design for its chapel. Mortensen was executed at the prison in Sugarhouse and his body was buried in disgrace in the prison yard.

**Carruth, LaJean Purcell**

“‘We Would Not Have a World without Eve’: Brigham Young’s Teachings on Eve from the Original Shorthand Record.”

Brigham Young teachings on the creation of contradicted the traditions of the Christian world and the account of her creation contained in the Bible, which he dismissed as “baby stories.” He taught that Eve, like Adam, was created out of the dust of the earth, but of another earth rather than this one; these teachings are not part of contemporary Latter-day Saint theology. Young also contradicted traditional Christian beliefs in teaching a very positive view of Eve and her actions. Her partaking of the fruit was not to blame for the sickness and pain of mortal life, as believed, but were an essential step: “The work could not been accomplished, if she had not eaten. . . . We would not have a world without Eve.” Lucifer fulfilled a necessary role in her actions.

The most accurate statements by Young and others on Eve are in the original shorthand recorded by George D. Watt, John V. Long and David W. Evans. The published versions of these sermons were often altered during transcription of the shorthand and subsequent preparation for publication. Significant statements about Eve were occasionally omitted from the published version, and many other statements about her were never transcribed. This paper will examine the teachings of Brigham Young and some of his associates about Eve from my transcriptions of the original shorthand record.

**Carter, Charles**

“Latter-day Saint Women, Black Americans and the Limits of Integration”

Ivy Baker Priest and her experience in national politics in the 1950s stand in many ways as a “Promontory Point” in the integration process of Latter-day Saint women in sociopolitical life in Utah and in the country. Taking that vantage point, the author proposes to analyze the racial and gender “fault lines” it reveals, looking backward and forward. The author proposes to dwell in particular on the limits of sociopolitical integration in light of the shifting of the dynamics between the time when Priest’s female forbears wished they could be treated on par with Black American citizens, the days when she was made a Cabinet member, and the present, when a majority of her coreligionists are comfortable electing a Black American woman to Congress. The author will propose answers as to why Priest, who belonged to a marginalized religious, could sign her name to a national bill while the face of a Black American woman on the same bill is approached with a Tartuffe attitude of “hide this [face] that I can’t bear to look upon.”
Cary, Austin
“The Effect of Negative Newsprint Media on Convert Baptism in County Durham”

On September 21, 1856 Brigham Young delivered an address that provided the framework for what resulted in climate of polemic reform throughout the Utah Territory, “There are sins that men commit for which they cannot receive forgiveness in this world, or in the world to come, and if they had their eyes open to see their true condition, they would be perfectly willing to have their blood spilt upon the ground, that the smoke thereof might ascend to heaven as an offering for their sins; and the smoking incense would atone for their sins.” he then clarified, “There are sins that can be atoned for by an offering upon an alter, as in ancient days” and require, “the blood of the man.”

Though Brigham Young may have been speaking rhetorically, several thousand non-members and apostates felt physically causing some to appeal to the news media and ultimately the United States government for protection. This paper examines their accounts as they caught the attention of news media nationally and internationally, resulting in a 163% increase in negative Mormon media coverage throughout Great Britain. This is at least one factor impacting a subsequent decline in LDS church membership and convert baptisms in Great Britain for at least the three decades that followed the reformation period.

Chelladurai, Joe M.
“Once Upon a Time in Madras: Early Latter-day Saint Missionary Efforts (1853-54)”

Madras (now Chennai), a major city on the south coast of India was an important focus of missionary efforts of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1853-54. The diversity and uniqueness of the East Indian Mission provides an interesting case study for understanding and exploring integration and isolation. Unique in culture, language, and demography, the cultural context of Madras differed greatly from the West as much as Calcutta and Bombay, the other centers of missionary efforts in India.

Latter-day Saint missionary work in Madras began on July 24th 1853 when Elders Ballantyne & Skelton arrived in the port city. Their records indicate that “few members” joined the Church. In comparison to other contemporary missions of the day, the East Indian Mission could have been considered a failure. Missionary work ended in Madras in December 28th 1854, and the East Indian Mission was later closed in 1856. The missionaries could not have it all, dealing in the context of isolating beliefs and unsuccessful integrating encounters. Missionaries struggled to be accepted by the British colonialists who dismissed Latter-day Saint beliefs, as well as by the Indians for cultural, social, and economic reasons. Navigating racial divisions, language barriers, and diverse religious contexts in pre-independence colonial India was not easy. A classic tale of isolation and integration, the Madras episode of the East Indian Mission underscores the difficulty of early Latter-day Saint missionary efforts in a hodgepodge of challenging but exquisite diversity.
Christensen, Clinton D.
“A Century of Stories: Gathering the Mo’olelo of the Hawaii Temple”

*Stories of the Temple in Laie, Hawaii: Hundredth Anniversary* is one of two official histories celebrating the Hawaii Temple’s centennial. It is the product of a collecting project launched in 2017 by staff and missionaries of the Church History Department and shared with BYU–Hawaii. Three hundred oral histories and one hundred and fifty small manuscript records were attained that document the amazing history of the fifth operating temple of the Church. These documents demonstrate the power of mo’olelo, a Hawaiian historical tradition of passing along memory, culture, and family to the next generation through stories. The author will discuss the importance of collecting stories, their impact on understanding the history of the Church in the Pacific, Asia, and of the development of Latter-day temples.

Christensen, Scott R.
“Dimick Huntington and George Washington Hill: Early Missionaries to Utah’s Indians”

Following Joseph Smith’s pattern of teaching native tribes, in 1855 Brigham Young appointed twenty-seven men to conduct missionary work among the buffalo-hunting Native Americans whose territories lay north of Utah Territory. A missionary party settled the Salmon River Mission where the Bannock, Shoshone, Nez Perce, and Flathead Indians met each summer. Missionary George Washington Hill held classes to learn the Shoshone language, and the missionaries soon baptized fifty-five Indians. Dimick Huntington, a Shoshone-speaking missionary, visited the mission. In 1858 their fort (Limhi) was attacked by a war party of about two hundred Bannock and Shoshone warriors. Two of the missionaries were killed, and five were wounded. Most missionaries retreated to safety.

After several years of raids and escalating conflict, pioneers asked the military to intervene. Colonel Patrick E. Connor and his US troops killed an estimated three to four hundred Shoshone at in the Bear River Massacre at Battle Creek, northwest of today’s Preston, Idaho. The pioneers then cared for the wounded and frostbitten soldiers and Shoshone children. Chief Sagwitch of the Northwestern Shoshone band was resisting outside pressure for his band to permanently settle at the Fort Hall reservation when Reverend George W. Dodge became special agent to the Western, Northwestern, and Gosiute tribes in October 1871. Likely that same month, C. C. A. Christensen completed a panorama of eleven scenes of biblical and Book of Mormon history to teach the gospel to native peoples, teaching their proposed cultural identity as “Lamanites” of Book of Mormon history. Dimick Huntington, a “patriarch to the Lamanites,” had commissioned the long panorama, which unrolled vertically to display one scene at a time while missionaries described the scene. Hill said the conversions spread “like fire in the dry grass.” Partially through use of the panorama, missionaries Hill and Huntington helped upwards of two thousand natives to convert to the restored gospel of Jesus Christ.
Clark, Rebekah Ryan
“A More Universal Sisterhood”: Latter-day Saints in the National Council of Women, 1888-1987

As a charter member of the National Council of Women of the United States, the Relief Society actively participated in that coalition for nearly a century. This paper will explore the motivations, impact, and history of the Relief Society’s membership in the National Council, highlighting overarching trends of both assimilation and separation as Latter-day Saint women engaged with “women of the world.” At its inception, the Relief Society’s very name was deliberately chosen to emphasize its separation from other women’s organizations. During the 1890s and early twentieth century, however, Latter-day Saints were forced to relinquish their nineteenth-century isolationism. They faced the paradoxical necessity of establishing commonality with other Americans to survive while maintaining enough peculiarity to preserve their identity.

Reflecting the new trend toward cooperation, Latter-day Saint women incorporated into the National Council of Women under a new name—the “National Woman’s Relief Society.” In the following decades, they sought to establish themselves as mainstream American women as they overcame prejudice and joined in progressive reforms. Their assimilation was so successful that by 1945, Belle Spafford worried that women in the Council no longer identified the Relief Society with the Church. She began her term as General President by symbolically changing the name to the “Relief Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” initiating a shift to regain a distinct Latter-day Saint voice within the Council and the world. In the 1960s and early 70s, Relief Society representatives gained respect in the Council for unflinching stands on moral issues, but affiliation with the Council became increasingly problematic as controversial issues divided American women. In 1987, the Relief Society officially ended its membership in the National Council of Women. This facet of Latter-day Saint women’s experience demonstrates the complex dynamics inherent in the struggle between peculiarity and commonality.

Coleman, Dwain
“The Environment and Early Latter-Day Saints”

In a letter written by Joseph Smith to his wife Emma in 1834, Smith recounted his spiritual experience while traveling across the American Northwest from Ohio to Missouri. In the letter, he describes the beauty of the land and the spiritual impressions it made upon him. He later recalled that “the contemplation of the scenery around us produced peculiar sensations in our bosoms.” He further explained that the visions of the past were also opened to his understanding by “the Spirit of the Almighty.” For Smith and his followers, the environment all around them held deep spiritual significance. Smith often went “into the woods,” or to the “wilderness,” to communicate with the divine. The rocks, the trees, and even the Indian mounds with human remains held a message to share with the Saints. Here, on the early frontier of America, Smith, his followers, and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints were shaped in and through their environment.

Historians of early church history have often portrayed the environment as a setting
and rarely an active participant in history. The implementation of an environmental history perceptive provides a unique lens that allows for a more comprehensive view of the early development of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. This paper explores the crucial role that nature played in the early formation of church ideology and religious practice. From Ohio to Missouri and from Illinois to Utah, Latter-day Saints continually looked for the frontier, pushing its boundaries ever further to escape the despotic old world in the hopes of discovering a new, pristine environment. On the borders of the American wilderness, the experiment of a new American religion developed. The environment around Smith and his followers acted as the laboratory in which they would build God’s kingdom on earth and be tried in the process.

Coles, Sasha
“Reconstruction by Rail: Mormon Women, Silk Work, and the Politics of Fashion”

When Leland Stanford used a golden spike to join the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads at Promontory Point, Utah, in May 1869, celebrations rang out. This paper, based on the third chapter of my dissertation, explores how some politicians and commentators believed that the completion of the transcontinental railroad offered a solution to a serious problem confronting the nation: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Anti-Mormons theorized that the railroad would inject the latest fashions into Utah, catalyze fits of jealousy among plural wives, and bankrupt polygamous Mormon families, thus dissolving the church from the inside-out. This paper traces the politicization of Mormon women’s consumer desires in the 1860s and 1870s and the first decades of the Young Ladies Retrenchment Association, a church organization that encouraged Mormon women to withdraw from fashionable display and manufacture straw hats and silk dresses at home.

This political and economic context explains why Mormon women formed the Deseret Silk Association (DSA) in 1877 to shore up and facilitate a nascent Great Basin silk industry. Local silk manufacturing emerged in the mid-nineteenth century as part of President Brigham Young’s economic independence project, designed to build up the Kingdom of God and protect the church from unfriendly outsiders. Most discussions about the transcontinental railroad and the church’s attempt at economic isolation privilege male leaders and male-driven organizations. A focus on the silk industry brings into view the gendered contours of this cooperative economic system and the unique pressures that Latter-day Saint women faced during debates over the “Mormon Question.”

Cornwall, Marie
“Family & Friends in the Conversion Process of Early Mormon Converts in Upper Canada, Delaware, and the British Isles”

Sociologists have long been interested in new religious movements and the conversion process. They give less emphasis to the significance of doctrine and spiritual manifestations and focus instead on the significance of social networks in bringing new converts into a group. This paper explores the family and friendship connections of new converts in Canada, Delaware, and Scotland between 1840 and 1850. The Canadian converts were of Scottish origin
and had arrived as children with their settler parents in Upper Canada in 1820 and 1821. The core members of the group were seven Hill siblings, their parents, and their spouses. Members of the Centreville, Delaware Branch were baptized as early as 1840 by William A. Moore, a local missionary. The branch was anchored by the rather well-to-do Mousley family and by kinship ties among member families in the area (McCullough, Carpenter, and Crossgrove). Considering a third group demonstrates the flow of conversion within a household in Glasgow, Scotland in 1850. Between April and November of 1850, various members of the Thomas Cornwall household were baptized and confirmed members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Taking these three case studies together, new insights can be drawn as to nature of proselytizing and conversion in the early church.

Crandell, Jill N.
“Documenting the Mormon Battalion: Discovery of the Original Muster Rolls and More”

As part of Brigham Young University’s Nauvoo Community Project, student researchers at the Center for Family History and Genealogy are identifying and documenting the lives and service of members of the Mormon Battalion. Although the Brigham Young volunteer rolls, Compiled Military Service Records, and other documents have been available in the past, there have been discrepancies as to who actually served. Most of the original Mormon Battalion muster rolls were not filed in the “Muster Rolls and Payrolls, 1815-1866” collection at the National Archives, and until this year, their whereabouts have been unknown. The full set of muster rolls, clothing rolls, and payrolls have now been located and digitized, providing a record of who was present in each company every two months. A profile for every battalion member is being created and posted online for the benefit of historians and family members, and links to many of the original military records are being created. This presentation will discuss what is being accomplished and how the battalion is finally being fully documented.

DeSpain, Matthew
“‘With blood in her tracks and meat like rawhide’: Mormon, Military, and Lakota Masculinities and the Beginnings of Lakota-U.S. Hostilities”

In August 1854, violence erupted near Ft. Laramie resulting in the annihilation of Lieutenant John L. Grattan’s immediate command by bands of the Lakota nation. The ignition point of this conflict was over a cow that wandered from Danish Mormon emigrants and killed by a young Sioux (Miniconjou band) waiting near Ft. Laramie for treaty payments. This brief collision over the cow ignited what would become the protracted war between the Lakota Sioux and the United States that reached its apex two decades later in the summer of 1876 at the Little Bighorn. Conflicts between the military and tribes were almost unanimously policy driven. The Grattan incident, however, was not. This first clash in the Northern Plains Indian wars was more spontaneous, local, and resulted, instead, from decisions, actions, reactions, beliefs, and misunderstandings rooted in masculine (and racial) ideals within and between Mormon, Military, and Lakota worlds. This paper explores those masculine worlds by focusing on three key figures—the freshly minted West Point graduate John Grattan whose actions reflected hyper-masculine American exceptionalism rooted in racism; the peace leader and key
political figure of the Lakota Nation Conquering Bear (Brule/Sicangu Oyate) whose duties and responsibilities as a Lakota male and peace leader influenced his actions; and Lars Domgaard, the recent Danish convert and caretaker of the cow, whose actions were influenced by Mormon masculine identities rooted in dutifulness and stewardship—and how their masculine worlds defined their identities and influenced their actions culminating in conflict and war.

Dwyer, Father Daniel P.
“A Season of Death: The Latter-day Saints in the midst of the 1918-1919 Influenza Pandemic”
“Isolation” and “Integration” are words that easily correspond to aspects of the horrific Influenza epidemic that assaulted the world in 1918 and 1919. In reading about the pandemic, one cannot help but make mental connections with previous periods of catastrophic illness—particularly the “Black Death” of the 14th Century.

There is a comparative aspect of the proposed presentation that would look at the ways in which Latter-day Saints attempted to deal with the “Spanish Flu” by utilizing the resources of their faith. How did that compare or contrast with the religious response of their neighbors? With the religious response of medieval peoples? Did the Saints view the pandemic as the wrath of God? A result of sin? A Natural phenomenon? Did it provoke an LDS version of “theodicy”—ie. If God is all powerful, God cannot be all good; and if all good, God cannot then be all powerful—or such things would not happen.”

Just as important is the context of the time especially the First World War, but also the specific LDS context that includes the widespread network of missionaries, the postponement of the April 1918 General Conference, President Joseph F. Smith’s October 1918 revelation concerning the dead (Doctrine and Covenants Section 138), and, indeed, President Smith’s own death and somewhat truncated funeral in the midst of the influenza ravages. In short, did the Saints have a unique outlook, or unique coping skills as they faced the ravages of the world wide pandemic? Did the epidemic have a long term effect, not just on individual families, but on the faith and practices of the Latter-day Saint Community?

Embry, Jessie L.
“Temple Square: An Evolving Mission”

Temple Square provides a place where The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints can explain its message to the world. This presentation will discuss the reasons for creating the Temple Square Mission and how the message the Church presented there changed as a result of the New York World Fair Pavilion in 1964.

Emery, Grant P.
“The Shepherdess and the Informant: Contrasting Responses to Wartime Isolation in Nazi-Occupied Paris”

Isolated from priesthood and headquarters in Nazi-occupied Paris, Eveline Kleinert and Lucile Fabres determined how their faith would be expressed. Eveline decided to define her faith by the sense of stewardship that had always defined her ministry. Eveline’s experience as a steward—and her contrasting experience being neglected by those she expected to be
stewards to her—likely shaped her decision to actively take the reins of the Paris Branch. Branch meetings were moved into her apartment. Eveline ensured no one would feel the sting of neglect she had known, visiting “every single [sister who missed services] ... each week.” While Eveline’s service was defined by stewardship, Lucile’s decisions were driven by patriotism. While she stayed in Paris, she dedicated herself to fighting the Nazis. Nicknamed “the mouthpiece of Occupied France,” she hid Allied parachutists in her apartment. Lucile scouted V1 flying bomb launch sites and identifying them as targets for the Royal Air Force. She was decorated by the French, British, and Canadian governments for her work as a spy and resistance fighter. Though they approached wartime isolation in dramatically different ways, both Eveline Kleinert and Lucile Fabres demonstrated selfless courage in order to protect others. Their decisions were determined by their personal experiences, their unique strengths, and their respective choices.

Esplin, Scott C.
“Church and State in Sacred Space: The National Park Service and Latter-day Saint Historic Sites”

Throughout much of the twentieth century, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints acquired and developed its historic sites in an effort, in part, to integrate with national narratives. The development of these sights brought the faith into collaboration with public and private organizations, including the National Park Service, who had similar interests in celebrating American accomplishment. The National Park Service has interacted with the Church in designating religious space as significant to the country’s history, including historic designation for sites in Nauvoo, Illinois, where the interests of celebrating American history overlap with the desires of the Church to promote its past. Designating historic sites can be controversial, however, especially when they overlap with religious history. This paper examines the involvement of the Church with the federal government, primarily through National Park Service directors Conrad Wirth (1951-1964) and George Hartzog (1964-1972), in the designation and preservation of Latter-day Saint sacred space. It explores the support provided for the development of Church historic sites as well as reasons the informal partnership was dissolved.

Gardner, Ryan S.
“A Closer Look at the 1876/1879 Editions of the Doctrine and Covenants”

Orson Pratt had been a recipient of one of Joseph Smith’s earlier revelations and had a long-running interest in make the prophet’s revelations accessible to members of the church and others. Early in 1874 he replaced Albert Carrington as Church Historian, and with his daughter Larinda and other women and men in the Church Historian’s Office he began assembling a revised and extended edition of the church’s modern scripture. Unfortunately, sources on Pratt’s personal feelings about the project, or the nature of his interaction with First Presidency members on its contours, are scarce. Nonetheless it is possible to piece together important parts of the story from the records of the Historian’s Office, Brigham Young’s office records, and a few traces in discourses and correspondence in the relevant years. In addition,
investigation of the book itself is vital to describing and interpreting its significance in Latter-day Saint history.

