Chapter 8 Mormon Mission in Concept and Practice: From Apocalyptic Gathering to Teaching Salvation

David Golding

New and troubling prophecies convinced the first Mormons that the end was near.[1] An "overflowing scourge" of sickness and death approached, total war would soon consume the nations, plagues would afflict humanity, and strange celestial phenomena would vex the planet. Little time remained before calamity was supposed to terrorize the world. Unless the faithful could escape to a holy city set apart as a refuge, they too could share in the coming tribulation.[2]

The word of the Lord to the young Mormon community called for elders to evangelize everywhere they could during this period of rising affliction. Such prophecies, what Smith's followers called "commandments" and "revelations," delivered simple instructions: the people of God in the latter days, or Latter Day Saints, should rally the righteous by proclaiming the Book of Mormon and Smith's revelations, by administering baptism, and by gathering converts to the city of the New Jerusalem in western Missouri. Where the elders met rejection, they were to cast the dust of that home or town from their feet in a special ritual designed to absolve the elders of the burden of guilt should apocalyptic devastation befall rejectors.[3]

Missionaries like Orson Hyde and Samuel Smith knew rejection well. The two regularly noted in their diaries the times they performed the feet-dusting ritual during their 1832 tour throughout the northeastern United States.[4] On March 2, they "went from House to House & many during this day rejected us & we shook [off] the dust from our feet as a testimony against them"; two weeks later, they "went through a Presbyterian neighbourhood Shook off the dust of our feet against almost every house."[5] One rejection in Massachusetts

left Hyde heartbroken. "Called on my sister," he wrote in his autobiography, "and told her that the Lord . . . had not sent her this message by a stranger" but by her own mother's son. Hyde's sister tried to dissuade him from his new faith, and Hyde left her house despondent, resolving, he said, "to be slow to call upon anymore of my relatives, that I might be exempted from the duty of washing my feet against my own kindred . . . leaving them to be warned and dealt with by strangers."[6]

Hyde and his missionary peers observed only two outcomes in their preaching, each imbued with cosmic significance: they either administered baptism to receptive converts or shook rejectors' dust from their feet. To cast off dust amounted to no mere ceremony; the ritual evoked biblical tones of mourning like the rending of garments and the heaping of ashes.[7] Duty compelled Hyde to cast off the dust of his own family, an act signifying the worst of outcomes—he had hoped to welcome the Second Coming of Jesus Christ with them in the city of the saints but instead was left with suspense over their fate. He believed his relatives' rejection to gather to the New Jerusalem had severed them from their only lifeline whenever the day of wrath should commence.[8]

Such apocalyptic intensity did not fully endure. By the turn of the twentieth century, feet-dusting practices occurred infrequently enough that prominent mission leaders had to inquire about official procedures.[9] Missionary preaching evolved from transient proselytism (constantly moving from one locale to another) to maintaining and expanding existing congregations.[10] For the next century, missionaries largely saw their work as remaining within rather than abandoning fruitless preaching circuits.[11]

The decline of feet-dusting corresponded with a profound missiological shift among Latter-day Saint missionaries.[12] The intensity that had once styled missionary work as calling the elect to flee the coming tribulation was superseded by traditional concerns of personal sin and the redemption of the soul. Although Latter-day Saints inherited a millennial ideology, their missionaries replaced predecessors' energy and literalism with rote lessons on being baptized into the true church.[13] More precisely, Latter-day Saint missionary work moved from a primarily *eschatological* to a *soteriological* orientation. This development positioned Latter-day Saints in the twenty-first century to track conversion and affiliation relative to proselytism, identity management, fellowship, and rates of participation.[14]

Mission concerns pervaded the Mormon experience from the beginning, ensuring that even in the process of adapting their proselytism to new realities, Latter-day Saints would draw from a common vocabulary of ideas.[15] Given the fundamental missionary impulse in the Mormon character, some

observers have associated mission with all aspects of the religious movement; "Mormon history is mission history," wrote one historian.[16] In the case of mission categories, the purposes that drive a religious community rise to the analytical surface, so missionary work can be construed from almost any activity or motivation. Mormon mission, however, yet has conceptual limits in theory and practice. Not everything about the culture qualifies as missional in nature.[17]

Four dimensions mark well where mission begins and ends within the broader Mormon experience. Although first codified in 1981 (and amplified in 2009), these dimensions describe patterns within the whole history. They involve the effort to proclaim the gospel, nurture the faith of church members, redeem deceased ancestors, and care for the needy.[18] All these objectives have fallen under the heading of "mission," and people engaged in any of these have been identified as "missionaries."[19] While the present cohort of missionaries orients its enterprise differently than predecessors like Orson Hyde and Samuel Smith, it shares in the conviction that its church represents the inauguration of an ultimate dispensation, God's final intervention to "restore all things" and guide the world toward a millennial age.[20] Such ambition has disposed Latter-day Saints toward the work ethic and audacity characteristic of the world's most enduring missionary movements.

Historical Overview

Adherents and missionaries alike regularly invoke a historical narrative about the founding of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints when presenting the faith to outsiders and proselytes.[21] Church members also retell certain events as reported by Joseph Smith as part of their devotions in testimony meetings and confessional interviews with ecclesiastical leaders.[22] Common narratives start with Joseph Smith's first vision, a theophany of God the Father and Jesus Christ he experienced as an adolescent in 1820.[23] The first Mormons, however, attributed beginnings to another vision of an angel named Moroni, a character in the Book of Mormon who appeared to Smith in 1823 to announce the location of ancient golden plates.[24] Smith worked intermittently on acquiring and translating the plates, completing the project in 1829 with the help of a scribe named Oliver Cowdery.[25]

Once the Book of Mormon came off the press, Smith and Cowdery formally organized the Church of Christ in New York in 1830. After a group of Restorationist Christians in Ohio embraced the book, the small New York congregations relocated westward. Over several years, the "Latter Day Saints" as they called themselves, gathered to towns in Ohio and Missouri

with dreams of establishing Zion. Dozens of missionaries fanned out across the eastern United States and southern Canada, and after 1837, crossed the Atlantic to preach in Great Britain. A steady stream of converts arrived in Latter Day Saint settlements for the next decade, exacerbating relations with other settler communities. Hostilities mounted, and after a violent purge of Mormons from the state of Missouri and another clash with residents in Illinois, Joseph Smith and his brother (and putative successor) Hyrum Smith were assassinated and the Saints forced to flee. A senior group of leaders, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, coordinated the migration of the majority of church members to the Rocky Mountains. Other Latter Day Saint communities remained throughout the Midwestern and Eastern United States, though none ever reached the numerical size of the Utah church. For the remainder of the century, the Quorum's president and later church president Brigham Young, directed the Latter-day Saints' colonization of the Intermountain West, resulting in some five hundred Mormon settlements by 1900.[26]

Brigham Young made plans to expand the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints beyond colonizing the North American West and evangelizing the faith abroad.[27] He had served in Joseph Smith's inner circle of leaders and had been introduced to a doctrine of Abrahamic polygamy, what Smith and his confidants termed "Celestial marriage."[28] Smith and a limited group of men had taken additional wives as a kind of Abrahamic test by which one could prove absolute obedience to God and acquire the status of the exalted in the hereafter.[29] In the initial isolation afforded by their wilderness home, Young and other leaders opened Smith's private doctrine to the general membership and encouraged Latter-day Saints at large to enter polygamous unions and raise up a righteous posterity.[30] The majority of Latter-day Saints remained monogamous, but the public practice of "plural marriage" attracted the disdain of the United States government. After a protracted debate over religious freedoms, a series of federal laws, and a raid on Mormon polygamist families, church leaders relented, renounced the practice of polygamy (without denying the doctrine), lobbied for Utah statehood, and guided the church into the twentieth century.[31]

As hostile postures between the church and American cosmopolitan society tempered during the Progressive Era, a new optimism informed church enterprises. Latter-day Saints largely opted to assimilate into American public life and employed business and organizational strategies in adapting to membership growth.[32] By the interwar period (1918–1939), the church exerted a strong institutional scheme in mobilizing action and routinizing devotions. For the remainder of the century, international congregations steadily multiplied until greater than half the membership resided outside of the United

States. As Latter-day Saints celebrated the dedication of the church's hundredth temple in 2000, they began to entertain truly global aspirations.[33]

Missionary work evolved across Latter-day Saint history in five major periods. Because missionaries after 1832 deferred to a hierarchically structured system for receiving a call to action, certain headquarter-driven strategies predominated their proselytism and inflected the missionary culture beyond immediate mission organizations. Patterns within the missionary encounter often extended from the directives of senior leaders, mission presidents, and other institutional authorities.[34] The structure itself, replete with intricate channels of delegated prerogatives and assorted spheres of leadership, arose from a peculiar attraction to order. Scripture emphasized "mine house is a house of order, saith the Lord God," and Latter-day Saints relished conforming urban layouts, clerk records, meeting procedures, committee assignments, and roles to such a heavenly ideal.[35]

During a freelance prelude (1829–1832), missionaries worked as volunteer preachers who often initiated their own service and pursued undetermined routes in evangelizing with the Book of Mormon. Joseph Smith soon introduced revelations calling for a "gathering" sustained by converts relocating to a central "Zion," thus inaugurating an emigration era (1832–1898). By the end of the nineteenth century, emigration waned as church leaders emphasized a new paradigm, a universal concept of Zion by which any Latter-day Saint could strengthen a home congregation rather than relocating to a gathering place. Progressive leaders assessed virtually every church operation with a systematic orientation, organizing committees to subdivide church administration into a scheme evaluated by various measures of effectiveness, bringing their missions into a system era (1898–1951). By the 1950s, a coherent and routinized mission program perpetuated all formal missionary work and was headed by a central Missionary Department managed by the Missionary Executive Council. Major increases in convert baptisms in Latin America, the Philippines, and Africa pushed the missions out of a primarily program era (1951–2012) toward more multifaceted approaches. In 2012, the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles announced the "Hastening the Work of Salvation" initiative; mission thereafter encompassed proselytism and humanitarian service across many conventional and digital fronts. Local communities engaged more directly in mission work and reporting, even though certified missionaries continued to fulfill tours through the mission program. The Missionary Department experimented with new formats in social media, multimedia, and family history, essentially giving consideration to any and all methods that could accelerate evangelism.[36]

By 2020, the Latter-day Saint population remained mostly within the Western Hemisphere. Missions that had expanded into Africa and parts of the Asian mainland showed signs of sustained growth, but Latter-day Saint congregations tilted heavily toward North America, South America, and islands in the Pacific. Perceived successes of missionary programs encouraged bureaucracy and institutional action, leaving little coincidence that the most recognized image of Mormonism would become the missionary of the late twentieth century sporting a white shirt, necktie, and black name badge and riding a bicycle in neighborhoods seeking appointments. It was this standardized, uniformed, efficient missionary who represented Mormonism to the world during the period of the movement's most astonishing and visible growth.[37]

Figure 8.1 Latter-day Saint missionaries speak with a woman in Old Sacramento, California.

Credit: Robert Couse-Baker.

Mission Theology: Why Mormons Do Mission

Few elements of the Latter-day Saint experience are as universal as mission, yet Mormon groups have proceeded in missionary work without much negotiation of mission theology. Some scholars and practitioners have attempted a concerted study of missiology, but a fundamental challenge of accounting for Latter-day Saint mission remains underdeveloped.[38] Whereas Protestant and Catholic missionaries brought systematic rationales, theologies, and schemes to answer the biblical commission to preach Christianity, Latter-day Saints determined courses of missionary action based on perceptions of prior effectiveness—whatever appeared to net conversions informed the proselytism. Pragmatism edged out theory as the vehicle for missional development.[39]

For nearly two centuries, Latter-day Saints kept themselves rather insulated from ecumenism and other Christian mission enterprises, due mostly to their sense of religious exceptionalism and a long defensiveness against anti-Mormon criticism.[40] Latter-day Saints pursued mission strategies independently of Christian counterparts, and except in local settings, ignored the broader mission work of other Christian denominations. Many firsts therefore confront students of Mormon missions; a systematic attempt to map the history and theology of Mormon missions beckons, to say nothing of articulating a Mormon missiology in the first place.[41]

Lacking a systematic theology of mission, Latter-day Saints have taken to proof-texting from scriptural passages to define mission and relying on senior leadership for their underlying network of ideas supporting missionary work.[42] This fact does not suggest missiological reasoning is unavailable; on the contrary, the Latter-day Saint canon reaches beyond the Christian Bible to include more than eight hundred pages of revelatory texts. Joseph Smith's followers, historically enthusiastic for common-sense readings and eisegetical interpretation, saw an enhanced connection between Smith's written revelations and the Bible. Together with the Bible, the editions of the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price constitute the primary and official sources of church doctrine.