This paper compares the 1876 edition to its 1854 precursor, discussing the content and significance of the sections added, and examining in detail the doctrinal cues incorporated into a thirty-three page table of “Contents of the Revelations.” It also reviews Pratt’s efforts in England to compile “references” incorporated into the 1879 edition of the book, examining the role those played in processing the scriptural text. There are some puzzles related to the timeline of the new edition. At present, it appears that the bulk of the selection and arrangement of revelations and the development of apparatus took place in 1874 as Pratt oversaw the Historian’s Office. Yet the book did not appear until 1876, and it was not presented for canonization until 1880 (along with the Pearl of Great Price, another project for Pratt and associates). Understanding those “delays” is also part of the story of the new edition(s).

Golding, David
“Alien Engravings: The Search for Gold Plates and Hungarian Atlantis in the Ecuadorian Jungle”

In 1968, Andes Mission president Jim Jesperson visited Ecuador during his regular administrative business and met Juan Moricz, an Argentinian anthropologist of Hungarian descent teaching in the capital city of Quito. Moricz claimed to have discovered golden plates in Ecuadorian caves and wanted to organize an expedition. Jesperson set out with Moricz on what was supposed to be a quick journey into the Ecuadorian edge of the Amazon to explore caves purporting to house a “metal library” of additional artifacts.

The expedition failed to uncover any golden plates or ancient structures, but the search landed Moricz and other Latter-day Saints at the doorstep of Carlo Crespi, a Catholic missionary who had amassed a collection of native artifacts. Golden plates with indecipherable engravings convinced Moricz and others they could discover a lost city in the Amazon. In other expeditions, alien civilization theorists, cave scientists, and famed astronaut Neil Armstrong each embarked on deep searches believing hundreds of golden plates lay buried underground. Latter-day Saints rediscovered the Jesperson expedition and enlisted BYU scholars to examine the Crespi collection for possible connections with the Book of Mormon. Donny Osmond assisted by co-authoring a book showcasing Crespi’s artifacts and testifying of the validity of Joseph Smith’s golden plates.

This presentation ponders the effects not of golden plates, but of engravings on gold. The allure of ancient writing on precious metal piqued the esoteric worldviews of people as diverse as Latter-day Saints and Catholics, conspiracy theorists and the astronaut such suspected of belonging to the Illuminati. Believers in the Ecuadorian metal library became proselytizers of a hidden knowledge of the ancients that matches the faith of Joseph Smith’s earliest followers. Figures of world renown bought into gold plates of another story, plates as fantastic and unavailable as those of Cumorah.
Goodmansen, Mark
“Senator Douglas’s 1858 Transcontinental Railroad Plan and its Impact on the Utah War”

Using my “Follow the Money” Approach I have determined that enemies of the church, motivated by greed brought about the Utah War of 1857-1858. In Governor Brigham Young’s memorial to Congress on December 16, 1857 he complained about the cancellation of their mail contract unjustly and referred to the false accusations of the government appointed federal officials in Utah which gave rise to sending federal troops to Utah. In March 1855, after William Magraw, who held the mail contract earlier was relieved of his contract, Congress passed a special land preemption clause for mail contractors through the western territories. This was a basis of motivation for the false accusations of four dishonest federal appointees. Secretary of War John Floyd on December 1857 claimed that the Utah War was affected because Brigham Young and the Mormons were “a lion in the path”. My research has determined what he meant by that and how it tied to government corruption and scandal. John Hockaday, also a Utah complainant took over the mail contract with the preemption rights. He in turn lost the contract due to illegal activity of Secretary War John Floyd which succeeded in transferring the previously held Mormon preemption rights to his preferred new favorite contractor, the president of Pony Express. The mail contracts and preemption rights were a factor in the financial motivations associated with the transcontinental railroad. An entire transcontinental railroad system plan, with ties to the offending federal appointees, was presented in 1856 which affected the Utah War.

Griffin, Alexandria
“A Gentile Has But Little Chance”: A Jesuit in 1870s Salt Lake City

In 1879, Patrick Francis Healy, S.J., then president of Georgetown University, visited Salt Lake City while on a fundraising trip for the university. His journal entries from this visit give an extended view into his views of both Mormonism and the city itself; namely, he was deeply suspicious of Mormonism but found some aspects of Salt Lake City impressive. Significant amounts of scholarship have examined the Protestant viewpoint of Mormonism in the era between polygamy becoming public knowledge and its end in 1890; however, less attention has been paid to Catholic reactions during this era. I argue that Healy’s journal entries from this trip present a unique window into a Catholic perspective on Mormonism during this time period.

Grover, Mark L.
“Integrating Church History from the Periphery to the Center: The South American Experience”

Integrating the story of the international church into the general history of the Church is a challenge as the percentage of total membership outside the United States continues to grow. Much of that growth has come from Latin America. This paper will examine the writing of the history of the Church in South America. It will focus on two issues: the economic and cultural challenges that impede the writing of that history and differences between perceptions of local South American historians and U. S. historians regarding the role of South America in the history of the Church. I will suggest that in general, U.S. academics focus on South America
primarily in two areas, rapid growth and race. I will suggest that both issues are more related to academic agendas in the United States than issues of interest to historians in South America in or outside the Church.

I will show that the small but promising history of the Church in South America written by local historians takes a different approach. Though their method may be less academic, their studies are important. They see the history of the Church in South America as a account of struggles and triumphs. They tell a story of members accepting the Church and maintaining testimonies. They focus on developing local organizations into districts and stakes and the building of temples. Important in this story is the striving for recognition of the Church in the general population. Issues of race and rapid growth are of secondary concerns. I will suggest that histories written by local historians have similar themes to the 19th century pioneer history of the Church. The challenge is to incorporate both approaches into the general history of the Church by acknowledging challenges unique to South America while at the same time including positive South American and other international experiences as part of the history of a worldwide faith.

Gullotta, Daniel N.
“I was a Democrat”: Mormons and the Rise of the Jacksonian Democratic Party

While numerous articles and books make the early LDS to be politically adrift in the early Republic, going from party to party wherever and whenever they need, this paper shall challenge this narrative. Far from being completely politically opportunistic, the young LDS movement attached itself first and foremost with the rising Democratic Party. Most early Mormons were Democrats and when the LDS community did come to a new area, the Democrats were their preferred party to work with. Additionally, in looking at the political idea of many of the LDS leadership, the majority of their ideals align with the mainstream of Jacksonian Democratic thought. While it would be an overstatement to say that all Mormons were Democrats, this paper seeks to correct the narrative that Mormons were either politically totally adaptable and malleable within the early American Republic.

Hall, Dave
“Cooperating to Rescue Those in Need: Amy Brown Lyman and the Development of Federal Welfare Policy in Utah

With the arrival of the Great Depression, in Utah, as across the nation, local sources of assistance were quickly overwhelmed. A pioneering figure in the development of modern charity work in the Mormon Church, Amy Brown Lyman was point person for cooperative efforts with the public sector. Like other social workers, Lyman soon recognized that federal aid would be required to address the national emergency. While others in the faith, notably counselor in the First Presidency J. Reuben Clark, shunned federal aid, Lyman, pragmatic and experienced, knew such resources were essential to mitigate want. As federal efforts developed, unlike Clark, Lyman thus saw the public sector not as an adversary, but as a partner. She therefore sought to position members of the Relief Society, skilled in community welfare work, to cooperate in these developing public initiatives. Among other things, she hoped
Mormon women would win election to county welfare boards involved in shaping and implementing federal programs.

Drawing upon her writings and public addresses, as well as material found in the Relief Society General Board Minutes, this paper will argue that Lyman found ample room within her faith to pursue a cooperative relationship with government in addressing community needs. While her views were shared by a number of other leaders, notably Presiding Bishop Sylvester Q. Cannon, similarly steeped in the realities of social welfare work, they did not move forward as planned. Instead, following the lead of Clark and the Church Welfare Plan, Mormons pursued an unrealized goal of self-sufficiency that began to drive a wedge between government and members of the faith. This paper will argue that Lyman’s vision might have produced a very different result, one rife with possible benefits for the Church even as it could have illuminated opportunities for improvement in federal efforts.

Hanks, Maxine
“The Mormon Women’s Studies Resource at BYU: A Resource of Our Own”

This presentation will introduce and describe an ambitious new research tool housed at BYU entitled the “Mormon Women’s Studies Resource” or MWSR. This resource offers two major features for research on Mormon women – an in-house library of books, publications, and research tools, and an online web portal with web pages, listings, links, indexes, documents and bibliographies. The goal of MWSR is to provide an institutional master directory of key resources, on-line and in-house about Mormon women. This presentation will guide the audience through a virtual tour of the MWSR, its features, tools, offerings and how to access them, as well as share its goals, and also encourage students and scholars contribute their own work or materials to help build the site into the future.

Harris, Matt
“The Committee is out to get us”: BYU and the Civil Rights Act of 1964“

In the spring of 1968, Hollis Bach, the Regional Director of Civil Rights at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in Denver, Colorado, informed BYU president Ernest Wilkinson that the university was under investigation for violating title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. At the time, BYU did not recruit black students or athletes, prompting civil rights officials to allege that the school had violated title VI of the federal civil rights law, which “prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin in any program or activity that receives Federal funds or other Federal financial assistance.” The stakes were high, for Bach threatened that if BYU was out of compliance with federal law the government would eliminate all federal Pell grants and federal research grants at the church-owned school, as well as strip it of its accreditation.

Bach’s bold threat stunned Wilkinson, prompting him to assert that the civil rights committee was “out to get” BYU and its sponsoring church. Compounding matters further, the investigation placed him in a precarious position. As BYU president, he had the difficult task of ensuring compliance with the law while at the same time remaining loyal to the Board of Trustees, who spurned requests to recruit black students on the basis that such recruitment
would stimulate interracial dating and marriage, thus violating church policy and protocol. Moreover, the civil rights investigation into BYU recruitment policies prompted a host of challenging constitutional questions, including whether or not BYU should comply with federal civil rights law given the LDS church’s long standing teachings prohibiting racial amalgamation and miscegenation.

This presentation will explore the various strategies that Wilkinson employed to broker a compromise between civil rights investigators and the Board of Trustees. It is informed by never-before-seen materials in the Ernest Wilkinson Presidential Papers, Robert K. Thomas Papers, Heber G. Wolsey Papers, BYU College of Religious Instruction Papers, Joseph Fielding Smith Papers, and Meeting Minutes from the Board of Trustees.

Hatch, Reilly Ben
"A Relic of Gadianton": Race, Religion, and Assimilation in the Bluff and Posey Wars

When Mormon pioneers settled on the San Juan in southeast Utah in 1880, one of their primary objectives was to develop friendly relations with the Utes, Paiutes, and Navajos in the region. For several decades, they were largely successful in their task. In 1915, however, a sheep herder who worked for the local stake president was robbed and murdered on the Ute Mountain reservation in southwestern Colorado. A young Ute named Tse-Ne-Gat became the primary suspect of the federal Marshal, who raised a posse that included many of the Mormons, to capture the accused “renegade.” A battle resulted, and the situation was only resolved after the Chief of Staff of the United States Army persuaded Tse-Ne-Gat to surrender. The accused youth was put on trial, but was ultimately acquitted, much to the dismay of the San Juan Mormons. Later, in 1923, when other Utes of the same band killed some Mormon cattle, the settlers quickly formed their own posse, incarcerated many of the Utes in a compound in Bluff, and killed William Posey, who was considered the ringleader of the “bad Indians.”

This paper uses the Bluff and Posey Wars to investigate the complex relationship between Mormon settlers and their Ute/Paiute/Navajo neighbors at a time when the federal government pressured both peoples to assimilate into the American mainstream. It investigates what motivated the San Juan Mormons to develop their relationship with Indians in the first place, and why that relationship broke down at the beginning of the twentieth century. While previous scholarship has focused on how Mormon leadership defined race or how it was doctrinally articulated, this paper shows how race was conceptualized and negotiated in a community on the Mormon periphery.

Haynie, Claire M.
“Savior Seagulls: The Evolution of a Miracle”

Commemoration and remembrance were hallmarks of American identity at the turn of the 20th century. Latter-day Saints, eager to claim their part as tamers of the West, chose from their corpus a story uniquely their own, yet palatable to the American public for its lack of outright theocracy or mention of plural marriage. This paper will discuss the placement of the Seagull Monument on Temple Square in 1913, and chart the physical and spiritual etching of this story on the psyche of early 20th century Latter-day Saints. Use of this story and the friendly
image of the seagull, especially in materials catered to youth and children, ensured that the stories of the early Latter-day Saints would not be lost as the first generation of church leaders greyed and passed away. For tourists to Temple Square, eager guides showcased the story as evidence of God’s hand in the lives of the pioneers. With the upcoming renovation of Temple Square, and the ever-expanding scope of Church membership, it begs the question, what role will pioneer stories, such as the miracle of the seagulls, play in the 21st century church?

Henson, Kevin R.
“Cinderella Meets Doctor Death: The Mormon Battalion at La Junta, New Mexico”

At the Mora River crossing (Watrous, NM) of the Santa Fe Trail’s Cimarron Branch, advance elements of the Mormon Battalion rested for a few hours on October 4, 1846. Into camp that evening came some local settlers to sell and trade with the troops. Among them was a young, pretty woman. Dr. George B. Sanderson was impressed. “We had not been long in camp before we had a visit from a Mexican Lady and her attendant.” Abner Blackburn stated enigmatically, “She was the Rodope of the great American plains.” Puzzled as to what or whom Blackburn was referring, I have located a likely source for Blackburn’s comment. It reveals something about his educational status – and ours. More information about Dr. Sanderson will be shared.

Holbrook, Kate
“The Taste of Church: Shaping Religion Through Food”

Throughout the world, the behind-the-scenes work of food preparation has been women’s work. As a result, food practices are one way that women have shaped their religious traditions. What to eat, when and what not to eat, how to procure and prepare food, what to share—each of these questions brought women to interpret and prioritize their religious values. Relying on memoirs, newspaper articles, local histories, and minute books, this paper examines the dynamic between food and religion in the largely-Latter-day Saint population of Richfield, Utah during the early decades of the twentieth century.

Richfield, in southern-central Utah, was the county seat for Sevier County. By 1891 it was included in the route for the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad as it expanded into Utah. While the railroad gave citizens access to imported food stuffs, many of these were expensive. In the 1920s, Richfield’s residents were not wealthy and they relied heavily on stores from their own gardens and livestock, selling, preserving, and sharing the products thereof. Using these resources, women prepared Sunday dinners, refreshments for social gatherings, meals for those in need, and family night treats. They assessed when to forego, indulge, and share. They interpreted what it meant to observe the Word of Wisdom. This paper examines the efforts of Belle Gardner Fillmore, a Relief Society member in Richfield. Through her application of intellect and skill, she determined what church would taste like.
**Hurlbut, Dima**

“The Entry of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints into Southeastern Nigeria, 1962-1966”

This paper will examine the interactions and events that led to the establishment of an official RLDS mission in Nigeria in 1966. First, it will analyze why members of an indigenous church in southeastern Nigeria were drawn to the Reorganized Church during the 1960s. Second, this paper will explain the significance of the RLDS Church’s fact-finding missions for the church in the late twentieth century. This paper makes two arguments. First, it argues that members of this African indigenous church were drawn to the RLDS Church primarily by a desire to improve their access to resources. Second, it contends that the entry of the RLDS Church into southeastern Nigeria showcases the church’s shift towards liberal Protestantism.

**Hurtado, Laura Allread**

“Propaganda and Conversion: C. C. A. Christensen’s Untitled Huntington/Lamanite Panorama”

Typical of most C. C. A. Christensen panorama scrolls, the untitled Huntington/Lamanite panorama depicts early church history. Like the larger, more well-known Mormon Panorama, it was used as a conversion tool, an “early flip chart” to share and to teach important moments in Mormon history. However, the Huntington/Lamanite scroll is unique, not only because its rare original scroll condition is still intact but also how its subject matter differs—expanding to include scenes from the Old Testament, New Testament, and Book of Mormon. The eleven panels depict Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Noah’s ark, Lehi’s family departing Jerusalem, Nephi tied to the mast, the family arriving in the promised land, the baptism of Jesus, the Crucifixion, the resurrected Christ in the Americas, Mormon’s handing off the plates, and the angel Moroni’s handing the plates to Joseph Smith. Each carefully selected subject serves as a type of clear message to the Shoshone, Bannock, and other American Indian tribes who were taught an entire (if incomplete) history of the world via the scroll according to a particular set of terms: violence is fraught with problems, baptism is the path of God, America is the promised land, and the European settlers and Native American populations have familial connections. This portion of the presentation will closely analyze the scroll and how it functions as both a type of propaganda and a tool of conversion.

**Jensen, R. Devan**

“Dimick Huntington and George Washington Hill: Early Missionaries to Utah’s Indians”

Following Joseph Smith’s pattern of teaching native tribes, in 1855 Brigham Young appointed twenty-seven men to conduct missionary work among the buffalo-hunting Native Americans whose territories lay north of Utah Territory. A missionary party settled the Salmon River Mission where the Bannock, Shoshone, Nez Perce, and Flathead Indians met each summer. Missionary George Washington Hill held classes to learn the Shoshone language, and the missionaries soon baptized fifty-five Indians. Dimick Huntington, a Shoshone-speaking missionary, visited the mission. In 1858 their fort (Limhi) was attacked by a war party of about two hundred Bannock and Shoshone warriors. Two of the missionaries were killed, and five
were wounded. Most missionaries retreated to safety. After several years of raids and escalating conflict, pioneers asked the military to intervene. Colonel Patrick E. Connor and his US troops killed an estimated three to four hundred Shoshone at in the Bear River Massacre at Battle Creek, northwest of today’s Preston, Idaho. The pioneers then cared for the wounded and frostbitten soldiers and Shoshone children. Chief Sagwitch of the Northwestern Shoshone band was resisting outside pressure for his band to permanently settle at the Fort Hall reservation when Reverend George W. Dodge became special agent to the Western, Northwestern, and Gosiute tribes in October 1871. Likely that same month, C. C. A. Christensen completed a panorama of eleven scenes of biblical and Book of Mormon history to teach the gospel to native peoples, teaching their proposed cultural identity as “Lamanites” of Book of Mormon history. Dimick Huntington, a “patriarch to the Lamanites,” had commissioned the long panorama, which unrolled vertically to display one scene at a time while missionaries described the scene. Hill said the conversions spread “like fire in the dry grass.” Partially through use of the panorama, missionaries Hill and Huntington helped upwards of two thousand natives to convert to the restored gospel of Jesus Christ.

Jensen, Robin Scott
“Curating and Creating a Textual Record of Nauvoo Polygamy”

In 1869, the newly-completed transcontinental facilitated the easy travel across the country. Alexander and David Hyrum Smith, both sons of Joseph Smith, joined thousands of other Americans to make the trip to Territorial Utah. Unlike the other visitors, however, who came to Utah to view the strange homegrown religion in America, the Smith brothers came to convince and convert. Convince members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of the evils of polygamy and convert those individuals to the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Their argument was simple: sacred scripture, intimate family connections, and recent history all proved that polygamy had started with Brigham Young and not with Joseph Smith. Utah cousins to the Smiths, however, were ready to meet them with affidavits in hand to prove otherwise.

The 1869 affidavits of women and men who knew of the goings on of polygamy in Nauvoo, Illinois, have long been used by historians since they were created. This paper explores the culture creating these affidavits and what meaning was placed on the affidavits. In addition, the materiality of the records offer historians better understanding of what the affidavits do—and more importantly do not—say about the 1840s context of plural marriage and the 1860s relationship between the LDS and RLDS Church. Focusing on a single affidavit, this paper will explore its setting in the physical volume, ink used, cancellations, and differing handwriting. The paper will also explore the larger conversations taking place that refutes or relies on these records.