I offer here a modest prolegomenon to future Mormon missiology based on passages in those four canonical books, what Latter-day Saints term the "standard works." A succinct mission objective—in addition to the classic "Great Commission" of the New Testament and distinctly Mormon in theological reasoning—appears in Moses 1:39, a passage from the Pearl of Great Price first written in 1830 as part of Joseph Smith's revision of the Bible. The verse is part of a vision scene in which God reveals to Moses the creative design of the universe. "For behold," God declares while looking upon the

limitless expanse of creation, "this is my work and my glory—to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man."[43] Here, reduced to a single sentence, is the Latter-day Saint theory of salvation, its soteriology distilled. Not abstruse or abstract, Moses 1:39 is practical: all God is up to, the complexities of ordering the universe and the burden of redeeming it from evil—in a word, God's own mission—is invested in achieving two conditions, the immortality and the eternal state of all human beings. In Smith's amplified Pentateuch when Moses puts the question to God of why an earth, why a universe, why existence, God responds without a word about sin, or the devil, or the Garden of Eden. "For mine own purpose have I made these things," God says, "& it remaineth in me." Nevertheless, the seemingly numberless worlds "are numbered unto me for they are mine & I know them" and they deserve a fullness of joy.[44]

The Book of Mormon offers a simpler purpose for the cosmos: humans exist "that they might have joy" (2 Nephi 2:25). Happiness, immortality, eternal life—these become the conditions of the redeemed soul and the ultimate project of Latter-day Saint mission. Latter-day Saints arrived at an ideal concept of this objective by the 1970s and subscribed to a narrow set of actions they believed could best achieve the goals of Moses 1:39 and 2 Nephi 2:25. Not just any activity promoting human happiness could fall under the category of "mission work," yet Latter-day Saints committed themselves to an optimistic anthropology, a view of humanity as inherently capable of divine nature and on the path toward heavenly glory.

Apart from mission involving God's effort to realize humankind's immortality and eternal joy, Latter-day Saints also described mission in terms of an urgent enterprise to prepare the world for Jesus Christ's second coming. A striking and foundational source for this eschatological missiology is a sustained allegory in the Book of Mormon about a husbandman tending a vineyard of olive trees. The narrative describes him nourishing a "tame olive tree" that eventually grows so wild that it threatens the health of the whole vineyard. The lord of the vineyard decides to burn the trees and start over, but a servant implores him to "spare [the vineyard] a little longer." Rather than extend the deadline, the lord calls together more personnel and tells the servant, "the end draweth nigh, and this is for the last time that I shall prune my vineyard" (Jacob 5:61–62). The allegory ends with servants clearing the vineyard of bad fruit and the tame trees again producing "natural fruit." The lord and servants rejoice in their success but anticipate evil creeping into the vineyard once more. The lord announces his intention to answer the inevitable intrusion by separating "the good and the bad," and then lighting the whole vineyard on fire (Jacob 5:76–77).

The allegory ventures no esoteric symbolism; Book of Mormon characters themselves speak of the prophecy as relating to the House of Israel. Virtually all the prophet figures of the Book of Mormon display a preoccupation with Israel despite the narrative being set in the Americas, as though sacred history centers on God's covenant people. Like the wild olive tree in the allegory, the Israelite nation had become infiltrated by influences outside of the covenant and suffered invasion upon invasion. But for the Lord of the Vineyard, the covenant stood immutable—like the Messiah of Isaiah's prophecies, he could not forget Israel regardless of its transgressions. The Book of Mormon attaches mission to the recovering of scattered descendants of the covenant and locates its own publication as an inaugurating event of the latter days. Time had expired in the eschatology of Jacob 5; it now fell to a workforce large enough to complete the task. The moment the missionaries could return the posterity of ancient Israel to covenant status with God would mark the end of a dispensation, and Christ's promised return to the earth could then commence.[45]

Joseph Smith produced dozens of individual revelatory texts contained in the Doctrine and Covenants that directed the first missionaries in their activities. Smith rendered such revelations in the first-person voice of Jesus Christ, which had the effect of collapsing the rhetorical distance between God and missionary, a feature the missionaries found both motivating and daunting. Throughout the emigration era of the nineteenth century, the Doctrine and Covenants served as the principal manual for mission organizations and leadership.[46]

The revelations exude eschatological more than soteriological imperatives and place an apocalyptic urgency on missionary endeavors. Warnings that "the coming of the Lord draweth nigh, and it overtaketh the world as a thief in the night" (D&C 106:4) promised literal destruction missionaries feared could descend at any moment. The charge to "bring to pass the gathering of mine elect" included also a temporal alarm—the elect needed "to prepare their hearts and be prepared in all things against the day when tribulation and desolation are sent forth upon the wicked" (D&C 29:7–8). Mormons themselves expressed some trepidation about the coming catastrophes. If plagues of hailstorms, diseases, and famines were supposed to overtake the wicked, and if the wicked lived in proximity to the righteous, then how were the righteous supposed to be spared? One revelation responded with an unequivocal path to safety: the covenant. Only in the New Jerusalem where the covenant people of God assembled could anyone find refuge. By entering into the covenant, one would be identified with the Saints, the community of gathered Israel, and in the security of this community could they escape doomsday.[47]

The Bible confirmed this covenant theology and eschatology all too well for Mormon readers in the 1830s and 1840s. Their New England ancestors had spoken of the Puritan sojourn in North America as a special compact with God to enlighten the world.[48] Mormons extended the notion further, even turning it on its head. The Book of Mormon declared the *Native* Americans inheritors of the Abrahamic covenant by birthright and the Americas lands promised to the descendants of the biblical Joseph. Smith's first written revelation announced that the (then forthcoming) Book of Mormon should represent the fulfillment of a covenant God had made with ancient Americans, setting the evangelism of the book within a covenantal scheme.[49]

When critics scoffed, prominent missionaries like Parley Pratt wrote counterarguments based on the Bible. For Pratt especially, covenant theology represented the hermeneutical key for unlocking the throughline of the whole Bible—it was the historical documentation of the Bible that displayed God's sustained covenant from the age of the Patriarchs to the ages of Israelite prophets and Christian saints. Pratt saw biblical covenants so fundamental that he dared his interlocutors to explain how God ever intervened in human history *without* attending to effecting covenants with people. And because God could be counted on never to renege on a promise, covenants never expired. Whatever covenants appeared in the Bible still maintained efficacy even if human parties mentioned in their history had disappeared. It stood to reason that because biblical covenants endured and because language of covenants specifically included Abrahamic and Israelite posterities, covenant descendants constituted heirs of promised blessings they could claim by right.[50]

In addition to the Doctrine and Covenants and Book of Mormon, another potent driver of Latter-day Saint eschatological mission came in one of Smith's creative emendations to the Old Testament. Rather than amplifying existing accounts like he had done with the Moses narrative, this time Smith sought to recover a character barely mentioned in the Bible: the apocryphal Enoch to whom Genesis alludes when it mentions how God "took him" after walking with him for three centuries (5:22–24). Smith's "Prophecy of Enoch" greatly expanded the Genesis account, describing a prophet who established a holy city named Zion. The people of Zion lived so righteously that God eventually conveyed the whole city to heaven.[51] Several revelations continued the theme of Enoch's city of Zion and instructed Smith's followers in building urban centers in an Enochic pattern and living in the likeness of Zion. They were to consecrate their property and hold all things in common to alleviate poverty, orient all aspects of civic life around holiness, and erect a House of the Lord where God promised to visit them.[52] Missionaries sought

descendants of Israel for gathering to the city and spoke of "believing blood" and covenant "lineages" as indicators of the elect who would respond to the call to relocate to Zion in America.[53]

The decline of missionary emigration at the turn of the twentieth century occasioned a concern for personal salvation as the primary rationale for mission. The church had always insisted certain rites were necessary for salvation, like baptism by immersion. When early converts from Protestant churches insisted their previous baptisms remained valid, Smith announced a revelation instructing missionaries to require baptism of even Christians because the Church of Christ as established in the latter days had inaugurated a "new and an everlasting covenant" that superseded the dead works of an older covenant. This New and Everlasting Covenant reoriented the ways missionaries viewed themselves relative to Christians. Regardless of shared beliefs about Jesus or of prior baptism into Christian churches, the Lord of Smith's revelations had dispatched the missionaries to everyone, believers included. This outlook departed significantly from the majority of North American missionaries at the time who had organized into interdenominational societies. Protestant missionaries understood their work in terms of converting non-Christians, largely leaving revival of lapsed Christians to the work of pastoral ministers. The New and Everlasting Covenant positioned Mormon missionaries in a proselytistic relationship toward all other churches.[54]

With such polarized possibilities surrounding the latter-day calamities on the line, missionaries placed a premium on baptism regardless of their audiences' desires to gather to Zion. Jesus's injunction to be born of water and spirit before entering the kingdom of God seemed more than figurative of a spiritual rebirth—this was an existential necessity, a gateway to heaven so essential even Jesus submitted to it.[55] The same immutability placed on baptism existed for the administration of the rite. Jesus not only had submitted to the command to be baptized, but also had submitted to an ordained agent of baptism, John. Joseph Smith offered a bold prerequisite of divine authority: he declared that none other than John the Baptist had appeared to him as a messenger and bestowed the power to baptize. John's visitation initiated a series of heavenly events the missionaries later called the "Restoration." Peter, James, John, Moses, and Elijah were affirmed as messengers bearing priesthood, an exclusive authority essential for all administrative components of the church, including the basis for the missionaries' preaching. The path to salvation in all epochs, ancient and modern, moved inexorably through priesthood channels, and only the Latter-day Saints, the missionaries taught, could legitimately claim that priesthood.[56]

On the surface, the Mormon word "salvation" departed little from broad concepts of Christian soteriology. Walter Scott's five finger exercise mnemonic articulated what the missionaries presented as the requirements of being saved: faith, repentance, baptism, remission of sins, and the gift of the Holy Spirit. But when the missionaries infused this with Smith's ecclesiology of priesthood, the five essentials lost efficacy on their own—there could be no salvation without priesthood administering baptism. It was no coincidence that when Joseph Smith included Scott's five points in the church's Articles of Faith, he immediately followed them with the affirmation that ordinances of the gospel held no efficacy without priesthood authority. Christians might contend with Mormon missionaries over who possessed authentic priesthood, but the debate ranged closer to the Bible and a shared biblical vocabulary. By the first decades of the twentieth century, baptism became the principal metric for gauging missionary success and the focus of missionary activity.[57]

Mission Geography: Where Mormon Mission Is Done

Unlike their Protestant contemporaries who mapped the world between the evangelized and unevangelized, Mormon missionaries pursued covenant lineages.[58] Their initial setting predisposed them to identify nation-states of the time by racial categories and the tribes of Israel. Most assumed white Americans and white Europeans had descended from Ephraim and Native Americans from Manasseh, but they also attributed a broad degree of uncertainty to the ancient scattering of Israelites and the Jewish people. Revelation in the forms of the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and a Patriarchal blessing could overcome the loss of covenant knowledge with additional sacred history charting the "remnant of the House of Israel" and pronouncing direct identifications of lineage. Ordained Patriarchs performed special blessings in which they declared a person's covenant descent by inspiration. This blessing effectively marshaled sacred history to associate prophesied privileges and duties with the blessing recipient's spiritual destiny.[59] By the early twentieth century, the church required missionaries to receive their Patriarchal blessing before departure, attaching missionary preaching itself with covenant fulfillment. While entering new fields of proselytism, missionaries revisited mental mappings and commonly adjudicated their successes or setbacks in terms of Israelite identities (or lack thereof).[60]