Johnson, Jake
“Mormons, Musicals, and American Integration”

American musical theater is often dismissed as frivolous or kitschy entertainment. But what if musicals actually mattered a great deal? What if perhaps the most innocuous musical
genre in America actually defines the practices of Mormonism—America’s fastest-growing religion? This paper draws attention to the musical Promised Valley (1947) to better understand the integrative force uniting two of America’s most iconic institutions, Mormonism and American musical theater.

This paper establishes Mormonism and early American musical theater as cut from the same ideological cloth—formed in the early nineteenth century out of Jacksonian principles of self-fashioning, white supremacy, and broader understandings of the democratic principles of vicariousness. I suggest that throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, Mormons gravitated toward musicals as a common ideological platform, using musicals not only to practice what I contend is a theology of voice, but also to transition from outlier polygamist sect to become by the mid-twentieth century emblems of white, middle-class respectability in America.

Johnson, Janiece
“Altering the Book: Orson Pratt, the 1879 Book of Mormon, and Its Reception”

The public sale of the first edition of the Book of Mormon began on 26 March 1830. Early convert Orson Pratt immediately became immersed in the text. He later said of his conversion to the Book of Mormon, “I had, for the two years during my first acquaintance with the book, read it so much that I could repeat over chapter after chapter, page after page, of many portions . . . and could do it just as well with the Book closed or laid to one side.” Pratt clearly wanted to demonstrate the centrality of the Book in his life: his point is not necessarily the memorization but rather the shift from familiarity to intimacy. The Book itself—its very textual combination of cadence and content—had, in a certain way, become a part of Pratt’s own capacity for communication. Pratt became a passionate theologian and defender of the Book of Mormon.

Yet, fifty years later, as member of the Twelve and Church Historian and Recorder Pratt would significantly alter the structure of the Book for the 1879 edition. Pratt had been involved in the 1849 edition without significant changes to the presentation of the Book, yet decades later he overhauled the structure and format of the Book. How could someone so enamored with the text decide to change the text in significant ways that would affect how the text would be read from then on? What do we know about the process? What does the material record tell us about the process? Specifically, Pratt reworked his 1854 edition to make new chapter divisions, versification, and annotations. What prompted these changes? Was this an effort at integration with the larger Christian world? At what cost did these changes come? How were the changes received?

Jones, Christopher Cannon
“A very Poor Place for our doctrine”: The 1853 Jamaica Mission and the Early Scope of Mormonism’s Racial Restriction”

In January 1853, four Latter-day Saint missionaries arrived in Kingston, Jamaica “to Promulgate the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the inhabitants on those islands under the English Government.” The timing of the mission to an island nation where more than 95% of the
inhabitants were African-descended people is curious. One year earlier, Brigham Young had announced to Utah’s Territorial Legislature a new church policy forbidding any man “who has the African blood in him” from being ordained to the priesthood. Why, then, did Young dispatch four missionaries to Jamaica and an additional two to British Guiana? According to Elder Aaron Farr’s report of the mission written a decade later, they “ware not Sent to Preach to the Cannanites,” and only after arriving and “seeing so little of the blood of Israel” did they abandon their assignment and return home.

That explanation resonates with popular understandings of the racial restriction and its implications: Missionaries, according to this line of thought, avoided proselytizing black people, understanding their mission to prioritize preaching to Israelites around the world. But that understanding is squarely at odds with Farr’s own record kept while in Jamaica. There is no evidence that Farr believed in 1853 that his mission was only to Jamaica’s white inhabitants. Indeed, most of his preaching there was to black and “mulatto” audiences. Only after concluding that the “cullard” people “ware no capacitated to understand much of our preaching” did the elders deem Jamaica “a verry Poor Place for our doctrine” and return home.

By the time missionaries returned 125 years later, both Jamaicans and Latter-day Saints alike had forgotten the first mission to the island. So, too had the role it played in shaping the faith’s racial theology. In this paper, I introduce the almost entirely ignored Caribbean mission of the 1850s. I argue that it played a crucial role in shaping early understandings of the temple and priesthood ban. The Jamaica mission provided important precedent for not only the scope of the priesthood ban, but also its theological justifications.

Jung, Hannah
“Reading Like a State: Texts, Secrets, and Polygamy”

What did it mean to be a record-keeping people in a period where records could incriminate your family? My presentation will consider the production of family papers – such as photographs, family bibles, and letters – during the 1880s when polygamous men filled the federal courts and Utah penitentiary. The 1880s, sometimes referred to by Mormon historians as “the Raid,” was an important moment of federal crackdown in Mormon history. The federal government passed two laws (the Edmunds Act in 1882 and the Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1887) that gave it unprecedented power to police and punish Mormon polygamous families. My presentation will investigate how the courts used family records and what they meant outside the context of the home. How did a state read a family bible? What valuable information could be in an addressed letter? Under this lens, mundane documents take on a whole new meaning: a family portrait with a husband and his multiple wives look like an act of defiance. What then did it mean to create family records that could serve as evidence? My presentation will consider not only how a state could read mundane family sources but also how this atmosphere of secrecy affected the ways that Mormons kept records in this period. Can the silences in the archive evoke as much as what remains?
Kelley, Allison M.
"Walking a Tightrope: Capitalism, Community, and the Church’s Twentieth Century Economic Vision"

In 1936, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints created a “Security Plan,” an alternative social safety net to President Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal. Scholars have obsessed over the Plan’s “success” or failure quantifying the aid provided and comparing it to the Church’s needs. I want to move conversations about the Welfare Plan beyond its role as a literal system of material aid. In doing so, my talk will address two large themes: in the first half, I discuss the life and legacy of Amy Brown Lyman, distinguished social worker and influential figure in the women’s Relief Society. I will use Lyman’s career to dismantle the still pervasive myth that The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has always been opposed to public relief efforts. Much more than a mere institutional restructuring, the Welfare Plan extinguished Lyman’s mission to expand public-private cooperation in the wake of the Great Depression. In the second half, I analyze the Welfare Plan’s utility as a tightrope between communitarianism and capitalism. This new social welfare system allowed Saints to fully participate in the broader capitalist economy, while internally curbing capitalism’s tendency to dissolve communal bonds. By allowing Saints to maintain an internal sense of brotherhood and equality, the Welfare Plan acted as an indispensable tightrope between assimilation and obscurity in the twentieth century.

Kim, M. Kaleiwahine
Roundtable: Indigenous and “Lamanite” Identities in the Twentieth Century
“No hea mai ko mākou kūpuna?: From Whence Came Our Ancestors? Lehi and the Pacific”

“We beseech Thee, O Lord, that Thou wilt stay the hand of the destroyer among the natives of this land, and give unto them increasing virility and more abundant health, that they may not perish as a people, but that from this time forth they may increase in numbers and in strength and influence, that all the great and glorious promises made concerning the descendants of Lehi, may be fulfilled in them...” (Heber J. Grant, Dedicatory Prayer of Lāʻie, Hawaii Temple, 27 November 1919)

Growing up in the ‘ōiwi (indigenous Hawaiian) LDS community on Molokai and later attending services and participating with other Pacific Island communities both in and outside of the United States, it was commonly accepted amongst ourselves that our ancestors included Father Lehi. Where did this idea originate from? My portion of this panel presentation will look at sources of this belief both as promulgated by General Authorities and local ecclesiastical leaders, and as coming from the people themselves, as they look for themselves in scriptures and compare traditions. I will also briefly look at how this belief fits into the current archaeological and cultural record for migration patterns in the Pacific.

King, Farina
Roundtable: Indigenous and “Lamanite” Identities in the Twentieth Century
“George P. Lee and the ‘Lamanite Cause’”

George P. Lee was once considered the poster child of Mormon Navajos. Lee was
baptized in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS); participated in the Indian Student Placement Program (ISPP); attended Brigham Young University; served in the Southwest Indian Mission; and completed advanced academic degrees. He served briefly as the President of the Arizona Holbrook Mission and then was called as a LDS General Authority—one of the First Quorum of Seventy. He was eventually removed from the position and excommunicated from the LDS Church. Many of his concerns were that he believed that the LDS Church had failed in its scriptural mandate to be the “nursing fathers and mothers” to Native Americans. He did not initially call for a return to Native American ways but rebuked Mormon leaders for not following through on helping Navajos and Native Americans. Lee was an advocate and follower of a “Lamanite Cause” that Church President Spencer W. Kimball and others spearheaded in the late twentieth century.

Farina King will address how Lee and other Native Americans, especially Navajos, embraced and appropriated “Lamanite” identity. She will also consider how some Native Americans rejected and questions conceptualizations of “Lamanite” identity that was thrown on them at times. Despite the different ways that Native Americans responded to the labels and notions of “Lamanite,” the “Lamanite Cause” represented a concerted effort to support Native Americans through religious, educational, and social programs. The programs had controversial results, which King considers from perspectives and oral histories of Indigenous converts.

Kirkham, Hillary
“Exhibiting Cultures, Building the Kingdom: The Church History Museum, Diversity, and Art”

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has a long history of interacting with various races, ethnicities, nationalities, and cultures. While this is often reflected in the widespread missionary efforts that began early after the Church’s founding, a particularly salient focus should be on LDS museology. From Smith family members displaying Egyptian mummies to an early call for missionaries to collect “curiosities” while abroad in order to create a museum in Nauvoo, the Church routinely engaged with various peoples and cultures.

Through an analysis of gallery guides from the former Museum of Church History and Art (now the Church History Museum), my paper explores how the museum exhibited artwork by non-Western artists to shape LDS identity and represent a globalizing faith. The exhibitions served as a way for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to represent their perceived relationship with members outside its traditional base and attempt to unify its membership, but they simultaneously reveal the institution’s struggle with diversity and the complicated intersection between culture and religion.

Kitterman, Katherine
“‘The Sisters of the Saints Knew What They Were Doing’: Mormon Women’s Political Strategy”

This presentation will analyze Mormon women’s political action from the 1830s to the 1880s and explore the implications of the strategies they pursued to defend their civil and religious liberties. Although most nineteenth-century American women could not vote, they influenced politicians by organizing petition drives to protest Indian removal, end slavery, and
eventually, win their own suffrage. Similarly, Mormon women were shrewd political actors in their own right. Beginning in the Nauvoo era, Mormon women pursued the most widely accepted form of political engagement legally open to women: the right of petition.

This early political engagement shaped the way Mormon women responded to Congressional legislation that threatened to end polygamy and revoke their voting rights, which they had gained in territorial Utah in 1870. Although lawmakers attempted to use Mormon women’s political rights as an instrument of federal control, Mormon women fashioned their rights into a vehicle for local protest. They drew on nineteenth-century political culture and their own organizational experience in the Female Relief Society to stage indignation meetings, craft memorials, gather signatures, and present petitions to elected officials. Similar to women’s rights advocates in the eastern U.S., it was through petitioning that Mormon women appropriated the forms, rhetoric, and subjectivities of citizenship in their attempt lay claim to political equality with men. Mormon women’s political participation through voting and petitioning developed their self-image as citizens whose civil and religious rights merited government protection. By employing the forms of political expression uniquely available to them, Mormon women pressured the boundaries of respectability, womanhood, and citizenship to become political actors on their own behalf.

Lamb, Connie
“Relief Society Publications and Other Women’s Papers at BYU”

This presentation will describe and guide viewers through live online access to a wealth of digitized documents, publications and collections at BYU about Mormon women. This visual session will take audience members on a virtual tour of web pages, indexes and links housed at HBL Library. These tools give direct access to an impressive collection of digitized documents – the full text of every issue of the Relief Society Magazine, and the Women’s Exponent, and Exponent II. These digitized collections constitute a major resource of Mormon women’s publications. In addition, this virtual tour will show how to access the vital Guide to Women’s Manuscript Collections at BYU which links users to the personal papers of Mormon women.

Lefevre, Brooke R.
“The Development of Anti-Mormonism in Iowa Territory”

Most anti-Mormonism studies during the Nauvoo period have focused on relations with neighbors in Hancock County. Because of this, anti-Mormonism in Iowa has been often neglected. This paper intends to examine intensively the Saints’ relations with non-Mormon neighbors in Iowa territory, focusing specifically on Keokuk and Montrose as crucial places where anti-Mormon sentiments developed. Because of the business opportunities provided by the Des Moines rapids, Keokuk, Montrose, Nauvoo, and Warsaw were all connected in a way that enabled relationships to be built and information exchanged. By examining specific individuals, such as Laban B. Fleak in Keokuk and David W. Kilbourne in Montrose, and the relationships that they had with Hancock anti-Mormons, a network of anti-Mormonism emerges that connects those in Hancock County with those on the Iowa side of the Mississippi River. To better understand many events that occurred during the Nauvoo period of Church
history, particularly the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith and the exodus of Saints in 1846, it is crucial to include the story of the relations between Mormons and their adversaries in Iowa Territory. Non-Mormons in Iowa played an important role in the development of anti-Mormonism sentiment generally as well as specifically in the Nauvoo area.

Lund, Jennifer L.
“Utah’s Little Denmark: Scandinavian Identity in Nineteenth-Century Ephraim, Utah”

In the nineteenth century, Scandinavian converts to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints gathered to Utah in such large numbers that by 1900 they comprised 34 percent of the state’s population. Despite their large numbers, Scandinavians were usually in the minority in any community with only a few exceptions. The town of Ephraim, located in Sanpete County, was Utah’s most distinctively Scandinavian settlement. Eighty-seven percent of households were Scandinavian in 1870, with 69 percent being Danish, 12 percent Swedish, and 6 percent Norwegian. The town, like several others, claimed the nickname “Little Denmark” in a flurry of nationalistic pride in the twentieth-century and continues today to celebrate its Nordic heritage with an annual Scandinavian festival. However, in the nineteenth-century the town’s large Scandinavian population engendered significant ethnic tension that resulted in a careful balancing act in church and civic leadership.

This paper examines the challenges the community faced as its Scandinavian settlers faced language barriers and pressures to assimilate into the broader culture of the Mormon cultural region. It also explores efforts to mitigate ethnic tension resulting in unique characteristics, including the high percentage of both missionaries and polygamists in Ephraim, as well the large number of Scandinavians who left the Church and joined other denominations.

Mahas, Jeffery
“Interactions between Potawatomi and Latter-day Saints in the Nineteenth Century”

In 1843, Potawatomi Indians began sending delegations to Nauvoo. The men and women wished to speak to Joseph Smith. Over the next two years, the Potawatomi sent four delegations to meet with Smith and at least one letter, seeking his advice and support in the mist of increased pressure from federal government for them to again vacate their lands and move further west. In return Smith sent a missionary to their current home in the vicinity of Council Bluffs, Iowa Territory, and furnished them with gifts, information, and counsel. Following Smith’s death and the evacuation of Nauvoo, the Latter-day Saints even temporarily settled among the Potawatomi, on the banks of the Missouri River at the edge of Iowa Territory. Thousands of Latter-day Saints spent the next several years as refugees in these lands, waiting to relocate to their new home in the Salt Lake Valley further west.

Throughout all of these interactions, religious conversion did not seem to be at the forefront of either parties’ agenda. Only one Potawatomi, Anthony F. Navarre, appears to have joined the church during the 1840s. A decade later, Navarre returned to his people as a newly ordained missionary, on a mission which would last for the rest of Navarre’s life. While Navarre maintained ties to the church located in Utah Territory and gladly assisted visiting missionaries, his focus during the next several decades was on the political welfare of his people, rather than
their spiritual salvation. Drawing on Potawatomi sources, such as Navarre’s letters, as well as government records and Latter-day Saint accounts of Mormon-Potawatomi interactions, this paper seeks to explore what motivated the Potawatomi to seek out Smith and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the 1840s. What were they hoping to gain, and what kept them returning over again?

Marianno, Scott D.
“Temple of Temples: The Salt Lake Temple as Latter-day Saint Axis Mundi”

As the centerpiece of the Latter-day Saint kingdom in the West, the Salt Lake Temple was the geographical origin point for the settlement and the creative locus for imagining and forging identity. This paper charts the development of the Salt Lake Temple into the premier symbol of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by examining the temple’s function as an administrative center and as a feature of twentieth-century church public relations. The Salt Lake Temple was invoked by church leaders as evidence authenticating the divine and sacred nature of binding prophetic announcements. It was also used as a tourist attraction at Temple Square, as a unifying symbol in international public relations campaigns, and as a rallying point for internal retrenchment. These developments created ties that bound church membership to a central temple, even as a constellation of temples developed worldwide. Ultimately, this paper concludes that the Salt Lake Temple, like all sacred space, is best viewed as a dynamic agent for change rather than as a static monument to a bygone era of Latter-day Saint peculiarity.

Marlowe, Eric
“William Mark Waddoups, First President of the Hawaii Temple”

In 2019 the Laie Hawaii Temple turns one hundred. William Mark Waddoups was called as its first president at a time when length of service as temple president was indefinite. He served for almost sixteen years. No Hawaii Temple president has served longer, and likely no other has rendered more impactful service to the temple than he. Yet William Waddoups remains relatively unknown.

Unlike temple presidents today, Waddoups essentially functioned without counselors. And in addition to temple president, he simultaneously served as mission president (the highest priesthood official in Hawaii), and plantation manager. In his sixteenth year as president, Waddoups became the Pacific’s foremost genealogy expert, and in his release letter as temple president and plantation manager, he was at the same time called “as president of the Samoan Mission for one year…as a special genealogical researcher and organizer to the Polynesian Mission.” This “special” mission lasted longer than a year and upon return to Salt Lake City he began working at the Genealogical Society of Utah as Supervisor of Genealogical and Temple Work in all Polynesian and he was instrumental in a number of landmark shifts in the gathering and processing of genealogical data.

Add William Mark Waddoups’ years as a missionary (4), at Iosepa (11), as president of the Laie Hawaii Temple (16, simultaneously serving as mission president [4] and as plantation manager [4]), as Samoan Mission President with special genealogy assignment (1.5), as second
counselor in the Temple Presidency (2.5), as superintendent of Kalaupapa (3.5), and his years directing the work of Polynesian genealogy, and together this equals more than fifty years of service to the people of Polynesia. More needs to be known of Waddoups remarkable contribution the Church in the Pacific.

Marquardt, H. Michael
“The Temple Lot in Jackson County, Missouri, and Observations of Early Church Members”

While members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints resided and worshiped in Jackson County, they regarded the Temple Lot as a sacred spot for the future temple to be built. The sources in this paper give a feel for the early pioneers of the Restoration. The newspaper accounts help us to understand what was taught, Latter-day Saint practices, and what the Saints went through. Ezra Booth’s recollections of early events in the life of the Church, preserved in his 1831 letters, are important in understanding those days. William McLellin also added his insight into the important location of the latter-day temple.

McBain, Neylan
“Popularizing Utah Mormon Women’s Advocacy through Art and Education”

Few people know the key role that Utah—especially Mormon—women played in the American women’s suffrage movement. This history has been absent from Church, public school curricula, and the public’s consciousness possibly due to silence and shame about polygamy and the underdeveloped story of Western women’s suffrage efforts. Better Days 2020, a non-profit dedicated to popularizing Utah women’s history, is working to change that. A major project centers on highlighting 50 women’s advocates through illustration and short biographies to integrate women’s advocacy work into curriculum and the public’s consciousness. Learning about this early Mormon women’s history has helped many contemporary Mormon women feel less isolated and more integrated into their religious community. Contemporary Mormon women feminists and activists also often cite these historical Mormon women’s advocacy work as a catalyst and justification for their modern-day advocacy work.