Covenant geography divided the world into two overlapping domains: the world of the gathered (the "Saints" in Zion) and the world of the ungathered (the "Gentiles," regardless of Jewish, Christian, or other identities). In the original gathering model of the 1800s, Latter-day Saints recognized

perpetual congregations as "stakes of Zion" and treated the mission field as a staging ground for preparing converts to emigrate to Zion. Stakes included permanent councils that administered the church whereas "branches" in the mission field convened ad hoc "traveling councils" to administer temporary congregations. The flow of missionaries moved from the stakes toward the branches; the flow of converts moved from the branches to the stakes. As apocalyptic urgency waned and emigrations declined, the several "missions" throughout the world adopted a permanent routine, even establishing stakes abroad. The network shifted from a central hub of stakes into an interconnected array of stakes wherever congregations sustained a moderate number of members. Rather than deploying missionaries to untouched fields, mission leaders began assigning missionaries to permanent congregations and dividing stakes and missions as local membership increased.

Although by the 1870s the Apostles dispatched missionaries to the United States, Canada, Europe, Jerusalem, Tahiti, Hawai'i, South America, India, the Caribbean, South Africa, Asia, and Oceania, only in Europe did missions support regular conferences and staff offices. For the next fifty years, greater than 90 percent of the total membership resided within today's state of Utah, prompting various local schemes for sending elders to proselytize within stakes in the heartland.[61] In 1920 and 1921, apostle David O. McKay made a 366-day tour of the world's missions, visiting the northwestern and midwestern United States, Japan, China, Hawai'i, California, Samoa, Tonga, New Zealand, Australia, India, Turkey, and several countries in Europe.[62] His assessment of conditions, congregational longevity, and potential fields for proselytism inspired an overall reform from church headquarters that translated into a new mission system of processing missionary candidates, training new missionaries, accommodating travel, and organizing mission districts.[63] Regular members could soon notice a new layering of programs, some managed by central committees and departments and others given to the purview of the stakes. Expansion proceeded from apostles reviewing areas hospitable to proselytism, securing official permissions from governments to congregate and evangelize, and assigning a mission president to supervise the creation of branches. The Executive Missionary Committee in Salt Lake City supplied missionaries to new missions until branches grew into stakes and stakes grew large enough for the mission to split.[64]

Apostles opened countries for missionary activity with a dedicatory ceremony that included an apostolic prayer. Joseph Smith set the precedent in 1835 when commissioning the first Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and instructed them that only they could "unlock the door of the kingdom of heaven unto all nations and preach the Gospel unto every creature." Apostolic dedications

preceded official ministry and generally followed arrangements with local governments to organize congregations according to law.[65] Countries outside the United States opened to Latter-day Saint mission work first in Europe and the Pacific, followed by Latin America, Asia, and Africa. During the program era of the 1950s through early 2000s, the Church reconfigured its international structure of "stakes," "missions," "regions," and "areas" several times, with each unit adapting subunits like "districts," "wards," "branches," and "zones" to local and regional conditions. Missionaries continued to work within a primary mission notwithstanding evolutions in the parallel congregational schemes.[66]

The modern Latter-day Saint mission is an organization within the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints managed by an ordained mission president who is assisted by his wife, by (usually two local resident) counselors in a mission presidency, and by two or more "Assistants to the President" selected from the ranks of missionaries.[67] Geographic boundaries define the areas of proselytization where missionaries live and work. The mission president designates groups of missionaries as areas, districts, and zones, which often but are not required to correspond with congregational units of branches, wards, and stakes. When a missionary candidate receives the formal letter of assignment, or "mission call," the opening lines name the mission to which the missionary will report for service. A period of language and proselytism instruction at one of several training centers lasts for several weeks before the missionary leaves for the mission where he or she is received by the mission president and then assigned to a local area with a companion. After a standard period of service, the missionary returns home and is formally "released" from the missionary calling by the local stake president.[68]

Non-proselytizing missionary assignments date back to Joseph Smith, who in 1844 dispatched over 300 representatives on an electioneering campaign via mission calls.[69] During the mid-1800s, Brigham Young launched many colonization and industrial operations as "missions," sending immigrants to various parts of the North American West to mine; raise crops; manufacture cotton, silk, sugar, and wine; exchange with Native Americans; freight machinery across migrant trails; perform in the theater; lay railroad track; and, most often, establish new settlements.[70] Missionary calls served as an effective tool of recruiting volunteer and sometimes paid employees for various church ventures, but systematic adjustments to overall management brought steady callings and jobs by the early twentieth century that did not carry the title of "missionary" or proceed through missionary assignments.

Various volunteer undertakings still enlisted "labor missionaries," who by the mid-1900s enrolled as retirees. "Senior missionaries" could apply for

a missionary occupation in dozens of enterprises. Overlap between church departments and the missions placed seniors often within a dual management structure, reporting simultaneously to a mission president and department management. On humanitarian missions, for example, a senior couple might receive an assignment from the mission president to coordinate with church staff working in the Welfare and Self-Reliance Services Department. Tasks associated with professional work become missional when performed by volunteer senior missionaries, lending a universal geography to missionary work—any domain to improve the human condition may be cast as a field for volunteer missionary service and ultimately a frontier for further establishing the kingdom of God.[71]