Many of the Mormon women we are highlighting struggled with the tension of wanting to be integrated into the mainstream women’s rights movement and wanting to remain distinct because of their religious beliefs and practices. Yet, it was because of these religious beliefs and practices that they were sometimes shunned by non-Mormon women activists. Mormon women viewed their advocacy to be in harmony with and driven by church teachings rather than in opposition to their religion, frequently defying the stereotypes and perceptions of outsiders.

This public history exhibit will feature illustrations by Brooke Smart that feature Mormon women and those who worked with (or against) Mormon women. We will discuss these women’s stories; the process of selection, research, and illustration; and how they are being used with the public and in K-12 classrooms. We will display original dresses of Emmeline B. Wells and Annie Wells Cannon, plus a reproduction of the dress Susan B. Anthony had made from silk produced by Mormon women.
McBride, Spencer W.
“Courting Mormon Voters: The Mormon Bloc Vote in the Second Party System”

The purposes and perils of Mormon bloc voting in Illinois during the early 1840s are well-known among scholars of the Mormon past. Holding the balance of power between the state’s Democrats and Whigs, the Mormons used their leverage to attempt to secure and protect their citizenship rights in Nauvoo. Yet, there are relatively unexplored angles that cast this familiar story in new light. This paper will examine how these voting practices—and the resulting courtships of the Mormon vote by Democrats and Whigs alike—fit into broader trends of mid-nineteenth-century American party politics. Chief among these trends is that the second party system was characterized by a stronger inclination among white American males for issue-based voting than for party allegiance. This meant that beyond each party’s base of loyal supporters was a sizeable group of voters who would vote for the candidate of either party depending on the issue at the center of any given election and each party’s respective stance on that issue. This paper will argue that while there were strategic aspects of the way the Mormon bloc vote was courted by politicians and that the Mormons remained uncommitted to any one party, the fluidity of the American electorate during the second party system contextualizes and illuminates the practice. While the Mormons were a particularly concentrated group of votes directed by a small number of church leaders, they were not the only group of American voters willing to be courted by either party in an election. Similarly, the fluidity of the American electorate helps explain why partisans spurned by groups such as the Mormons in one election would still try to win their votes in subsequent elections—and fell confident about their chances in the process.

McCoy, Cameron
“Delbert Stapley and the Pedagogy of Civil Rights at Brigham Young University”

This paper will underscore the relationship between 1960s Church leaders, the Civil Rights movement, institutional biases, and cultural trends that have stood in the way of breaking down 21st-century notions of teaching about blacks and the priesthood, attendant attitudes, and cultural perceptions of black progress at Brigham Young University. This paper is a by-product of my first-year experience of teaching at BYU and the challenges associated with informing students that Church leaders were not universally in full support of the Civil Rights movement. In addition to Official Declaration 2, Elder Delbert Stapley’s (1964) letter to George Romney (governor of Michigan) serves as an incredible teaching tool for expanding the conversation on racial progress within the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The letter’s applicability calls attention to a form of education this is especially important among the growing generation of young saints who are committed to social justice and broadening the various discourses involving global diversity and inclusion.
Meek, Philippa Juliet
“From Loving to Obergefell and Beyond: Plural Marriage as the Next Sexual Justice Issue”

1967: The Supreme Court of the United States rules that anti-miscegenation laws are unconstitutional, citing the Due Process and Equal Protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. 2015: The Supreme Court rules that state laws preventing the issuance of marriage licenses to same-sex couples, and the recognition of marriages carried out in a state where such unions are legal, are unconstitutional, again citing the same Fourteenth Amendment clauses. Today, polygamy is practiced by many fundamentalist Mormons who hope for a time when they will be able to legally enter polygamous unions and receive the protections that such legal recognition would afford.

In my paper, I posit that plural marriage is becoming the next sexual justice issue in the United States. I argue that Mormon fundamentalists, and others who wish to legally practice plural marriage, will be following in the steps of those who fought for the right to practice interracial and same-sex marriages, culminating in the Supreme Court decisions of Loving v. Virginia and Obergefell v. Hodges. To make my case, I use evidence from longitudinal surveys, case law, and legislation to demonstrate the similarities between the fights for inter-racial and same-sex marriage, and the current fight for plural marriage rights. I compare the legal history of, and trends that occurred with, interracial and same-sex marriages, and the support for such unions, and show that the same legal challenges and trends are occurring with regards to polygamy. I conclude with my predictions of how the fight for plural marriage may play out in the future.

Mikkelson, Jennifer
“Contemporary Temples, Cultural Landscapes and the Mormon Environmental Ethic”

The Mormon desire for integration and isolation is evident in the near-doubling of temple construction from 1980-2000, as well as in the environmental ethic presented through the temple architectural style that became popular during this time. Using cultural landscape methods, this paper will analyze how the built environment of temples constructed from 1980-2000 reflect the institutional values of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The proliferation of temple construction during this time period expresses a desire for integration, while the design choices exhibit an isolationist environmental ethic that is at odds with the desired presence among the built American landscape. By analyzing the architectural styles and the patterns contained within them, I will decipher the message that temple architecture is implicitly communicating to those who see it. This paper will also analyze the explicit messages related to the temple, and the ways in which the implicit message of architecture, and the explicit message of scripture, doctrine and LDS media, interact with each other.

During the April 2011 General Conference President Monson announced that “Eighty-five percent of the membership of the Church now live within 200 miles (320 km) of a temple.” Through the institutional wealth of the Church, temples and their accompanying environmental ethic have been brought to millions both stateside and worldwide. In this same talk, Monson makes apparent the desire for integration through proliferation, telling the congregation at Salt Lake and Saints tuned in globally that during the Church’s initial 150 years just 21 temples were built, compared to the period of 1980-2010, during which 115 temples were built. During this
thirty year period we can observe a larger trend of the Mormon desire for integration into the physical and cultural landscape, as exhibited by the rhetoric and practices surrounding temple construction. At odds with this integrationist rhetoric is the religious and physical isolation of an exclusivist building within the larger landscape.

**Miner, Kaleb C.**
Roundtable: Indigenous and “Lamanite” Identities in the Twentieth Century  
“Native American Oral Histories of ‘Lamanite’ Identity”

Though relatively few Native Americans joined The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints early on, numbers have steadily grown, and today a significant multitude of Mormons identify as Native American. By looking at various Native American Mormons throughout the nineteenth, twentieth, and even twenty-first centuries we can perhaps obtain a better understanding of what it means to be both Native and Lamanite. Of particular interest are the oral histories of Native American individuals today who adhere to the teachings of the Mormon faith, and whose family stories and personal experiences can help to shed light on the question: what does it mean to be Native and a Lamanite? Though the primary focus here is to concentrate on oral histories from Native American members today, it may also be possible to understand how the label of Lamanite has changed over time regarding who and what makes one Lamanite as well as how Native Americans themselves have transformed this identifier on their own terms and perhaps even altered Mormon thought in the process.

This paper proposes that while reflecting upon such issues, Native American members of the Church have been forced to make compromises to their personal identities; some of their “Native Americaness” had to be given up in order to accept a new identity as both Mormon and Lamanite. However, Native Americans have also altered the perception of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints’ towards both Lamanite identity and Native Americans. Indigenous members have also transformed the stigma attached to being identified as Lamanites and turned it into a symbol of pride in regard to their affiliation with the Church.

**Moulton, Candy**
“The Handcart Migration: On the Ground and In the Archives”

Thirteen year-old Heber McBride found the 1856 ocean crossing from England to America on the Horizon exciting: “I was in my element all the time and the harder the wind did blow the better I enjoyed myself.” Traveling with his family during that first year of migration by English immigrants who would travel overland with a handcart, McBride had a far different attitude about the trip once he was in America. As his family moved west, McBride wrote they were “piled into cattle cars or box cars anything was good enough for the d—— Mormons.” Upon arrival in Iowa they “had to stay 3 or 4 weeks before we could start on our journey as we were coming with handcarts their seemed to be bad Management some where.” This grouching came long before his family was crossing Nebraska with the handcart brigade, where “Mother took chills and fever then our trouble began she would walk as far as she could by holding on to the cart then we would get her in to one of the wagons.” As food
grew scarce, Heber recalled, “the men began to give out, teams gave out, and so many [people] sick and dieing that they couldn’t all ride.”

McBride, whose family became stranded in Wyoming in 1856 with the Edward Martin 5th Company, would ultimately write, “tounge nor pen can never tell the sorrow or suffering.” But thankfully for researchers and writers, McBride did write of his family’s sufferings, and hundreds of other handcart pioneers did as well, outlining not only difficult times, but also instances where their faith sustained them. Some kept journals as they traveled. Others wrote letters to family or friends, or prepared later reminiscences and accounts of the migration from 1856 to 1860. In this session, Moulton, who spent ten years researching and writing the narrative history of the handcart travelers who took to the trail from 1856 to 1860, will focus on the research resources used to tell their story including accounts of both the ocean crossing and the overland trail migration. The story of the 1856 handcart migration is completed by accounts of how rescuers sent by Brigham Young, president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, set out in late fall to travel hundreds of miles and provide aid to the west-bound pioneers.

Neatrour, Anna
“Century of Black Mormons: Technical Infrastructure and Workflows”

A unique digital public history project like Century of Black Mormons would not be possible without technical support and project management. This paper will discuss how the website for Century of Black Mormons was planned and developed, with information about why the open source software OmekaS was ideal for curating and disseminating essential information about black Mormons such as biographical information, essays, and primary source documents.

The planning and implementation process that the team followed will be provided as a case study for anyone interested in developing a similar public history site. Century of Black Mormons was created after carefully considering the many different components that would be present in the database and deciding how best to represent them for the use of future researchers. As part of this process we investigated additional features and plugins in OmekaS that were added to enhance the site. We will share the decisions we made about metadata and organizing primary source materials, and discuss the workflow that contributors follow when they add new entries to the site.

Nelson, Jessica
“‘To tell what the Lord really wanted women to do’: Gender, Race, and the Nauvoo Monument to Women, 1975–1978”

On October 1, 1975, General Relief Society president Barbara Smith announced plans to build a monument to Latter-day Saint women in Nauvoo, Illinois, where the Relief Society was founded in 1842. Concurrent debates about the women’s movement and the Equal Rights Amendment had persuaded women leaders to cement a statement about the Latter-day Saint view of the “essential” role of women in church-centered family life. In a time when some women, Smith asserted, “even face the challenge of their right to be women, to carry out their divinely appointed and defined roles,” she asked Latter-day Saint women around the world to
donate funds for the project that would memorialize the Latter-day Saint “symbol of womanhood.” The result was a multi-million dollar sculpture garden titled “Monument to Women.” Three dedication services were held from June 28-30, 1978 with over 7500 guests attending.

Although the monument was designed to represent “all the women of the church,” the statues resembled the slender, white, middle-class American or western European demographic of the church population. This paper will examine the political context of the monument’s creation, including the church’s firm stance against the ERA. In doing so, I will argue that the ultimate message of the statues and the dedication services were both religious and political in nature and that Latter-day Saint women entered this political foray because of their deep religious commitment to raising children in accordance with their theology and faith tradition.

Nimer, Cory L.
“Creating a Professional Community: Network Analysis of Early MHA Membership”

The establishment of the Mormon History Association (MHA) in December 1965 was an important milestone in the development of Mormon studies. Initially envisioned as a professional organization meant to "promote fellowship and communications among scholars interested in Mormon history," the MHA brought together a diverse group of professional and amateur historians as charter members. As earlier historians have described it, through the MHA they were able to span existing organizational boundaries to create a home for a new style of Mormon history, including what Leonard Arrington described as the "dual loyalty" to religious commitments and historical truth.

Due to its emphasis on scholarship, the MHA framed itself as both inclusive and exclusionary. The decision by the fledgling organization to hold their meetings between 1965 and 1971 in conjunction with professional historical conferences throughout the United States both supported integration in larger academic trends while isolating the organization by preventing wider involvement. It was not until 1974 that a new constitution was prepared that fostered broader involvement, moving away from the initial focus on scholars to allow "any person interested in Mormon history" to join the organization.

This paper seeks to explore the role and value of the MHA during its formative years within the network of participating Mormon historians through the application of network analysis tools. This will include an examination of organizational and disciplinary affiliations looking at community connections and cohesiveness, as well as a bibliographic citation network analysis based on Google Scholar data. The focus of this work will be on MHA charter members, as well as planners and prospective members identified in 1965.

Okafor, Henry Amaechi
“Isolation and Integration: Case study of South-Western Nigeria”

Isolation and Integration are two sides of a coin, the former depicting negativity while the latter denoting positivity. The penetration of the LDS church in Nigeria in general and South-west Nigeria in particular was faced with a lot of opposition from the populace and government.
Nigeria is one of the most religious country in Africa. Due to the vast demographic space, we are limiting our study to the Southwestern states where it seems the church is growing more, the Eastern region to an extent has been experiencing considerable growth also. Our queries are: what are the elements that depict isolation from other religious sect and society? what are the parameters for this phenomena? Is there any evidence of integration? If so, how are these manifested? How are the male and female members of the LDS church trying to integrate into society and how has the response being? These among other questions were researched into.

Nigeria is originally a Catholic and Pentecostal religious environment—where open miracles and wonders and other phenomena are visible, these are hardly visible in LDS services, this serves as a non motivation for non-members to oppose and isolate members from the fibers of the society. The undetermined position of the LDS church and its non registration with the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) has and continues to have relevant effects on the integration of the church and its members into the Christian circle of the country in general and the South-west in particular. We have discovered that though the church growth in the South-west is visible, the possibility of integration has proven difficult. Due to the limited literatures on this subject in the country, we have resolved to semi-structured direct and indirect interviews of pioneers of the wards/units in the South-west and also those who have investigated the church and continues to investigate the church of whom many still view the church as a cult sect due to its conservative nature, we also used an analytic approach straddling critical discourse analysis and postcolonial theory. This paper proposes ways in which the members of the LDS church can better integrate themselves in a society that has a very different religious and cultural background to that of the American society where the church has almost fully moved from isolation to integration.

Palfreyman, Samuel Ross
“Twentieth-Century Temple Architecture: Experimenting with Varying Levels of Monumentality and Sacrality”

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints believes it has been charged to build and operate temples similar to those recorded in the Bible. Unlike their biblical precedents, latter-day temples have been reproducible and legion rather than confined to a singular structure and site. During the nineteenth century, Latter-day Saints built temples in Kirtland, Nauvoo, and Utah as the centerpieces of their respective communities. The construction, upkeep, and use of these temples became unifying, community-wide efforts, and missionaries encouraged converts from around the world to gather to the new Zion, which would allow them exclusive access to the temples there. As the gathering policy changed and Zion was re-conceptualized during the twentieth century, Church leaders began to build more temples to foster church growth outside of Utah as well as to increase member participation in temple worship everywhere.

After briefly charting early twentieth-century developments in Mormon temple building, this paper will turn its focus to chronicling the changes in location, liturgy, and appearance apparent in the temples built between 1945 and 2000. Although the Church has experimented with smaller, standardized temple designs to save on construction costs throughout and beyond the twentieth century, it has also repeatedly returned to more
expensive, region-specific designs to restore desired associations of sacred uniqueness to temple sites.

**Parry, Darren**

“What Chief Sagwitch’s Conversion Means to My People”

For centuries, the nomadic Northwestern Shoshone band wintered at Boa Ogoi (Shoshone for “Big River,” or today’s Bear River). In the late 1850s, Brigham Young—church president, Utah territorial governor, and superintendent of Indian affairs—appointed colonizers to move northward to Cache Valley. Fish and game became increasingly scarce, tipping the balance for the Shoshone toward starvation. Local Church members tried to follow Governor Young’s policy of feeding the Indians rather than fighting them. After years of skirmishes between natives and European settlers, Colonel Patrick Edward Connor’s troops killed hundreds of Shoshone men, women, and children. Wounded in the massacre, Chief Sagwitch (Shoshone for “orator”) survived and helped care for the other wounded. Generally friendly toward Church members, he and his people were living on the Bear River some five miles above Bear River City in the early 1870s. However, the Shoshone people now faced the vulnerable position of retreat or reconciliation with the colonizers.

In 1872, Indian agent George W. Dodge reported a “mysterious movement” that started when a Nevada Paiute (likely Wodziwob), who said was appointed by the Great Spirit to teach the “origin and destiny” of “all the Indians in America” and how to reclaim the good life they had lost, prompting Indians from various tribes to flock to pioneer settlements. In addition to spiritual yearnings, the native tribes likely saw strategic reasons to align with the colonizers. In early spring 1873, fellow Shoshone chief Ech-up-wy told Sagwitch that three men had appeared in a vision and said that he “must go to the ‘Mormons,’ and they would tell him what to do, and that he must do it; that he must be baptized, with all his Indians; that the time was at hand for the Indians to gather, and stop their Indian life, and learn to cultivate the earth and build houses, and live in them.”

Sagwitch and his people believed him and traveled to Ogden to meet with the missionary George Washington Hill, known as Ankapompy (“man with red hair”). Sagwitch and other chiefs again approached Hill on May 1. Four days later, Hill took the train to the town of Corrine, then walked twelve miles to the Shoshone camp on the Bear River. The Shoshone were expecting him, and he taught, baptized, and confirmed 102 Shoshone that day, reporting in a letter to Brigham Young, “[I] never felt better in my life nor never spent a happier day.” Sagwitch and his wife Beawoachee were eventually sealed in the endowment house. Repeatedly pressured by Utahns and federal agents to relocate, the Shoshone people faced major cultural adjustments and transitions to an agrarian Latter-day Saint lifestyle. Integrated into the church, they helped build the Logan Temple, and their descendants have served as missionaries and church leaders.
Parshall, Ardis E.
“That Which Was Lost”: Recovering the Memories and Voices of Black Latter-day Saints”

Despite its zealous creation and preservation of historical records, one detail never officially tracked by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has been the race of its members. Historians have known that black converts like Elijah Abel and Jane Manning James have participated in the Church from its earliest days, and the existence of black Mormons through later decades has been confirmed whenever such members were denied full participation in priesthood and temple. But how to identify individual black Mormons? how to find their voices, their contributions, their presence in records that do not specify race?

I will narrate the methods used by historians with the Century of Black Mormons project, reporting how we have identified the individuals featured in our database, through following clues buried in instances of discrimination and bigotry, through careful coordination of church records with civil records, and through the firm yet muffled voices of black Mormons themselves. Case studies will explore four broad classifications of research: Strict standards for documenting the lives of those who, like Abel and James, are generally known but about whom some legends have been accepted as fact; untangling and documenting the lives of enslaved men and women brought to Utah; identifying and documenting the lives of black Mormons who have never been known to our history before this project; and the response of living people who want to be sure that appropriate honor is paid to their black ancestors or friends.

While this paper focuses on a specific project, I include suggestions and techniques that will be useful to many Mormon history research projects that have no obvious record sources in the archives.

Perry, James
“Islolation and Acceptance: the Experiences of Selina Martin as a Latter-day Saint Suffragette in Britain”

Although previously unknown, evidence in recent years has revealed that a leading militant suffragist, Selina Martin, was a Latter-day Saint and treasurer of the Lancaster Branch Relief Society. Following her attack of Herbert Asquith in 1909, then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Martin was ill-treated when she was frog-marched and force-fed. This paper explores the life of Martin and offers several suggestions regarding her ability to reconcile the divergent religious, political, social, and economic experiences that she had. Drawing on minutes, attendance records, letters, diaries, and newspaper accounts, a prosopographical overview is presented. This overview suggests that Martin found a way to accommodate her faith and membership in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints with her political motivations and actions. Martin’s participation had long-term ramifications for the Suffragist movement and for her personally.

Contrary to expectations, Martin remained a member in good standing for a number of years and was active in the Church throughout her time as a suffragette. Martin’s efforts contributed towards the eventual enfranchisement of women in Britain and is well documented by historians of women’s suffrage and her contemporaries. It was Martin’s treatment by prison authorities that prompted outrage throughout society, and despite her working-class origins, Martin inspired social elites to join in the fight for enfranchisement. Despite her recognition in
other scholarly circles, the activism of Selina Martin has previously gone unnoticed by scholars of the Latter-day Saint faith. Ultimately, this paper presents a compelling overview of the ways that Martin acculturated her religious and political identities and formed a distinctive identity that incorporated a blend of influences.

Petersen, Boyd Jay
“The Work of Mother Eve: Gender Identity and the Isolation and Integration of LDS Women”

In his 1830 revisions of Genesis, Joseph Smith not only postulated a fortunate Fall and Christianized the text, but increased Eve’s status. In the post-lapsarian scene added to the text, an angel instructs Adam and Eve about Christ’s atonement (Moses 1:9). In response, Adam rejoices, blesses God, prophecies of future generations, and exults that, “because of my transgression my eyes are opened, and in this life I shall have joy” (Moses 5:10). Afterwards, Eve also glories in this good news: “Were it not for our transgression we never should have had seed, and never should have known good and evil, and the joy of our redemption, and the eternal life which God giveth unto all the obedient (Moses 5:11). Then, together, Adam and Eve “blessed the name of God, and they made all things known” to children (Moses 5:12). Furthermore, after being cast out of Eden, Eve “did labor with” Adam (Moses 5:1). Joseph Smith not only gave Eve more lines of dialogue than she had in Genesis, he shows her as an eloquent theologian and an equal partner to Adam.

With these revisions, Eve’s traditional status as temptress and scapegoat is significantly altered. Nevertheless, that status has evolved from a guilt-ridden pawn who unintentionally accomplished God’s will, to one who chose knowingly with heroic vision to bring about human potentiality. LDS women have led out in revitalizing Eve’s status, typically in response to the larger American discourse—about suffrage in the nineteenth century and equal rights in the twentieth. Contemporary male Church leaders now speak of Eve with the same rhetorical and theological majesty that women used in the nineteenth-century. Yet differences remain between the ways Church leaders and individual LDS women discuss Eve. Institutional discourse about Eve is typically prescriptive, holding Eve up as a model of womanhood; while women’s personal, lived-religious descriptions of Eve often reflect their deepest longings, concerns, joys, and sadness. And institutional discourse typically isolates LDS women from the rest of the world, while individual discourse tends to integrate them back into it.

Petersen, Steven
“Like a Rose in the Desert: The Mormon Trail and Environmental History”

The Mormon Trail is recognized historically as a central artery to Western expansion, and while there has been a respectable amount of literature on its general significance, there is a paucity of scholarship on the Mormon Trail in context of environmental history. In my paper I argue that the current accessibility of the physical Trail has allowed, for both past and contemporary Latter-day Saints, to access the landmark as a kind of archive in order to memorialize, and in some ways, venerate their ancestors and the stories/myths that have been promulgated over time. As a result, there are both positive and negative outcomes on the surrounding environment: while Mormons spend considerable amount of time and money
attempting to conserve the Trail and the adjoining land, including acquiring a respectable amount of property in Wyoming, environmental effects from overuse and exploitation are visible. Because the Trail has become, over time, what I will claim is the most accessible and culturally shared experience for Mormons in North America, as evident in the phenomenon of trek, degradation is alarmingly increasing, including a reduced vegetative productivity around the Trail. Therefore, I argue, there have been unintended environmental consequences as Latter-Day Saints recognize the Mormon Trail as a place of commemoration, taking precedence over preservation.

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Petrey, Taylor
"‘Masculine, Manly Men’: The Psychologization of LDS Approaches to Homosexuality"

This paper examines the transition from morally based explanations of homosexuality to psychologically based explanations from the 1950s to the 1980s in North American Mormonism. In the 1950s and 1960s when Mormons first began talking about “homosexuality,” they used moral theories of degeneracy to explain why some people choose to participate in same-sex sexual activity. This included masturbation and other bad habits. The cure, they argued, was based in controlling the thoughts and resisting temptation to reform one’s desires. Since LDS leaders primarily took this to be a problem affecting men, they framed the virtues of self-control as masculine traits. However, a rival etiology in psychology was emerging that saw homosexuality as the result of emotional deficits, especially caused by broken relationships with fathers, instead of masturbation. By the 1970s, psychologists had significant influence among senior church leaders. In this psychological explanation, the causes were deeper and the cure needed to go far beyond self-control. Still, this neo-Freudian approach also relied on masculinity as a key feature of its ideological approach. Homosexuality was the result of a failed psychological masculinity that needed to be reformed through treatment. This paper examines the ministerial careers of Spencer W. Kimball, Boyd K. Packer, Vincent Brown, Jr., and the rise of the LDS Social Services.
Pinheiro da Silva Filho, Fernando
“Fragmented history: Challenges and perspectives writing the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Brazil”

An essential task for the historian is using appropriate sources. The purpose of this paper is to describe the challenges of the author in researching the history of the Church in Brazil as an example of local, in-country historians throughout the world. I live and work in the Brazilian northeast, a significant distance from both the Church archives in the United States and São Paulo, Brazil. The challenges for local historians living internationally are first identifying and gaining access to necessary historical sources and second finding a publisher who will publish the resultant academic studies. Using Brazil as an example, I will suggest a lack of appreciation and understanding by local ecclesiastical authorities in preserving documents needed to write the history of the Brazilian saints. I will also suggest the challenge members of the Church in Brazil have understanding and appreciating topics of their own history. I will also suggest a lack of interest in the general Brazilian academic community, especially historians, and the publishing community about the Church of Jesus Christ.

The study explores some unconventional solutions that can be taken to make availability sources to local historians through the use of social networks and the internet. These methods are also important, despite the distance, in communicating document needs with the regional Brazilian History Archives in Brazil.

Finally, I will suggest a final theme, the dependence of local historians of Church of Jesus Christ in Brazil and other international regions on sources found exclusively at Church's headquarters in Salt Lake City. This fact complicates the production of regional histories. Presently without the financial resources and time to visit Salt Lake City, the sources needed to do adequate histories are not available to the historian.

Prete, Carma T.
“Outreach at the Church History Library: The “Country Profile” Program as Applied in the Canadian Setting”

The “Country Profile” program, begun at the Church History Library in Salt Lake City a decade ago, was intended to enhance the third of the library’s three objectives: to acquire, preserve and share records related to the rich faith heritage of the Latter-day Saints. Researcher in the program, normally full-time or part-time Church service missionaries, do research on the basic development of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in each country, based on the archival records in the Church History Library. A typical country profile consists of a map, a fully documented chronology of major events, a list of key leaders, faith-promoting stories and photos of key people and events. These research reports have proven very useful as a background for General Authorities and General Officers visiting these countries and have also been useful to the Church legal team in some instances.

An unexpected use of these research reports has been that of providing archival research for writing the history of the Church in Canada. In 2013, when my husband Roy and I
Prete, Roy A.
“Canadian Mormons: History of The Church of Jesus Christ in Canada (2017): Model for Latter-day Saint Regional History in a Global Church?”

Writing the book, Canadian Mormons, conceived as a project to coincide with the Canadian sesquicentennial of Confederation in 1867, involved approximately 30 months of service by my wife Carma and myself in the Church History Library, beginning in 2013. Considering that the grand project to write a history of the Church in Canada—the last having been written in 1968, nearly fifty years ago—was too vast a project for one person, I realized that it would have to be done by a multi-talented team. Altogether the project engaged the services of a team of more than 40, which included 21 authors (some doing thematic chapters), 8 missionary researchers (full and part-time), a bevy of oral history interviewers and a number of editorial personnel. The challenge for authors and editors, was to integrate the information from all these sources and also to assure that each chapter was written to the highest academic standard.

While much of the work on the book was done at the Church History Library, the book was not an officially sanctioned Church project, so a non-official publisher had to be found. Happily, BYU Religious Studies Center, which was focussing on regional studies, was pleased to publish the final product. In 2018, Canadian Mormons won the Smith-Pettit Best Book Award from the John Whitmer Historical Association. As a book that has bridged the gap between scholarly and illustrated books, resulting in a beautifully illustrated volume, and which, through the efforts of a considerable team, has combined material gleaned from multiple sources, some have suggested that it might serve as a possible model for regional histories in a global Church. Could the various elements of its production be adapted for a similar book for different countries or regions of the Church, particularly for those who have regional archives? Producing the book was a grand adventure for the large number of volunteers who took part. Those wishing to undertake such studies may wish to evaluate what ideas may be gleaned from the
“Canadian experience,” what resources may be deployed, and how the project might be orchestrated to accomplish the desired result.

**Pulido, Elisa Eastwood**

Roundtable: Indigenous and “Lamanite” Identities in the Twentieth Century

“Margarito Bautista and Lamanite Exceptionalism”

In 1901, Margarito Bautista (1878-1961) converted to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, largely because of the allure of prophecies found in the Book of Mormon about the future of indigenous Americans. Bautista, a Mexican cultural nationalist, saw the Book of Mormon as a prophetic plan for Mexico. While many young indigenous Mormons today reject the designation "Lamanite," Bautista embraced it, dovetailing his Aztec ancestry with Mormon scripture. In this presentation, I will discuss the historical, political, and religious influences on the life of Bautista, which led to his embracing of the appellation "Lamanite." These will include colonialism, racial bigotry, agrarian uprisings, exclusion for native Mexicans from the Catholic clergy, nationalism, and the advent of Protestantism in Mexico. I will argue that in accepting the designation "Lamanite," Bautista found a way to reframe Mexico's history of marginalization, oppression, and suffering. In Bautista's view, as a history of the Lamanites, Mexico's history was that of an exceptional people, who, though having struggled through difficult centuries, were on the verge of reclaiming their rightful place as the lost seed of Abraham, the builders of the New Jerusalem, and leaders of the world.

**Pulsipher, Jenny Hale**

“‘To identify our interests with theirs’: The Fort Supply Mission and Indian-White Intermarriage”

Missionary work to the American Indians was a clear priority for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from its earliest days. *The Book of Mormon* identified American Indians as descendants of the House of Israel and prophesied their return to the beliefs of their forefathers. Thus, they were spiritual kin of the Mormon settlers, who saw themselves as adopted children of Israel, and key participants in events prophesied to unfold before the second coming of Jesus Christ. As early as 1831, Oliver Cowdery and others preached to the Senecas, with missions following to the Shawnees, Wyandots, and Delawares. After the exodus to Utah, Church president Brigham Young sent missionaries to Native peoples throughout the region.

The first of these efforts was a mission to the Shoshone Indians in southeastern Wyoming, near Fort Bridger. This mission, based at Fort Supply, began in 1853 and ended in 1857, with the arrival of federal troops at the start of the Utah War. While short-lived, the Fort Supply Mission is well documented and illuminates the role racial ideology played in both prompting proselytization and limiting integration of Native Americans into the church. In particular, my paper focuses on the experiences of members of a family involved in the mission at Fort Supply: recent convert and Indian interpreter Elijah Barney Ward, his Shoshone
wife Sally, Sally’s French-Shoshone daughter Adelaide Exervier, and her husband, Mormon missionary James Morehead Brown. Sally and Adelaide were key participants in the mission because of both their linguistic expertise and their cultural connections. Their kinship ties drew nearby Shoshones to Fort Supply, laying the groundwork for later missionary journeys to the Shoshones at Wind River. The evident utility of such ties may have prompted Orson Hyde, visiting the mission in 1854, to urge missionaries to “identify our interests with theirs, even to marrying among them.” Overwhelmingly, his appeal fell on deaf ears, not only at Fort Supply, but at other missions to Indians throughout the region. In this paper, I will examine LDS ideals of symbolic kinship with Native Americans through the House of Israel and how and why those ideals foundered when actual kinship—integration of Native people into Mormon families through marriage—was proposed.

Radke-Moss, Andrea G.

“‘Nits Make Lice’: The Dehumanization of Children at the Haun’s Mill Massacre of 1838 and the Bear River Massacre of 1863”

In October of 1838, as Missouri mobbers entered the blacksmith shop at Haun’s Mill, one Glaze pointed his gun at the head of Sardius Smith and blew out his brain matter, killing him instantly. Another mobber, feeling a pang of guilt, yelled, “It was a damned shame to kill those little boys!” “Damn the difference,” retorted Glaze. “Nits make lice!” Just over twenty-four years later, on January 29, 1863, as General Patrick Connor and his California volunteers attacked a village of Northwestern Shoshones, Connor ordered his men to “Take no prisoners, fight to the death; nits breed lice.”

Noting the use of “nits make lice” as an oft-repeated trope for justifying a violent response against children of assaulted groups, this paper will look at common themes in the experiences of the child victims of two massacres: the Haun’s Mill Massacre of 1838 of Mormon settlers and the Bear River Massacre of 1863 against a significant village of Northwestern Shoshones. In both cases, perpetrators of the massacres employed common verbiage for the dehumanization of the younger victims of these attacks. These accounts also became significant narratives for how massacres were memorialized by both groups, and how the child victims of both massacres came to symbolize both the inhumanity of the attackers and the ultimate survival of the groups. This paper will look at similarities in children’s wartime experiences, especially between the Haun’s Mill and Bear River massacres, and how those narratives affected the formation of group memories surrounding these events.

Reed, Sarah Clement


The success of missionary work in Scandinavia in the 19th century led to a significant number of converts immigrating to Utah and the greater Mormon cultural region. Despite linguistic, ethnic, and national differences, pan-Scandinavianism was promoted by church officials, where Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians celebrated holidays and other cultural practices together, shared religious meetings, belonged to the same ethnic organizations, for
example, primarily under Danish leadership. This alliance became more strained in the early 20th century, particularly challenged by the influx of Swedish immigrants who preferred, for linguistics reasons, to have their own organizations, meetings, etc. This led to the “Swedish Rebellion” in the early 1900s, where newspaperman Otto Rydman was excommunicated for advocating Swedish-language organizations within the church in his Swedish-language periodical.

The only Norwegian periodical in Utah, Varden (“The Beacon,” 1910-1911) reflects these ethnic, national, and religious tensions for the Norwegian-immigrant community in Utah. The monthly illustrated attempted to integrate Norwegian, Norwegian-American, and Mormon identities, without challenging the Scandinavian mandate of the LDS church or competing with the other Danish and Swedish newspapers. In its two-year run, the editors Joseph Straaberg and Christian Johannessen included content related to prominent Mormon Norwegians, well-known Norwegian Americans in the Midwest, and Norwegian luminaries in Norway, as well as news from around the world, Norwegian-language fiction written, histories of Utah, America, and Norway, and always a page full of jokes dedicated to humor. The result attempts to cross religious, national, and geographical boundaries in order to imagine how Norwegians in Utah could remain Norwegian and Mormon and a part of the larger Norwegian-American community.

Ro, Brandon R.
“Temples As Text: The Swinging Pendulum of Shifting Ritual-Architectural Priorities”

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints continues to grow beyond its headquarters in the mountain west and dot temples around the globe. A diachronic study of the architectural history and development of Zion and her temples reveals shifts in ritual-architectural priorities over time. The stylistic changes in architectural form or unified appearance from standardization help to not only illustrate priority shifts but also historical periods of isolation and integration. Following the theoretical framework of retrenchment and assimilation for Latter-day Saint history outlined by Armand Mauss, this paper provides historical insights of how the concept of Zion and its physical manifestation through architectural form have changed over time.

The following questions will guide these efforts: Why do the fortress-like castellated pioneer temples suggest a period of isolation and retrenchment while the modern design for the Alberta Canada Temple reads as an effort to assimilate back into mainstream society? Why did architectural standardization for temple plans or sites with high visibility help regain a unique sense of identity and legitimacy for the Church? How do recent efforts to blend into foreign contexts by imitating traditional or indigenous architectural styles suggest another shift back into a period of assimilation? As ritual-architectural priorities shift back and forth, they demonstrate the ongoing tensions between periods of isolation and integration. New historical insights for periods of isolation and integration emerge by reading the temple as a text and by considering the varying religio-political messages that are communicated through architectural means to insiders and outsiders.
Roesler, Rebecca A.
“Jedediah’s 1856 Reformation and the Grant Legacy”

Propelled by First Presidency member Jedediah M. Grant, the 1856 Mormon Reformation varyingly affected those who endured its severe preaching, ecclesiastical inquisition, and collective re-baptisms. Although the institutional church would later remember the Reformation as a period of renewed commitment, individuals’ accounts of Jedediah’s stern congregational rebukes and house-to-house catechism reveal emotional and spiritual suffering. Particularly problematic is the variance between individuals’ contemporaneous accounts of Jedediah’s preaching and the institutional church’s publicized memory of it as his son, Heber J. Grant, rises to prominence less than three decades later. As the institutional memory of the Reformation solidifies during this time, the church prioritizes the familial legacy of its leaders and dismisses victims of the Reformation as undeserving of fellowship with the saints.

Individual members’ accounts, such as those of Charles Derry and Peter and Agnes McAuslan (who would leave) and Hannah Tapfield King (who would stay), each provide a more three-dimensional picture than accounts written by those representing the institutional church. For example, King’s contemporaneous account of the “darkness, desolation, and horror of those times” during which “the whole people seemed to mourn,” contrasts markedly with the sunny report offered by a front-page six-issue article that appears in The Contributor in 1883 (months after Heber J. Grant’s call to the Apostleship) describing Grant’s Reformation as “kind[ling] a fire in the midst of Zion that was joyfully felt by the Saints the whole world over.”

Interestingly, despite the later recollection that the Reformation’s practices were generally effective and motivating, most did not persevere. No longer, for example, are house-to-house catechisms imposed on church members, nor is the sacrament withdrawn from entire congregations at once. The contrast between the remembered and forgotten effects of Jedediah Grant’s reformation efforts illuminates and challenges a prevailing perception of church leaders as infallible.

Rolapp, Anna T.
“Textiles for Nauvoo Remodel, Phase One”

This presentation will highlight reproduction textiles made for four new homes to be opened Fall 2019 in Nauvoo, Illinois. Phase One of this multi-year project will highlight early Saints that made substantial contributions to the building of the Nauvoo Temple including William (architect of Temple) and Caroline Weeks, Edward (Presiding Bishop) and Ann Hunter, Orson (finished temple after Saints went West) and Marinda Hyde, and William (died while working on Temple) and Esther Gheen.

Textiles are just a portion of the interpretation of these four homes but are intended to help visitors understand more fully the culture of the homes’ inhabitants. All textiles are made of precise reproduction fabric using appropriate styles from the first half of the 19th century supporting the 1841 interpretation of the four homes. Quilts, dresses, men and children’s clothing, linens, etc. will be on display and previewed at MHA prior to their installation in Nauvoo. In addition to viewing the textiles, the discussion will include specifics on the design, style and construction of each item with particular attention to historical details.
Romanello, Brittany
“Heavenly Father Made No Borders: Undocumented Latina Mothers’ Social and Parenting Experiences in Mormonism”

The Mormon Church has positioned families and motherhood as sacred and eternal in nature since its inception in 1830. Undocumented Latina mothers have relied on these pivotal doctrines to frame their belonging, often finding refuge in Mormonism despite a well-documented history of conflict with its communities of color (Mauss 2003, Aikau 2012). The Church institution has typically considered undocumented immigrant status in the U.S. merely a civil trespass, stating that “all are alike unto God, “and additionally releasing multiple statements of support for migrant families to remain together (Morrison 2000). This paper, based on pilot interview research in which nineteen undocumented Latina Mormons shared their parenting and social experiences in pan ethnic, Spanish or Portuguese speaking Latinx congregations. This paper explores how Mormon and American historical narratives regarding race, gender, and borders may influence current Mormon’s cultural conceptualizations of community belonging within the United States. This research inquires as to how intersectional disadvantages may complicate Latina members’ collective mobility within Mormonism’s Anglo-American religious traditions.