By 2020, the church operated 399 missions in over 126 countries with a proselytizing force of over 67,000 missionaries.[72] The pattern of mission and stake organization largely held together since the 1960s despite major relative expansion and a surge of young missionaries in the 1980s and 2010s. Joseph Smith's brief gesture toward the end of his ministry that all North and South America constituted Zion found global manifestation in the twenty-first-century network of missions. Instead of gathering to a central location, actual coordinates on a map, the Saints could assemble in the more abstractly imagined Zion collective, stakes local to where they already lived that sustained communities of belonging based on the ideals of a Zion society. With time, the apocalyptic intensity in the mission field pivoted away from fleeing the coming tribulation and toward supporting neighbors in the faith. A more classical missiology grounded in the Great Commission to preach Jesus's gospel and encourage faith unto personal salvation replaced the eschatological scheme of relocating with the Saints to await the Second Coming. Once Latter-day Saints associated missionary success with the rate of convert baptisms, this first rite of membership delineated the world by categories of "member" and "non-member." While Patriarchal blessings continued to declare members' covenant lineages, the use of "Gentile" to identify non-Mormons declined until becoming a relic of nineteenth-century Utah culture.[73]

Missionary Identity: Who Does Mormon Mission

Today's missionaries participate in a system governed by a priesthood order of ecclesiastical officers, units, and hierarchy. Church members have tended to defer to priesthood leaders before assuming the identity of the proselytizing missionary, though a style of lay missionary work has persisted in the forms of congregational ministering and overall generic outreach.[74] Young and senior missionaries donate their time and resources, making "full-time" preferred

over "professional" to describe certified missionaries, those to whom the First Presidency has issued a formal mission call and recognized as official representatives of the church.[75]

Mission presidents assign full-time missionaries into duos, colloquially described as "companionships," and dispatches them to any combination of branches, wards, and stakes.[76] A typical missionary cycles through several companions and areas over the course of her eighteen-month or his twenty-four-month term. Unlike the earlier patterns of proselytism that targeted areas vacant of branches or stakes, the missions today start with and branch out from established congregations, leaving missionaries without the status of itinerant or trailblazer assumed by their predecessors. They participate in a highly regulated program with a clear hierarchy of leaders and during their service forgo their first names for the titles "Sister" and "Elder."[77]

Alongside such a visible mission program, Latter-day Saints have claimed a generic missionary identity. During the emigration and system eras, *missionary* referred to those dispatched by the church for full-time proselytism or on a full-time assignment. When David O. McKay became church president in 1951, he prophesied of a "New Era" of missionary work, moved to restructure the Missionary Executive Committee, and implemented the first church-wide missionary curriculum. He championed a maxim that quickly became his trademark: "Every Member a Missionary." Where political conflict had stymied certified missionaries from entering the country, McKay's member-missionary emphasis motivated local members in Central and South America to evangelize spontaneously, galvanizing an early surge in Mexico, Guatemala, Chile, and Uruguay. The momentum reverberated throughout the Latter-day Saint heartland with scriptural passages describing "stand[ing] as witnesses of God at all times and in all things, and in all places" (Mosiah 18:9) increasing in citation frequency in books, manuals, and sermons.[78]

The missionary ethos intensified after McKay's successor, Spencer W. Kimball, declared the most ambitious vision of mission yet. His 1974 address titled "When the World Will Be Converted" asked mission presidents why the missions could not reach a global presence more rapidly. His appeal for every able young man to answer a priesthood duty and serve a mission resonated such that an ensuing surge of missionary participation in the 1980s resulted in more than doubling the previous decade's already high rate of baptisms and stimulating a cultural rite of passage for young men entering adulthood.[79]

Women had served full-time missions since 1898, but mission presidents diverged over their utility and responsibility as gospel preachers, some presidents practically discouraging young women from applying to serve in the

interest of seeking marriage and starting families.[80] Policies accommodated women's participation but continually adjusted for perceived ideal windows for courtship. The "lady" (later called "sister") missionaries were given a shorter term of service than their male counterparts (eighteen instead of twenty-four months) and a later age of eligibility (21 instead of 19). Kimball's appeal for more missionaries resulted in more women serving missions, but the proportion of full-time personnel remained predominantly male.[81]

Being both a certified missionary and a woman was consistently the exception—until 2012. Church president Thomas S. Monson announced that year a policy change that carried significant ramifications for the missions: the age of eligibility was reduced to 18 for men and 19 for women. Sister missionaries continued to serve for eighteen months and elders for two years, but the change was nevertheless groundbreaking. In twelve months, 58 new missions were created, taking the total to 405, and the number of missionaries rose from 58,000 to over 80,000, the bulk of whom came from a surge of female applicants.[82]

Monson followed the policy change with a push to better integrate certified and lay missionary work. Branded "Hastening the Work of Salvation," the initiative urged members and local leaders to utilize multimedia resources and social media technology to preach.[83] In the digital age of mission work, missionary identity deviated sharply from the foot-soldiers of the emigration era who traversed widely with little training or resources, without money or lodging, to warn of calamity. And yet, the once apocalyptic, later evangelistic energy continued to motivate Latter-day Saint youths into swapping the adventures of young adulthood for the austerity of missionary service. The "returned missionary" (often abbreviated "RM" in English-speaking communities) enjoyed cultural recognition for passing through the labors and achievements of missionary service.[84]

Beside various initiatives, caring for the needy remained a dimension of missionary work. Since 1985, nearly 180 countries have received humanitarian aid through a steady cohort of senior and service missionaries averaging near ten thousand annually. In times of natural disaster, proselytizing and service missionaries have joined together in lending aid and often teaming with organizations like the Red Cross to bring relief. Regular members have participated as well, and without any formal missionary calling, have described their service as contributing to the mission of the church. Since 1998, the multinational Mormon Helping Hands and JustServe programs coordinated volunteer projects, disaster relief, and public works improvements for members and missionaries, listing as part of their objectives to

"share the gospel indirectly," "build relationships with opinion leaders," and "enhance the reputation of the church."[85]

Non-proselytizing missionaries also contributed to a core mission of the church to "redeem the dead" by researching genealogies. Joseph Smith presented a concept of postmortal redemption through vicarious baptism. He responded to the classic theological conundrum of the fate of the unevangelized by insisting the authority of the priesthood was timeless, thus persisting beyond the grave, and could therefore "seal" an ordinance like baptism; mortals being baptized on behalf of deceased ancestors by the authority of the priesthood effectively offered the dead the opportunity to accept baptism after death.[86] By the late 1800s, Smith's successors began encouraging proxy baptism for all ancestors who could be identified, thus widening the field for mission work astronomically—literally every soul who had ever lived still deserved to receive the opportunity of salvation.[87] To stand in as proxy for the dead, a church member needed the name of the deceased in the form of a verified record.