While pilot data analysis is still in process, initial reports indicate that while mothers reported increased opportunities because of the social capital Mormon Church membership provides them within U.S. society, mothers also experienced marginalizing behavior and various instances of isolation from Anglo members because of legal status, race, and gender. This paper investigates what coping mechanisms undocumented Latina mothers may utilize in order to mitigate those negative experiences from Anglo-American Church members due to ethnic origin or legal status. Many begin by seeking both spiritual and economic resources from pan ethnic Latinx church congregations and social networks. Elucidating how undocumented Latinas negotiate identities and frame belonging is crucial in expanding religious scholarship within Mormon Studies, as well as assists the Church institution in better serving its underrepresented or vulnerable populations.

Roueche, Kari Lynne
“A Southern Gathering: The Kelsey, Texas Colony”

In the late 19th century, new converts across the American south were often plagued by persecution and violence upon joining the church. A desire to congregate with other members, maintain employment, and raise their families in safety prompted some to immigrate to Utah or Arizona. In Texas, southern saints gathered to form several colonies, but Kelsey, Texas, in the north east corner of the state, enjoyed a population growth and sense of community that was unique among the other Texas colonies.

Following a successful first harvest in 1898, two Alabama brothers began writing to friends and family back home; enticing them to Upshur County, Texas, with mention of cheap, available land and a congenial climate. Missionaries also began spreading the word among their contacts throughout the south. In December 1901, the Kelsey Branch was organized and by 1910 over 500 people, comprised of 103 families, resided in the town of Kelsey. Mission and
stake boundaries changed periodically, but Kelsey finally achieved ward status in 1953. Although it was combined with a neighboring ward just five years later, reflecting Kelsey’s decline in population and identity as a community, Kelsey was the longest surviving LDS colony from among those established in Texas.

What determines the success of a Mormon colony? Is it merely longevity? Or, is it the community’s ability to contribute to the church at large? The journals of its residents, the newspapers of its neighbors, and the reports of its organizations can reveal whether these southern saints achieved the safety, fellowship, and economic stability they sought.

Seppi, Gregory
“Integrating Publishing and Collecting in the Field of Mormon Studies”

Though the largest collection of Mormon-related collections in the world resides in Salt Lake City at the Church History Library, substantial collections of rare books and unique manuscripts can be found at dozens of institutions around the U.S. Even as librarians scramble to push ever more content online, barriers to access such as changing library priorities, insufficient understanding of the needs of scholars, and even the overwhelming quantity of materials already digitized continue to slow the development of Mormon historical studies. While some university special collections and libraries continue to acquire fresh material each year, others have de-prioritized Mormon-related acquisitions or even forgotten they own substantial Mormon-related collections due to retirements or lack of use.

Archives and libraries with unique holdings related to Mormon history are essential for creating substantive new research. This presentation will explore in ways that institutions such as the Church History Library, BYU's L. Tom Perry Special Collections, and Yale's Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, and other institutions preserve and share the history of Mormon experiences. It will draw partially on information provided by librarians and archivists who work with many of the major Mormon-related book and manuscript collections in the U.S.

Sharp-McBride, Korben
“A Missionary in Maritime: The 1853 Voyages of William F. Carter”

Nineteenth-century maritime travel was long, arduous, and dangerous. Latter-day Saint maritime history reveals a consequential relationship with the Latter-day Saint globalization narrative. A deeper study into missionary voyages provides intimate details, including the influence early missionaries had on ship captains, shipmates, and fellow passengers. William Furlsbury Carter, a missionary to East India, braved the seas and became, contrary to previous research, the first Mormon missionary to circumnavigate the globe westward. Carter spent the majority of 1853 on ships in oceans, rivers, and ports throughout the globe. In a single year, Carter crossed the Pacific Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, steamed the Hooghly and Ganges rivers, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and sailed through the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf Stream to reach New England.

The purpose of my research and this presentation is not to document Carter’s life or the East Indian Mission, in which he served. Rather, I will utilize Carter’s recorded experiences to emphasize the significance of maritime history, illustrate the challenges and perils associated
with nineteenth-century maritime travel, and demonstrate the courage of missionaries who dared to cross “the mighty deep.”

**Shepherd, Gary**

“*Authors Meet Critics: Jan Shipps, A Social and Intellectual Portrait*”

The book which this panel will critically discuss is: *Jan Shipps, A Social and Intellectual Portrait: How a Girl from Hueytown, Alabama Became a Renowned Mormon Studies Scholar* (Kofford Books, forthcoming, 2019), by Gary Shepherd and Gordon Shepherd. As academic sociologists, the Shepherds have not attempted to write a full-scale biography of the Mormon History Association’s “outside-insider” scholar, Jan Shipps. Rather, based on personal interviews with Shipps and supplementary secondary sources, they focus on her intellectual development and offer an analysis of the shaping factors in her scholarly career that help explain how and why she became an important contributor to the professionalization of Mormon History and Mormon studies as respected academic disciplines. The panelists critiquing the Shepherds’ book are themselves scholars of American religion and history who, in their own professional work, have become well acquainted with Shipps’ contributions to the closely related fields of Mormon history and Mormon studies.

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**Shrum, Nicholas Brian**

“*‘Let the Son Go’: Religious and National Identity of the Women of the Mormon Battalion*”

In the summer of 1846, the Mormon Battalion was mustered into service during the Mexican-American War; a complicated and complex affair that brought to light the United States government’s view toward the Mormons, as well as challenged the national loyalties, religious devotion, and cultural identities of its participants, including the women. A distinct female perspective gathered in relation to the events surrounding the call of the Mormon Battalion demonstrates that a significant portion of the Mormon population was intimately involved but experienced radically different aspects of war, religious persecution, and
migration. Given the persecutions the women and their families had faced for years and the lack of governmental support, how could the fleeing community possibly give up five hundred men to answer the U.S. government’s call for troops to fight in a war that few, if any, understood its objectives? Patriotism and loyalty to the United States do not seem to be significant factors contributing to any justification for Mormon participation in the Mexican-American War. The men that did volunteer demonstrated their willingness to participate as they heeded the request of the Prophet Brigham Young. However, the women of the Mormon Battalion, and the female family members of those that marched seemed to have a heightened sense of irony regarding the situation, including bewilderment that church leadership appeared to align themselves with the federal government.

**Smart, Brooke**

“Popularizing Utah Mormon Women’s Advocacy through Art and Education”

Few people know the key role that Utah—and especially Mormon—women played in the American women’s suffrage movement. This history has been absent from Church, public school curricula, and the public’s consciousness possibly due to silence and shame about polygamy and the underdeveloped story of Western women’s suffrage efforts. Better Days 2020, a non-profit dedicated to popularizing Utah women’s history, is working to change that. A major project centers on highlighting 50 women’s advocates through illustration and short biographies to integrate women’s advocacy work into curriculum and the public’s consciousness. Learning about this early Mormon women’s history has helped many contemporary Mormon women feel less isolated and more integrated into their religious community. Contemporary Mormon women feminists and activists also often cite these historical Mormon women’s advocacy work as a catalyst and justification for their modern-day advocacy work.

Many of the Mormon women we are highlighting struggled with the tension of wanting to be integrated into the mainstream women’s rights movement and wanting to remain distinct because of their religious beliefs and practices. Yet, it was because of these religious beliefs and practices that they were sometimes shunned by non-Mormon women activists. Mormon women viewed their advocacy to be in harmony with and driven by church teachings rather than in opposition to their religion, frequently defying the stereotypes and perceptions of outsiders.

This public history exhibit will feature illustrations by Brooke Smart that feature Mormon women and those who worked with (or against) Mormon women. We will discuss these women’s stories; the process of selection, research, and illustration; and how they are being used with the public and in K-12 classrooms. We will display original dresses of Emmeline B. Wells and Annie Wells Cannon, plus a reproduction of the dress Susan B. Anthony had made from silk produced by Mormon women.
Smith, Alex D.
“The Threat of Mormon Violence: Prelude To Assassination”

The causes for Joseph Smith’s assassination were many: concerns with the Mormon leader’s political power, belief that he abused the legal system, competing commercial interests, religious intolerance, and the foreignness of Latter-day Saint marital systems, among other factors. Part of a larger work seeking to understand this tragic event, this paper will consider how the threat of physical violence from the Mormons served as a catalyst for the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in June 1844. It will argue that the kidnappings of Mormon father and son Daniel and Philander Avery in winter 1843 led to an escalation in military posturing that increased tensions between the Latter-day Saints and their neighbors in Hancock County to a point of no return. The paper will chronicle developing fears of the Nauvoo Legion and will propose that, following the Avery abductions, church leaders for the first time began to assert the Legion’s independence from state control. It will situate the Mormon and anti-Mormon hostility in the context of Mississippi river valley violence. Finally, the paper will demonstrate a causal connection between regional perceptions of Mormon militia power and Joseph Smith’s murder.

Smith, E. Gary
“My John Smith, the Other Son of Hyrum Smith: His Pioneer Life and Wife (Wives?)

John was six years older than his more famous half-brother, Joseph F. Smith, and was twelve years old when his father, Hyrum Smith, was martyred. He literally lived the conquering of the West. He crossed the plains at least seven times, guiding wagon trains and fetching family. He served as General Authority Patriarch to the Church for 40 years. He had fascinating, sometimes fractious, relationships with his brother, Joseph F., and other General Authorities, but tender correspondence with his cousin Joseph III, his other cousin Ina Coolbrith (poet laureate of CA), and others. Yes, he had a tobacco problem, and a problem with polygamy. Or was it his first wife, Hellen, that had the problem? Hellen wrote to Joseph F.: “John has got another wife, perhaps you know her, . . . Dear Joseph it was a trial to me but I thank the Lord it is over with now. . . . I care not how many he gits now, the ice is broke as the old saying is, the more the greater glory if we all do [right], and I believe that John does the best he knows how.” John is a transition figure between first-generation frontier Mormons and second-generation Utah colonizers. But it was not an easy transition for him. His life colored the office of Church Patriarch until its demise.

Soderborg, Joseph
“Cricket in the Beehive: The Rise and Demise of Britain’s Imperial Sport in Zion”

The sport of cricket, as played by immigrant Utahns, from the Utah War to World War I, intersects the themes of isolation and integration in the Mormon experience. When the Saints settled in the Rocky Mountains the game of baseball had not yet ascended as America’s game and cricket was played widely in the East, a remnant of British cultural imperialism. In the isolated Great Basin cricket gained the foothold it needed to flourish. British Saints carried
cricket bats across the plains and began organizing the sport. It spread from the Salt Lake Valley to Cache Valley and from Coalville to Springville and points all around the territory. When the railroad ended Mormonism’s isolation, Gentiles carrying baseball bats arrived to challenge the hegemony of cricket. However, the railroad also allowed cricket teams to travel to places like Wyoming and Denver, Colorado to compete. As Mormons wrestled with issues of isolation and integration the fortunes of cricket and baseball waxed and waned, cricket representing the traditional English past and baseball the innovative American future. For a time they coexisted, competing with each other for players and fans until one so completely dominated that the other disappeared.

My presentation will give an overview of cricket in the context of the Gentile / Mormon divide and the larger, national setting. The locations and details of cricket activities and the lives of the players will be illustrated through first-hand accounts, newspaper coverage and my own extensive data analysis.

Stanton, Megan
“The Smiths: One Family’s Navigation of Religious Division”

From the first years of the history of Joseph Smith’s Church of Christ, many followers’ families were divided by religious belief. Often converts entered Smith’s Church alone or with only some family members. After 1844, some families compounded these divisions by joining competing Mormon sects. In short, many nineteenth-century Mormon families were interfaith.

This paper, discussing the most well-known of these families, offers a microanalysis of how such religious division was experienced in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Mormonism. Drawing on scholarship about nineteenth-century American interfaith history including the work of Diane Eck and Anne Rose, this paper uncovers the tensions inherent in religiously-divided families. Members of the Smith family belonging to both The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints struggled to balance their religious beliefs with tolerance for their kin’s agency. The concerns of Smith men, including those who presided over both the LDS and Reorganized Churches, were compounded by the public nature of their family’s interfaith status. Their outreach efforts reveal the variety of strategies that Smith kin rehearsed in the face of religious division. In correspondence and visits, they evangelized, they criticized, and they envisioned an ideal family in which all professed the same religious beliefs. As the movement's founding family has demonstrated, gathering was neither entirely isolating nor unidirectional. Smith family members and their ideas traveled between Utah and the Midwest. By the turn of the century, correspondents communicated an understanding that their family tree would remain plural. Smith family members came to model a form of nascent, reluctant ecumenical dialogue that affected not only their kin but also the trajectories of their Churches.

Stapley, Jonathan
“Brigham Young’s Garden Cosmology: Adam, God, and Eve”

Brigham Young’s Adam-God teachings have been a source of controversy and schism for decades. Using LaJean Carruth's fresh shorthand transcriptions of Young’s sermons along with
previously unexplored contemporary minutes and diary entries, I will clearly delineate the cosmology that served as a framework for Young's teachings. I will explore Young's "plan of salvation" narrative, from before the creation to humanity's ultimate exaltation. I will also contrast this with Joseph Smith's narratives, highlighting potential reasons for Young's expansions of and divergence from Smith's teachings. An important investigation is in what work Young's narrative was doing in pioneer Utah. Whereas LaJean's companion presentation will focus on Eve, I will be focusing on Adam.

Within the first five years of arriving in Utah various church leaders expanded on late Nauvoo-era concepts of a Heavenly Queen or Mother, in conjunction with the temple liturgy, and narrated an eternal role for women that included an analogical function to biological mother. Viviparous spirit birth was a new but quickly normative view of the origins of human spirits. Brigham Young, however, diverged from his fellow leaders in identifying Adam/Michael as the father of these spirits, and consequently elevated Adam/Michael to the station of God the Father. Thus Adam/Michael/God sired human spirits and with Eve helped colonize earth with plants and animals from other planets. Describing the Bible’s, and by extension Joseph Smith's, creation narratives as baby stories, Young declared that Adam and Eve ate the food of this earth and in doing so filled their bodies with the materials necessary to bear physical bodies for their spirit children. Moreover Young stated that this pattern was the grand human narrative in a sort of *imitatio Adami* that is a radical analogue to the traditional Christian idea of *imitatio Christi*. This narrative incorporated a variety of ideas spanning Mormon materiality, Young's temple and priesthood restriction against black people, the practical roles of sex in time and eternity.

**Stone, Daniel P.**


Scholars Benjamin Park (Assistant Professor, Sam Houston State University), Cristina Rosetti (PhD Candidate, University of California, Riverside), and Christopher Blythe (Research Associate, Maxwell Institute, Brigham Young University) will form a roundtable to critically examine Daniel Stone’s new biography, *William Bickerton: Forgotten Latter Day Prophet* (Signature Books, June 2018). Daniel Stone (PhD Candidate, Manchester Metropolitan University) will respond to the roundtable once all the scholars finish their discussion. Casey Griffiths (Assistant Professor, Brigham Young University) will chair the session.

William Bickerton is the founding prophet of the third-largest Latter Day Saint denomination, known as the Church of Jesus Christ. Remarkably, his life has largely remained in the shadows. Bickerton immigrated to America in 1831 at the height of the Second Great Awakening. In 1845 Sidney Rigdon, a former counselor to founding prophet Joseph Smith, accepted him into the Church of Christ. Rigdon soon bankrupted his church and abandoned his followers. Unsure where to turn, Bickerton joined with Brigham Young until a moral objection to polygamy left him once again in search of religious community. Divine inspiration led Bickerton to form his own church based on the original teachings of Joseph Smith. A visionary man, Bickerton expanded his church along the western frontier, even among the Native Americans, and kept his congregation afloat through financial trials. Yet when an allegation of marital infidelity against Bickerton split his church in two, he was disfellowshipped and his legacy obscured.
Biographer Daniel P. Stone reconstructed the forgotten details of this American mystic, fulfilling Bickerton’s final wish, taken from the Book of Job: “Oh that my words were now written! Oh that they were printed in a book! That they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!” Bickerton’s life mirrors America’s broader religious history, with an emphasis on free-will, individualism, and determination to know God on a personal level.

Stone, Heather J.

The author interviewed 55 adult women about moving as LDS teenagers into Mormon-majority “homeland” communities from 1975 through 2000. Narrators in this study felt that safety—spiritual and physical—was one of Mormon homeland societies’ primary objectives for young women in the latter twentieth century. Isolation from non-Mormons was presumed necessary to ensure that safety. There seemed to be a belief that a young woman was incapable of acting in accordance with her own values when others around her had different values. Proximity to sin must inevitably lead to sin.

Many narrators chafed at homeland attempts to isolate them from non-Mormons when they were young. By contrast, narrators say they teach their own children and other young women to be good no matter what others around them do. They advocate for inoculation rather than isolation. In medicine, isolation involves keeping a contagion apart from the subject, while inoculation involves controlled exposure to contagions so the body learns to recognize and resist whenever the contagion reoccurs later. For narrators, spiritual inoculation means educating children about a wide variety of beliefs and behaviors in hopes of developing internal resilience.

Two unfortunate legacies of isolation are how it dehumanizes one segment of the population to better safeguard another segment, and how it traps those being protected into a perpetual position of weakness. Many narrators now view isolation in the name of safety as an unacceptable theological and personal compromise, and instead, seek out the religious diversity they were encouraged to fear as young women.

Stover, Philip
“Isolation and Integration: The Apostles in the Mexican Colonies”

In July 1847 Latter-day Saints crossed the border into Mexico seeking safety from years of persecution. In 1885 many Latter-day Saints repeated the migration into Mexico for the same purpose. Beset by enforcement of anti-plural marriage laws and desirous of strengthening colonization and missionary efforts, hundreds, eventually thousands of Saints once again crossed the border. This left them in a position of isolation from not only the country in which many were born or had emigrated to, it left them isolated from their own Church. As the emigrants struggled to adapt to a new land, their local leaders found themselves out of touch with their authorities while presiding over miles of rugged territory, ministering to folks in far-flung colonies. They needed integration into the Church that only active participation from its leaders could provide.
The purpose of this presentation is to provide an overview of the interactions of the apostles of the Church with the Mexican Colonies from 1884 to the exodus period. The study will be limited to a review of the interaction of the colonies with those who, at the time of that engagement were apostles. There is confusion and some debate since some visited the colonies prior to becoming apostles. This presentation will be a significant addition to the scholarship on the colonies, demonstrating the strengths and weaknesses of the integration during their isolation in Mexico with their highest Church authorities.

Stuart, Joseph R.
“A Pious Patriarch in Primetime: The Ezra Taft Benson Family’s 1954 Home Evening on CBS”

When Ezra Taft Benson and his family conducted a family home evening on national television in 1954, they demonstrated the ways in which Latter-day Saints fit in with Cold War religious and family norms. For the audience, Benson, the family patriarch, was just like any other family in America’s Cold War’s Judeo-Christian culture. The Bensons not only read scripture, they shared a scrumptious snack. The Bensons could have been like any other white Judeo-Christian family in the United States—but they weren’t. They were Mormons. Moreover, Benson was Secretary of Agriculture in Dwight D. Eisenhower’s cabinet.

The Benson Family’s televised family home evening was a part of Mormonism’s rapid integration into broader American life, a process that began at the beginning of the twentieth century and had rapidly accelerated after World War II. Latter-day Saint familial structures and political radicalism had been historically maligned and mistrusted as an un-American, unchristian faith. Indeed, Benson’s position as Secretary of Agriculture revealed how far Mormons had come in becoming “American.” It showed that Mormons could be defined as the “right” type of citizen that could lead the country. Benson’s grandfather, Ezra’s namesake, a polygamist apostle, was castigated as hypersexual and untrustworthy because he was allegedly unable to control his libido and required plural wives to fulfill his sexual appetite. Ezra Taft Benson was held up as the ideal type of religious man that could show how to be a patriotic, faithful father on national television.

In my paper, I will conduct a close reading of the Benson’s family home evening and analyze the ways in which it embodied changing image of Mormon masculinity in postwar America. In doing so, I will speak to the ways in which Latter-day Saint men like Benson embodied the LDS Church’s rapid Americanization in the postwar United States.

Talbot, Christine
“‘Out-Family-ing the Mormons’: Gender and Family in ERA Politics among the Mormons”

In 1979, Sonia Ann Harris Johnson was excommunicated from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for remarks related to her vigorous opposition to the Church’s active campaigns against the Equal Rights Amendment. In the months surrounding her excommunication, discussion of the “family feud” between Johnson’s supporters and the LDS Church flooded mainstream and feminist presses. Johnson’s activism and subsequent excommunication, alongside her eloquence and charm, made Johnson a national political and media sensation for several months, informing a curious American public about Mormonism
and its national activism in opposition to the ERA.

This paper examines how the central players in this feud deployed the rhetoric of gender and family to their political ends. The LDS Church entered anti-ERA activism with the conviction that the ERA was as much a moral issue as a political one because it threatened divinely ordained gender and family arrangements. Church representatives argued that, while the Church supported equal rights for women, the ERA would “stifle many God-given feminine instincts,” strike a blow at the American family, and introduce “undue contention” into marital relationships. Johnson, on the other hand, advocated that ERA supporters “out-family” the Mormons, demonstrating the benefits the ERA provided for the family. She suggested that pro-ERA activists show their opponents just how radical the ERA was not and that it would not destroy families or women’s ability to care for children; rather, it would enhance those things.

In a sense, these debates among Mormons were a microcosm for national debates about gender, family, and feminism in the late 1970s and early 1980s. But in this case, these debates were theologically and culturally inflected with Mormonism in ways that shaped the role of gender and family in constituting the relationship between Mormonism and feminism for decades to come.

Talmage, Jeremy B.
“Forever Zion: The Church Welfare and the Undying Dream of a Great Basin Kingdom”

Adherents of the so-called “Americanization” thesis, numerous historians of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have posited that the year 1890 sounded the death knell for not only polygamy, but also its economic aspirations. “Zion,” the powerful ideal that had lured the Mormon pioneers to the west, looked to be dead. Leaders who had previously preached that economic prosperity was contingent on cooperation and the principles of protectionism were now open to selling off parts of the Mormon empire to eastern interests. At its very core, the Church seems to have changed.

For this presentation, I plan to show how the creation of the Welfare Plan pushes back on the narrative that the Church capitulated and conformed, instead suggesting it combated assimilation. While other denominations warmly embraced Roosevelt’s plan, the Latter-day Saints, notwithstanding the tremendous cost, embarked upon the creation of an all-embracing and self-sustaining welfare program in the middle of the Great Depression. Relying heavily on prophecies about Zion as a refuge in the last days, at the same time as the church divested itself of its diversified assets it increasingly invested large amounts of capital into agricultural ventures it hoped would enable the faithful to survive events leading up to the end-times. Despite appearances, Mormons continued to build the foundations of their imagined Great Basin Kingdom well into the twentieth century.

Paradoxically, as the Church defied assimilationist trends its ardent opposition to government spending transformed it into the darling of conservative movement nationwide. As a result, the Latter-day Saints appeared to outsiders to be traditional Americans, even though the explicit goal of the Welfare Program was to resist becoming like them. Using the Welfare Program as an example, I will show how the Church came to be perceived as American, even though it did not Americanize.
Terry, Charlotte Hansen
“Creating Good Mormons in the Pacific During the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries”

The Mormon church, though mainly focused in the American West, was a church that started to hold itself up as an organization of many lands and peoples by the end of the nineteenth century. As this church based in the American West grew, it participated in American colonialism as it spread out from Salt Lake City. Through schools for children, organizations for youth, and particular classes for adult women, they hoped to teach what they believed to be proper gender roles to the many different peoples they colonized. In the Pacific, they wanted to teach people to be proper Mormon citizens. Mormon racial hierarchies influenced their teaching methods in this space. But missionaries were also able to present a message that was appealing to Native Peoples. Native Peoples also responded to these lessons and practices, leading to adjustments being made in church organizations and instructions. This paper will look at church programs and curriculums implemented in the Pacific, particularly Samoa, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Mormon missionaries formed an American identity through this process of colonization as they promoted American ideals and civilization efforts. At the same time missionaries connected themselves with American empire, they also wanted to set themselves apart. This paper will explore those tensions, as people worked to become good Mormons, but also American citizens.

Thomas, John C.
“Markers of Isolation and Integration: Interpreting the 1876/1879 Editions of the Doctrine and Covenants”

Canonical change is significant in any religious tradition and, despite the radical revelatory claims on which the religion was founded, rather rare in the history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Yet it seemed a rather modest moment at the October 1880 General Conference when George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith presented recent editions of the Doctrine and Covenants and the Pearl of Great Price and asked if members would “vote to accept the books and their contents as from God, and binding upon us as a people and a Church.” Behind this simple procedure lay important markers of an evolving restoration. First, many of the revelations added to the Doctrine and Covenants laid out Joseph Smith’s vision for the importance of temple work for the living and the dead. Perhaps not fully appreciated at the time, these revelations signaled and anchored what Richard Bennett has described as “the rise of temple consciousness” among Church leaders and members. Vicarious ordinances multiplied after the 1877 completion of the St. George temple, and prophetic texts drawn from Joseph Smith’s history provided doctrinal depth for the new era of temple practice. The new edition also included an 1843 revelation laying out a case for eternal and plural marriage, at a time when US lawmakers were turning up the pressure on the “polygamic kingdom” of the West. Over the next decade and a half, prophets and people would eventually learn that temple trumped polygamy as a distinctive mission for the Church. New revelation texts and especially Pratt’s 1876 table of contents and 1879 “references” provided significant
interpretive resources for Church members trying to make sense of these developments as well as the rise and fall of varied consecration initiatives. New content and scaffolding invited reappraisal of the founding prophet’s legacy, and a newly canonized revelation to his successor suggested ongoing prophetic authority.

The 1860s had seen rival revelatory claims by Joseph Smith III, Joseph Morris, and William Godbe’s faction. These rivals varied in many ways but shared the view that Young’s “kingdom” had lost the spiritual vitality of earlier years, relying instead on a heavy-handed ecclesiastical hierarchy. In the 1870s federal officers also challenged the Church’s legitimacy, largely by appeal to the “scandal” of polygamous households, but also with claims that violence and theocratic leanings disqualified Saints from the rights of citizenship. The new edition of the Doctrine and Covenants provided an important retort to both challenges: it brought Joseph’s Nauvoo-era religion into sharper relief (including its temple liturgy and marital theology). And it exhibited Americans’ failures to safeguard the rights of the Saints in Missouri and Illinois, which in turn had shaped institutional developments of Nauvoo and Utah territory. Drawing on the prison and fugitive writings of Joseph Smith, Pratt assembled evidence of the centrality of the Church’s redemptive work for others in temples, along with principles of “righteous dominion” within the Church and in relation to neighbors.

Thompson, Jeffrey Paul
“Minding the Store: Zion’s Co-operative Mercantile Institution and the Coming of the Railroad”

The impending arrival of the transcontinental railroad was viewed as both a blessing and a curse by the Saints in the Utah Territory. The blessing was the improved means of transportation that would allow even greater numbers of converts to easily congregate in Zion without the difficulties of wagon travel as well as enabling missionaries to be sent to preach the gospel throughout the world. But the railroad was also a curse because it meant increased contact with the very people that the Saints had tried to isolate themselves from thirty years earlier. As favorable as he was to the coming of the railroad, Brigham Young was fully aware of the need to protect the Saints from outside influences. One of his paramount concerns was the inevitable influx of Eastern goods and the impact they would have on the local economy: he knew that homemade goods could not withstand the competition of fine fabrics and fancy factory-made goods.

In an effort to establish Zion through economic equality as well as foster territorial self-sufficiency, Young moved forward to establish Zion’s Co-operative Mercantile Institution. Integrating the emerging and revolutionary new principles of retail merchandising along with spiritual precepts, ZCMI opened its doors just two months before the golden spike ceremony and became an economic juggernaut in the local economy for the next decade. ZCMI succeeded in extinguishing the Gentile retail competition and became the stepping stone to the implementation of the United Order in the 1870s. It also served as motivating force behind the attempt to create an alternative Utah capital in Corinne. Through these efforts it also succeeded in becoming the most innovative retail institution of the era with its extensive branch network model that was decades ahead of time.
Tielens, Saskia
“‘All Are Alike Unto God’: Black Pioneers in Mormon Cultural Memory”

The faithful pioneer is one of the most authoritative myths in the LDS Church. The pioneer is a powerful unifying force and remembrances of the pioneers emphasize Mormon cohesion, demarcate group boundaries, and help build a powerful group identity. The pioneers are one of Mormonism’s most important symbols, not just in the American church, but across the globe. Through the ritualization and sacralization of history, pioneer heritage transcends genealogical boundaries, allowing all that feel kinship to claim it.

Mormons across the world have reacted with creativity to the pioneer symbol, refashioning and recreating the pioneer as needed to better fit local contexts. This paper focuses on one such refashioning and recreation. With the priesthood and temple ban in place for much of Mormonism’s history and an almost complete institutional erasure of the Black pioneer in Mormon collective memory, how do African Americans negotiate this particular piece of heritage? I examine one performance of the African American Mormon usable past, namely the trilogy of historical novels, Standing on the Promises, written by Darius Gray and Margaret Blair Young (2000-2003). Marketed as historical novels, I argue that these books are better understood as Mormon hagiographies and allow for the development of a parallel myth or figure of memory, namely that of the Black pioneer. This myth builds on familiar narratives, tapping into larger African American as well as white Mormon cultural codes in order to create a new cultural genealogy or fictional cultural ancestry. It overlaps with, but also subverts, the traditional pioneer narrative in significant ways, challenging church leadership in the process and upsetting the standard church narrative that surrounds the pioneers.

Turner, Jeffrey J.
“Visualizing Past Mormons”

As a digital history project, Century of Black Mormons comes with a variety of choices about how to authentically and appropriately present the stories of black Mormons in the past. These choices imply a host of technical and historical limitations. This presentation will describe the logic of the site’s visualizations in terms of storytelling. It will then offer potential future visualizations for the database.

The major tension of the project was deciding how to balance showcasing individual stories while placing them in a larger demographic context. Some decisions about presenting this information included how to visually separate researchers’ crafted narratives from primary and secondary source documents themselves. Nonetheless, these individual biographies formed the basic building blocks for the site. The database inherently places these individual biographies in some conversation with one another. We then had to decide how to visually represent, what will be, hundreds of individuals in such a way that users could both understand the scope of early black Mormonism and refer back to an individual’s webpage.
Van Dyk, Gerrit  
“Straddling Integration and Isolation in Mormon Studies Citation Index Data”

In 1955 a young linguist named Eugene Garfield first explored the idea of a citation index in which scientists and their work could be evaluated based on the number of citations their research received by their colleagues in subsequent publications. Garfield would later go on to found the Institute of Scientific Information (ISI) and create the Scientific Citation Index (SCI), both still a major influence on research and scholarship today. Although the use of citation index information to assess scholarly output and impact has been questioned over the intervening decades (see for example Cole & Cole 1971), the correlation between citations and scholarly value and importance has been demonstrated (K. Clark 1957).

In 2000, Allen, Walker, and Whitaker published the text of an online database of scholarship in Mormon studies. They called this print volume, Studies in Mormon History. Allen and Michael Hunter, and others labored over the past decade and a half to continue to update the online bibliography, current located at www.mormonhistory.byu.edu. Recently BYU has enhanced the Studies in Mormon History database to include citation index information. This citation index data shows how Mormon studies generally has developed and grown, first largely in isolation and then in integration in the broader field of religious studies, much like an outpost on the borderlands of an untamed frontier. In this paper, I will present a preliminary analysis of the data regarding seminal works in our field and its influential authors. Additionally, I will report on popular topics and trends based on the data as well as research topics that are underrepresented. I intend on reviewing publication trends by decade, with some proposals for further research and analysis.

Van Orden, Bruce  
“All Things Deseret: W. W. Phelps’s Significant Contributions to Building Zion in Utah”

While most remember W. W. Phelps for his hymnary, his influence upon the early Church of Christ was immense—in New York, Missouri, Ohio, and Illinois. Even less remembered are his noteworthy activities in Deseret from 1848 to his death in 1872. Phelps remained as loyal to Brigham Young as he had been to Joseph Smith. He never wavered in his quest to build Zion, his most constant pursuit in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints since he joined the Mormon movement in 1831.

Phelps adapted well to the moniker given the new Zion: Deseret, a term derived from the Book of Mormon. He was a major player in Deseret’s early Council of Fifty, the State of Deseret General Assembly, the Deseret News, the annual Deseret Almanac, the University of Deseret, the Deseret Alphabet, the Deseret Theological Institute, the Deseret Horticultural Society, and the Deseret Typographical Association. Additionally, Phelps tendered meaningful service in exploration throughout Deseret, in the Utah Territorial Legislature, as Great Salt Lake County Notary Public, as Utah Territory’s official meteorologist, as a prolific poet, and playing the role of the Devil in the Endowment House.

This presentation will outline and critic W. W. Phelps’s explicit and often quirky contributions in early Deseret and Utah Territory.
Van Wagenen, Michael Scott
“Memory of the Mormon Battalion and the Formation of Latter-day Saint Identity”

This paper analyzes the commemoration of the Mormon Battalion, an irregular fighting unit drafted for service in the US – Mexican War in 1847. Although 500 Mormon soldiers marched throughout the modern Southwest, they never fired a weapon in aggression against Mexican forces. In the years since the conflict, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has heaped unprecedented public honors upon its battalion, making it the most celebrated combat unit of the entire war. Commemoration of the Mormon Battalion takes three forms: monuments, reenactments, and museums. Monuments and markers, both large and small, dot the American West from Fort Moore in Los Angeles to the Utah State Capitol grounds. These include government-sponsored stone sculptures to modest markers erected by individual Boy Scout troops. Reenactments began in the 1950s when descendants of battalion members dressed in anachronistic military costumes and retraced the steps of their ancestors. This has evolved into a summer tradition for thousands of Mormon youth who ritually reenact the drafting of the battalion as a manifestation of their religious faith. Finally, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has owned and operated two museums in Old Town San Diego dedicated to the memory of its soldiers. Originally the church used the “visitors center” to lure tourists into a missionary presentation. More recently it has taken on the trappings of a secular interpretive museum. Commemorating the accomplishments of soldiers who never engaged their enemy seems perplexing. Nonetheless, Latter-day Saints effectively harnessed the memory of their battalion for a number of social, political, and religious gains that reflect the needs of the church and its membership in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Waite, Nathan
“‘All Concerned Will Profit the Most’: John A. Widtsoe and the Dividing of the Colorado River”

For decades, Utah’s isolation meant that the Latter-day Saints had free rein to develop water resources, and their cooperative approach to irrigation is widely seen as unique in U.S. Western history, helping ensure successful agriculture in Mormon communities. In the early 20th century, needs and opportunities for larger projects like colossal dams shifted water development from communities to state and federal governments, meaning the Saints in Utah had to enter conversation with the wider West if they intended to retain and expand their water rights. In 1922, delegates from Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and California met to carve out an agreement for apportioning the Colorado River—a waterway that had flowed relatively unimpeded and unused across the western United States up that point, but which was now viewed as an essential resource in the growing West and a pivotal economic engine.

My paper will explore the Latter-day Saint influence on the proceedings of the Colorado River Commission, especially the role played by John A. Widtsoe, who had recently been called as a church apostle. Widtsoe was not Utah’s official representative but was an invited guest because of his expertise in reclamation. Some accounts report that Widtsoe was instrumental in persuading delegates to revise down the estimated annual flow of the Colorado from 20.5 million
It appears Widtsoe advocated this lower estimate not for environmental or conservation reasons but to help guarantee that the upper-basin states got enough water (and in fact that lower number has proved too optimistic), but the lower estimate has meant that the Colorado River Compact remained viable for longer—until the long-term drought of the late 20th and early 21st century has forced states to again rethink water allocation.

**Warner, Helen K.**  
“The Lost History of the Saints in Churchville, Ontario, Canada”

The terms “isolation” and “integration” have a different meaning if you are studying the history of Churchville, a branch of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints that thrived in Upper Canada (now Ontario) from 1837 to the early 1840s. You won’t find the village on lists of early branches in the Church, yet the village had a vital and far-reaching influence on the early Church.

It is estimated that half the village of Churchville joined the Church and that there wasn’t a family in the township that didn’t have members move to the United States with the Mormons. Those who joined had a profound effect on the history of the Church. Churchville was amalgamated into the City of Brampton in 1974, so it is no longer even on maps of Ontario. This presentation will look at the history of the Church in Upper Canada and explore why it isn’t more widely known.

**Warrell, Anna**  
“Supergirl in a Bonnet: Reenactment and Historical Memory of the Female Experience Within LDS Youth Treks”

Within the American LDS community, Handcart Reenactment Treks have become a powerful theological tool in the spiritual molding of youth members. Incorporating significant pieces of pioneer history, Treks encourage youth to reflect and relate their own struggles to the lives of pioneers in a distinctly gendered way. As Megan Sanborn Jones argues, while great attention is paid to the accuracy of food, clothing, and other props, Trek is not a literal reenactment of the historical events of the past but rather, an interactive expression of the LDS Church’s historical memory, which serves to strengthen bonds between the Church and its youth members through connection to an imagined past. Building on Jones’ view of Trek as performative and imagined, I argue in this paper that the Church’s goals for its female youth members help explain how the experiences of female pioneers are translated into youth reenactments to highlight themes such as strength, charity, and duty. Through the lens of historical memory, I draw primarily on modern reenactment materials and videos published by the Church, as well as online reactions to Trek from LDS youth. Qualitatively, these sources serve as a window into what the Church hopes to achieve through Trek and how successful they are in achieving that end. Through thoughtful examination of paradoxical depictions of the Mormon female pioneer—strong yet tender, prudent yet charitable, resilient yet emotionally and spiritually vulnerable—I aim to contribute to a larger body of work assessing the historical female experience, and how events are remembered or misremembered in a uniquely gendered way.
Watkins, Naomi

“Popularizing Utah Mormon Women’s Advocacy through Art and Education”

Few people know the key role that Utah—and especially Mormon—women played in the American women’s suffrage movement. This history has been absent from Church, public school curricula, and the public’s consciousness possibly due to silence and shame about polygamy and the underdeveloped story of Western women’s suffrage efforts. Better Days 2020, a non-profit dedicated to popularizing Utah women’s history, is working to change that. A major project centers on highlighting 50 women’s advocates through illustration and short biographies to integrate women’s advocacy work into curriculum and the public’s consciousness. Learning about this early Mormon women’s history has helped many contemporary Mormon women feel less isolated and more integrated into their religious community. Contemporary Mormon women feminists and activists also often cite these historical Mormon women’s advocacy work as a catalyst and justification for their modern-day advocacy work.

Many of the Mormon women we are highlighting struggled with the tension of wanting to be integrated into the mainstream women’s rights movement and wanting to remain distinct because of their religious beliefs and practices. Yet, it was because of these religious beliefs and practices that they were sometimes shunned by non-Mormon women activists. Mormon women viewed their advocacy to be in harmony with and driven by church teachings rather than in opposition to their religion, frequently defying the stereotypes and perceptions of outsiders.