Clerks and archivists maintained records of proxy baptisms and other proxy ordinances into the 1930s when the church invested in upgrading its archives. By the 1950s, missionaries assisted in a massive microfilming effort that catalogued a few thousand rolls by 1990. To protect its vast archive, the church moved its microfilm to a repository hewn from the same quarries that had produced the stone for the Salt Lake Temple, the Granite Mountain Records Vault. The value of this disaster-proof security was countered by a serious limitation: access to the records would remain tight. Service missionaries and lay Latter-day Saints operated regional family history centers in local churches, which provided a distribution network for copies of microfilm records and library equipment for patrons to trace their ancestry and submit names for proxy ordinance work. With new Internet technology in the 1990s, church archivists launched a digitization effort culminating in FamilySearch.org, which by 2020 boasted one of the world's largest collections of genealogical data.[88]

Conclusion: Initiative and Global Awareness

The four dimensions of Latter-day Saint mission—proclaim the gospel, redeem the dead, perfect the Saints, and care for the poor and needy—continues to hold theological significance into the twenty-first century. Missionaries assisting in each activity employed complex routines and programs to accomplish such objectives, a system unique in world Christianity. They reinforced ideals of holiness and charity while striving for a Zion society and embarked

on welfare missions to alleviate suffering, relieve economic distress, assist in addiction recovery, and enhance food supplies. Their endeavor to link the entire human family into a great chain of belonging shaped the genealogical archive industry. At the heart of this mission resides an enthusiasm for historical and scriptural literalism that inspired freelance preachers in rural cabins to anticipate one day reaching the whole world with Joseph Smith's revelations and to fashion an intricate institution worthy of such an aspiration.

A striking irony of early Mormon pragmatism was how, in all their religious creativity and celebration of rustic theology, Latter-day Saints succeeded in devising impossible ambitions. A cursory glance of the mission history of their Euro-American neighbors uncovers some of these same tendencies: in zealously striving to evangelize the world in a generation, Protestant contemporaries could not help but be deprovincialized by the enounter.[89] It remains to be seen how the late surges in missionary participation and recent expansions into digital frontiers will come back to shape the future Latter-day Saint missionary enterprise, but if the trends of the broader Christian context offer any indication, Latter-day Saints have probably passed a point of no return. Their forebears once celebrated the isolation of a mountain home in the North American West only to see their industry attract outsiders and remake the region; today's exuberance for a global mission enterprise protends another reflexive turn, one toward charitable aid and greater interreligious awareness. With the global church in view, the Latter-day Saint commission may yet reorient around not simply a soteriological imperative but also humanitarian engagement.

Notes

1. A technical nuance exists for communities tracing their origins to Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon: the terms "Mormon," "Latter Day Saint," and "Latter-day Saint" apply to different groups and institutions despite very often being used coterminously in the general public and in scholarship. (The appearance of both a hyphenated "Latter-day" and an unhyphenated "Latter Day" is not a typographical error.) I use "Latter-day Saint" to refer to the culture and membership associated with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints headquartered in Salt Lake City, Utah, the largest institution within the broader Mormon movement and what the general public often takes to represent the "Mormon Church." I use "Latter Day Saint" to refer to culture and membership associated with other churches descended from Smith's earliest congregation. And I use "Mormon" to refer to the religious movement and culture throughout history that encompasses active adherents, lapsed members, and culture regions supporting or affected by missionary traditions and activity.

2. Joseph Smith Jr. (1805–1844), founding prophet of Mormonism, dictated several dozen prophecies or "revelations" that were circulated among his followers before being compiled into the Doctrine and Covenants. The prophecies mentioned here appear as Doctrine and Covenants 29, 38, 42, 43, 45, 86, 88, and 89. For manuscript versions of all Joseph Smith's extant revelations, see the Documents series and the Revelations and Translation series of the Joseph Smith Papers, https://josephsmithpapers.org (hereafter *JSP*).
3. Joseph Smith, "Revelation, 8 August 1831 [D&C 60]," in Revelation Book 1, pp. 100–101, Documents series, *JSP*; Joseph Smith, "Revelation, 1 November 1831–B [D&C 1]," in Revelation Book 1, pp. 125–127, Documents series, *JSP*; Joseph Smith, "Revelation, 3 November 1831 [D&C 133]," in Revelation Book 1, pp. 116–121, Documents series, *JSP*; Joseph Smith, "Revelation, 25 January 1832–A [D&C 75:1–22]," Documents series, *JSP*; Joseph Smith, "Revelation, 25 January 1832–B [D&C 75:23–36]," Documents series, *JSP*; Joseph Smith, "Revelation, 29 August 1832 [D&C 99]," in Revelation Book 2, pp. 19–20, Documents series, *JSP*.
4. "Extracts of Letters from the Elders Abroad," *The Evening and the Morning Star* 1, no. 9 (February 1833): 69–70; Samuel Harrison Smith, Diary 1832–1833, MS 4213, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter *CHL*); Orson Hyde, "History of Orson Hyde," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 26, nos. 47–50 (November–December 1864): 742–744, 760–761, 774–776, 790–792.
5. Smith, Diary 1832–1833, 23–25.
6. Hyde, "History of Orson Hyde," *Millennial Star* 26, no. 49 (December 3, 1864), 775–776.
7. For ancient Israelite mourning ritual and meanings, see Gary A. Anderson, *A Time to Mourn, A Time to Dance: The Expression of Grief and Joy in Israelite Religion* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991).
8. For the feet-dusting ritual, see Samuel R. Weber, "'Shake Off the Dust of Thy Feet': The Rise and Fall of Mormon Ritual Cursing," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 46, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 108–139.
9. George Reynolds, Letter to Ben E. Rich (March 11, 1899), Ben E. Rich Correspondence 1893–1903, MS 448, *CHL*.
10. While among many Christian missionary agencies in the twentieth century "proselytism" fell into disuse, Latter-day Saint leaders continued unapologetically to promote the term.
11. Reid L. Neilson, "The Nineteenth-Century Euro-American Mormon Missionary Model," Chap. 4 in *Go Ye into All the World: The Growth and Development of Mormon Missionary Work*, edited by Reid L. Neilson and Fred E. Woods (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 2012), 65–90.
12. For how earliest Latter-day Saints fashioned a missionary concept, see David Golding, "The Foundations and Early Development of Mormon Mission Theory" (Master's thesis, Claremont Graduate University, 2010). For how their mission concepts compared with other North American missionaries of the time, see Steven C. Harper, "Missionaries in the American Marketplace: Mormon Proselyting in the 1830s," *Journal of Mormon History* 24, no. 2 (Fall 1998): 1–29; see also Rex Price Jr., "The Mormon Missionary of the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1991).