This public history exhibit will feature illustrations by Brooke Smart that feature Mormon women and those who worked with (or against) Mormon women. We will discuss these women’s stories; the process of selection, research, and illustration; and how they are being used with the public and in K-12 classrooms. We will display original dresses of Emmeline B. Wells and Annie Wells Cannon, plus a reproduction of the dress Susan B. Anthony had made from silk produced by Mormon women.

Weight, Donovan

“‘You uphold me and I will uphold you’: Thomas Bullock and the Mormon Crossing of Iowa”

Few topics in religious history carry as much meaning and symbolism as the 19th-century pioneer trek of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Literature abounds covering almost every aspect of the trek. Modern day adherents to the faith recreate the experience of the trail and share the stories of their ancestors. One component of this story that is increasingly shrouded in obscurity as time passes is the initial trek from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs, IA. Initial researchers of the movement across Iowa focused on the difficulty in crossing the Iowa Plain. Some recent scholarship has asserted that Iowa provided critical benefits for the saints as they journeyed to Council Bluffs. While many of the early saints expounded on the difficulties of the passage, the modern world tends to discount the Iowa trek; for example the sesquicentennial recreation of the Mormon Pioneer Trek in 1997 bypassed Iowa and started from Council Bluffs.
The Iowa trek deserves to be remembered and was much more than a blessing or trial; it was a testing ground for the Saints. Using the journal of Thomas Bullock, this paper examines the journey through Iowa of one of the last wagon groups to leave the banks of the Mississippi. Saints in this and other wagon trains that could not go forward returned back. The Saints that pressed forward faced the hardships of the trail, but also benefited from supplies and improvements left by their predecessors. They also had access to supplies from various settlement along the way. Iowa at once shows the separation of the saints as they moved away from civilization and towards an amorphous promised land in the West. The Iowa trek also shows the Saints’ efforts at maintaining connections both to Saints following them and the rest of the world.

Welch, Rosalynde
“Hedonism, Happiness and the Meaning of Modern Life: The Book of Mormon in Conversation”

The moral status of pleasure is a central ethical question for church folk and philosophers alike. Hedonism is the class of moral philosophies claiming that pleasure--broadly construed as “happiness,” or the net pleasure that remains after negative consequences are docked--is the only intrinsic good and ultimate value. Where it appears in Western thought, hedonism often accompanies materialism, as in the Epicurean doctrines of the atomic composition of matter, and the absence of God, and ethical hedonism. Moreover, hedonism raises knotty questions of phenomenology and pluralism, because pleasure must be experienced subjectively, as an individual sensual or spiritual phenomenon. During the religious and epistemological crises of 17th century Europe, the ethics of hedonic happiness was implicated in debates over materialism, theism, pluralism and subjectivity that transformed Christianity from the inside out. In emerging secular Anglo-American social philosophies between 1750 and 1830, particularly the utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, hedonic happiness played a key role. Intervening in these debates, the Book of Mormon takes a characteristically bestraddled approach to these newly-modern questions. While it decries familiar biblical figures of hedonistic egoism--“Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die!”--the book also dwells on God’s “plan of happiness.” The words “happy” and “happiness” appear 36 times in the Book of Mormon. I will argue that the Book of Mormon’s theology of hedonic happiness both incorporates and critiques from within secular social theories of hedonic happiness. The grounds for this critique grow out of its material phenomenology of encounter, which is staged both historically and metaphysically within its pages. Just as secularity can be seen as the extension and transformation of certain logics internal to Christianity, the Book of Mormon can be seen as the extension and transformation of certain logics internal to secularism. The question of hedonic happiness is one stage on which these transformations are visible.

Westrup, Rebekah
“Melding of Manhoods: A Visual Attempt to Integrate the Book of Mormon with American Culture”

Interspersed in the pages of copies of the Book of Mormon and hanging on the walls of church buildings across the world, the images created by Arnold Friberg have become iconic and almost
inseparable from imaginings of the Book of Mormon in the Latter-day Saint mind. The rippling muscles of the figures illustrated depict a saga with racialized male characters, valorized as the most important figures in the scriptural account. Drawing from the desire to create a “Wagnerian” epic, Friberg offers an imagined masculinity composed in the great tradition of history painting. Moving away from earlier traditions of Latter-day Saint art, Friberg implements a cinematic view of the Book of Mormon. Indeed, the popularity of early paintings in this series drew the attention of Hollywood director Cecil B. DeMille; who then contracted Friberg to create concept art for the classic film *The Ten Commandments*. Friberg’s implementation of the cinematic, his imagined costuming tied to principles of American democracy, and racialized hypermasculinity demonstrate The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint’s 20th century desire to integrate into mainstream American culture. Reading Friberg’s Book of Mormon series against the themes of his other works and the themes his contemporaries serve to demonstrate this point further while also showing that the desire of a people to integrate often begins with the visual.

Wilcox, Miranda

“Isolation, integration, and secularity in historical paradigms”

Joseph Smith’s complex engagement with time generated various historical paradigms among Latter-day Saints. Two of these historical paradigms were institutionalized in the early twentieth century, specifically between the 1890s and 1930s. The canonization of the Church’s origin narrative as restoring apostatized Christianity and the advent of family history work with the establishment of the Genealogical Society of Utah helped define Latter-day Saint identity after they relinquished political autonomy and repudiated polygamy. Both historical paradigms aided Latter-day Saints in integrating with and isolating themselves from mainstream America in the early twentieth century. Although both historical paradigms were crafted to elaborate Joseph Smith’s revelations, they were also shaped by Latter-day Saint engagement with secular sources, methods, and assumptions.

These paradigms developed simultaneously and coexisted complementarily, but they have influenced Latter-day Saint historical consciousness in contradictory ways. Narrating the Great Apostasy creates antagonism against the dead. It drives an asymmetrical relationship with the past; the past is leveraged to authorize the present in ways that devalue those deemed as others in the past and present. Family history generates kinship with the dead. It forges a relation of mutual reciprocity with the past that reveals the interconnection of past, present, and future. Should such contradiction be reconciled?

Williams, Nathan H.

“A Closer Look at the 1876/1879 Editions of the Doctrine and Covenants”

Orson Pratt had been a recipient of one of Joseph Smith’s earlier revelations and had a long-running interest in make the prophet’s revelations accessible to members of the church and others. Early in 1874 he replaced Albert Carrington as Church Historian, and with his daughter Larinda and other women and men in the Church Historian’s Office he began assembling a revised and extended edition of the church’s modern scripture. Unfortunately, sources on Pratt’s personal feelings about the project, or the nature of his interaction with First Presidency members on its contours, are scarce. Nonetheless it is possible to piece together
important parts of the story from the records of the Historian’s Office, Brigham Young’s office records, and a few traces in discourses and correspondence in the relevant years. In addition, investigation of the book itself is vital to describing and interpreting its significance in Latter-day Saint history. This paper compares the 1876 edition to its 1854 precursor, discussing the content and significance of the sections added, and examining in detail the doctrinal cues incorporated into a thirty-three page table of “Contents of the Revelations.” It also reviews Pratt’s efforts in England to compile “references” incorporated into the 1879 edition of the book, examining the role those played in processing the scriptural text. There are some puzzles related to the timeline of the new edition. At present, it appears that the bulk of the selection and arrangement of revelations and the development of apparatus took place in 1874 as Pratt oversaw the Historian’s Office. Yet the book did not appear until 1876, and it was not presented for canonization until 1880 (along with the Pearl of Great Price, another project for Pratt and associates). Understanding those “delays” is also part of the story of the new edition(s).

Winslow, Brady G.
“As Long As They Are Good Citizens They Shall Not Be Molested’: Mormonism and the Obligations of Citizenship In Antebellum Illinois, July 1844-October 1845”

When the Latter-day Saints began settling in Illinois in large numbers in 1839, Illinoisans welcomed the religious refugees as citizens of the United States. As more and more Mormons migrated to the area, some of their neighbors became suspicious of their intentions and antagonism developed. Many considered the Latter-day Saints poor citizens, citing their political and tribal behavior. Non-Mormons labeled themselves “citizens” and “old citizens,” excluding the Latter-day Saints, and hung the threat of violence over their Mormon neighbors—if they did not act as proper citizens. As Illinois governor Thomas Ford explained, “as long as [the Mormons] are good citizens they shall not be molested.” Focusing on the tension-filled fifteen months that followed the murder of Joseph Smith, this paper examines non-Mormon perceptions of the Latter-day Saints in Hancock County, Illinois, and argues that many non-Mormons justified the use of violence against the Mormons because they believed the Latter-day Saints were not fulfilling the obligations of citizenship.

Woodger, Mary Jane
“I Have Dreamed a Dream”: Latter-day Saint Revelation in the Form of Dreams”

President Gordon B. Hinckley opened the October 2001 General Conference proclaiming that Joel’s prophecy “Your old men shall dream dreams and your young men shall see visions” (Joel 2:28) was being fulfilled. Members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and the First Presidency have shared their dreams and visions on a regular basis. This paper specifically looks at dreams from the Gospel context studying dreams as recorded in the lives of various General Authorities. Furthermore, we examine dreams in the gospel context of revelation answering questions such as: Why are dreams manifest as revelation?; How can we better understand and interpret dreams?; and, who is entitled to dreams and their interpretation?

We have collected recorded dream experiences as shared by those Latter-day Saints sustained as prophets, seers and revelators developed from conference addresses, funeral
This research gives us an understanding of the cultural and historical background involved with each dream recorded and provides a better understanding and perspective of dreams as revelation providing a power of inspiration, motivation, and instruction for their recipients and focusing on the teachings and doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. As President Joseph Fielding Smith has explained that correct dream interpretation is possible, “In order to have the power to distinguish between truth and error and to interpret properly a dream or vision, one must have a pure heart and a contrite spirit and be living righteous life.”

Scientific research tells us that everyone has dreams. However, it is difficult to deduce if a dream is inspiration, indigestion or imagination. Sharing the principles of truth that govern prophets in using their dreams as sources of revelation will benefit readers as they explore how these principles can be used to assist individual members in developing their ability to see dreams as an instrument of the Holy Ghost.

Woods, Fred E.
“The Latter-day Saints and the Building of the Transcontinental Railroad”

Samuel Bowles, editor and publisher of the Springfield, MA. Republican, observed, “but for the pioneership of the Mormons, discovering the pathway, and feeding those who came out upon it, all this central region of our great West would now be many years behind its present development, and the railroad instead of being finished, would hardly be begun.” In addition, the Mormon grading was not only superior, but their construction camps were conducted in stark contrast to the notorious “hell on wheels” encampments. They were “a people working together in harmony under the guidance of their religious leaders to accomplish a temporal task which they treated as though it were divinely inspired.”

An estimated five thousand Utahns did “stick to it,” laboring for both the UP and the CP, whose supervisors were complimentary of the grading, trestlework, bridge-building, tunneling, and furnishing of ties completed in Utah. John J. Stewart wrote, “No state nor people figures more prominently in the story of the Pacific Railroad than do Utah and Utahns, particularly the Mormons. Mormon pioneers blazed the trail for much of the route of the railroad. The Mormon empire in the Great Basin provided much of the incentive for construction of the railroad. Mormons were among the first to petition Congress to construct the railroad.”

Wright, Kristine
“Blessing the Mothers in Israel’: Textual Circulation and the Creation of Social Bodies”

Texts are artifacts of the body. The study of written manuscripts, the corporeal labour required by early American presses or the effect of reading reveals that bodies were deeply involved in the production, circulation and consumption of texts. In describing textual movement, Christy L. Pottroff notes that, “Scholarly accounts of circulation consider it to be as life-giving as the biological process from which the term draws its name. Whereas the circulation of blood animates an organism, the circulation of texts and ideas is understood to constitute and enliven a given social body.” Material texts scholars have noted how the movement of both texts including their adaptation, allows religious actors to re-imagine
themselves and their communities in new ways. Similarly, others have advocated for multimedia approaches to circulation that include verbal performances and other publication events as communication practices that facilitate the circulation of information and ideas. This approach is particularly generative in the study of childbirth rituals created by Mormon women. Female washing and anointings for confinement are a primary site for locating women’s agency and a profoundly embodied form of theology. This paper will focus on three ritual manuscripts from the early twentieth century. I will explore their material features, the significance of their production as well as modes of circulation and prescriptions against their movement. Finally, I will consider the way that pathways of circulation created meaning among Mormon women and within Relief Society structures during the early twentieth century.

Young, Margaret Blair
“‘Heart of Africa’: The First Mormon film made in Africa by Africans”

During the summer of 2018, my team and I made the film "Heart of Africa" in the Democratic Republic of Congo—a country with no cinema or distribution for filmmakers. Our effort was hailed as the first Congolo-American endeavor and attracted the finest actors in the DR-C. Though our initial plan was to make the film with an American team and a 1.5 million dollar budget, we ended up making it for under $100,000 with a self-taught, impressively resourceful Congolese team. Our American team had pronounced the Congo an impossible location for making a film. Our Congolese team knew how to get it done—and when they didn't have the needed equipment (such as a rain machine), they invented it.

The film has a strong LDS plot line (the pairing of a Congolese missionary with an American one, neither of them aware of the enormous guilt each or of the prejudice each holds against the other). It also has Catholic and Muslim plot points. The plot addresses many issues which I've taken on during my writing career—race issues in Mormonism and in modern Christianity. This time, my guides were Africans—who made some fascinating changes to the script as they filmed it. I will show portions of the film and discuss the changes which our director made and how they reflect African cultural concepts and history. We will also talk about the challenges we faced—such as getting good film equipment to the DR-C and making the film with limited interference from police. Only one of our crew members was arrested, and only after he offered himself when our lead American actor was threatened with the arrest.

ROUND TABLES & PANEL DISCUSSIONS

Roundtables:
Embodied Pedagogies: Teaching Native American-Mormon History to Today’s Youth
Panelists: Tacey M. Atsitty, P. Jane Hafen, Meredith Lam, and Michael P. Taylor (moderator)

This panel brings together three Native American educators throughout Salt Lake and Utah Counties to discuss the particular challenges and possibilities of teaching Native American-Mormon culture and history to K-12 students. While presentations will focus on specific K-12
American Indian education initiatives, the pedagogical principles will encourage post-secondary educators to adopt and support similar practices when engaging students in discussions of Native American-Mormon relationships.

This panel seeks to provide a space where Indigenous and non-Indigenous conference participants have the opportunity to engage with a specifically Native American panel that supports exchange between diverse scholars, especially those with direct ties to Indigenous communities. By doing so, this panel hopes to shape the pedagogical approaches of teaching Native American-Mormon relationships moving forward.

**English Translations of Mark L. Grover Interviews with Latter-Day Saints in Brazil**
Panelists: Matthew J. K. Hill, James R. Krause, Marcelo Leme, Suzanne Shibuta

From 1975 to 1984, Mark L. Grover and Frederick G. Williams conducted oral interviews with members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Brazil. These interviews make up the collection “Mark L. Grover Oral History Interviews with Latter-Day Saints in Brazil,” housed in L. Tom Perry Special Collections in the Harold B. Lee Library. The interviews provide a unique perspective of the early growth of the Church and its members in Brazil. Of particular interest is the insight to racial diversity in that country, especially regarding the 1978 policy change which allowed all worthy males to be ordained to the priesthood. These primary source documents have been underutilized in Mormon Studies, due, in part, to the fact that most of the interviews are only available in Portuguese. The archive is composed of 36 oral interviews--31 in Portuguese and 5 in English.

For this panel, we will introduce this collection of translated interviews for use by researchers with an interest in the growth and development of the Church, particularly in Brazil. The provenance, translation process, and analyses of key passages will be highlighted.

**Indigenous and “Lamanite” Identities in the Twentieth Century**

The issue of being Indigenous and labeled as “Lamanites” by leaders and lay membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has affected Indigenous peoples across North and South America, as well as the islands of the Pacific, since the inception of the church in the early nineteenth century. Long have church members and leaders speculated as to who Lamanites are or were and what such a title means. Perhaps none have been affected more by this crisis of identity than Indigenous people who follow the teachings of this growing restorationist sect.

In a roundtable format, this session brings together scholars from a variety of expertise and focuses to compare and relate historical experiences of Indigenous converts to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Americas and Pacific Islands. This panel highlights different perspectives from historical figures and everyday Indigenous people who identified as
"Lamanite" in the twentieth century. How have Indigenous converts and church members dealt with the often-times conflicting notions of “Lamanite” vs. their distinct Indigenous/Native identities? During the twentieth century, could an individual maintain different identities simultaneously, as Indigenous and Lamanites/Mormons? This roundtable features diverse Indigenous histories to address such questions.

Panels

**Parley P. Pratt Papers Letters and Documents, Volume 1**

Panelists: Alexander Baugh, Matt Grow, R. Steven Pratt, Mitchell Pratt, Sharalyn Howcroft (moderator)

The Parley P. Pratt Papers are in the process of being published in a multi-volume work edited by Steve Pratt through Greg Kofford Books. The Papers are arranged into six series: 1. Letters and Documents; 2. Histories; 3. Journals and Autobiographies; 4. Writings; 5. Poetry; and 6. Discourses and Teachings. The Letters and Documents series will be publishing all of the 451 letters and other documents in probably ten volumes. The other series will be publishing all histories, journals, writings, poems and discourses. The first volume in the Letters and Documents series will consist of 69 Documents with 33 letters and 36 others items like minutes, blessings and legal actions. The period of time covered is October 1830 through 6 April 1840. There will be an appendix with 10 Documents of Letters, a Parley P. Pratt play, Account of the Rebuke of the Guards and Boone County Missouri Legal Documents. This project had its beginning in the 1970s when Steve Pratt and Dean Jesse were working together to try and publish the Letters during Leonard Arrington’s time as Church historian, and is now over 40 years in the making. This panel discussion centers on the 69 documents and appendix consisting of Alexander Baugh, Matthew Grow, Mitch Pratt and Steve Pratt. Galleys of the first volume will be available for people to peruse. Each panel member will be introducing several documents and their significance to the understanding of early Latter Day Saints history and the character and life of Parley P. Pratt.

**Two Diaries, Two Eras: Telling the Story of Mormonism, 1951–1999**

Panelists: Gary James Bergera, Harvard Heath, Cristina Rosetti, and Devery S. Anderson (moderator).

David O. McKay’s presidential diaries were kept faithfully by McKay and his long-time secretary, Claire Middlemiss, during McKay’s tenure as church president (1951–70). The diaries reveal important information about McKay’s day-to-day administrative duties as well as his deep faith. They also reveal, some of his lesser-known weaknesses. His interaction with others within the hierarchy and his own disdain for conflict all emerge, telling the story of faith and humanity, commitment and struggle, all part of his role in guiding the church as he saw fit.

Leonard Arrington, on the other hand, wrote from the perspective of a trained academic. His call as Church Historian in 1972 ushered in a new era of professionalization at the LDS Church Historical Department. Despite his call by the First Presidency to oversee that new
era, and a sustaining vote in general conference, he soon found himself battling more conservative members of the hierarchy while being supported by others. Like McKay, Arrington remained faithful and committed to his church. Arrington documented his experience knowing that his record would one day be scrutinized by historians.

Together, these diaries span almost the entirety of the Latter-day Saint experience during the latter half of the twentieth century and provide fresh glimpses into the inner workings of the Mormon hierarchy. McKay’s and Middlemiss’s perspective is that of the office of the president; Arrington worked across the courtyard but often with many McKay’s contemporaries, including his successors as president. The two perspectives from the different vantage points are crucial to understanding Mormonism from its post-war period through the cold war.