13. Bradley Kime, "Exhibiting Theology: James E. Talmage and Mormon Public Relations," *Journal of Mormon History* 40, no. 1 (Winter 2014), 209–210. See also Grant Underwood's classic study of early Mormon millenarianism, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993) and compare with Reid L. Neilson, *Exhibiting Mormonism: The Latter-day Saints and the 1893 Chicago World's Fair* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
14. I refer to *eschatology* and *soteriology* not in the strict theological sense but as general terms for bodies of ideas converging on the topic of the end of the world and the topic of salvation respectively. These bodies of ideas constitute mentalities that inform religious practices even when the missionaries themselves did not articulate much of an overt or systematic theology of the endtimes or theology of salvation.
15. Among the first instances of Joseph Smith appearing in the historical record is a prophetic revelation composed in 1829 (D&C 4) calling on supporters to "embark in the service of God." American newspapers reported evangelizers reaching audiences with proofsheets of the Book of Mormon in the northeastern United States and Canada before "Mormonite," "Mormon," and "Latter Day Saint" came into use and the book came off the press in 1830. Before Smith organized his first congregation in April 1830, he had composed other revelations that spelled out theological concepts of apostolic witness, missionary preaching, commissioning of elders, and basic tenets. See D&C 3–19; "Golden Bible," *The Palmyra Freeman* (August 11, 1829); Abner Cole in *The Reflector* (June 1, 1830); "Delusion," *The Geauga Gazette*, ca. November 23, 1830, reprinted in *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer* (December 7, 1830), transcription in Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996–2003), 3:275; "The Golden Bible," *Painesville Telegraph* (November 16, 1830), 3; "The Golden Bible," *Republican Advocate* (December 4, 1830). See also Larry C. Porter, "'The Field Is White Already to Harvest': Earliest Missionary Labors and the Book of Mormon," in *The Prophet Joseph: Essays on the Life and Mission of Joseph Smith*, edited by Larry C. Porter and Susan Easton Black (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988).
16. David J. Whittaker, "Mormon Administrative and Organizational History: A Source Essay," in *A Firm Foundation: Church Organization and Administration*, edited by David J. Whittaker and Arnold K. Garr (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 2011), 645. Other examples of this observation include R. Lanier Britsch, "By All Means: The Boldness of the Mormon Missionary Enterprise," Chap. 1 in Neilson and Woods, eds., *Go Ye into All the World*, 1; Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), s.v. "Missions."
17. Theologians trained in Christian missiology have long argued against the overextending of mission categories, what a few have termed the error of "panmissionism." Stephen Neill famously quipped, "If everything is mission, nothing is mission." David J. Bosch reiterated how the conflation of mission with Christianity at large in effect reduces the analytical value of mission as a category or phenomenon. (Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Mission Theology* [Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1991], 511; Stephen Neill, *Creative Tension* [London: Edinburgh House Press, 1959], 81; Walter Freytag, *Reden und Aufsätze*, 2 vols. [Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1961], 2:94.) This holds true for Mormon studies: areas of the Mormon experience that include worship practices, artistic performance, and family

life relate sometimes to mission but are examples of lifestyles not immediately or thoroughly informed by mission.

18. Spencer W. Kimball (1895–1985), twelfth president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, formulated the "threefold mission of the church": "to proclaim the gospel, to perfect the Saints, and to redeem the dead." Kimball's successor Thomas S. Monson (1927–2018) announced in 2009 the addition of a fourth element, "caring the for the poor and needy." (Spencer W. Kimball, Discourse, 4 April 1981, in *Official Report of the Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* [Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, annual], 3, italics removed in quotation; Kimball, Discourse, 3 April 1982, *Conference Report*, 3–5; Peggy Fletcher Stack, "New LDS Emphasis: Care for the Needy," *The Salt Lake Tribune* [December 9, 2009]; Dallin H. Oaks, "Introductory Message," Worldwide Leadership Training Meeting, February 2011, https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/broadcasts/article/worldwide-leadership-training/2011/02/introductory-message [archived at: https://perma.cc/4CDP-VTYG].)
19. See Whittaker, "Mormon Missiology"; Tancred I. King, "Missiology and Mormon Missions," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16, no. 4 (Winter 1983): 42–50.
20. A prominent example appears in the missionary training manual, *Preach My Gospel: A Guide to Missionary Service* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2004), especially "Lesson 1: The Message of the Restoration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ," 31–46.
21. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints maintains a central Missionary Department headquartered in Salt Lake City, Utah. Since the 1940s, an executive missionary committee and later the Missionary Department have produced lesson plans for missionaries that have consistently instructed the missionaries to present the visionary experiences of Joseph Smith to audiences as real events and to encourage listeners to pray for a spiritual witness of their authenticity. See Dennis A. Wright and Janine Gallagher Doot, "Missionary Materials and Methods: A Preliminary Study," Chap. 5 in Neilson and Woods, eds., *Go Ye into All the World*.
22. The most complete study of the Latter-day Saint custom of offering public testimonials of religious conviction in worship services is Carolyn G. Gilkey, "Verbal Performance in Mormon Worship Services" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1994). A church manual for members emphasizes Smith's first vision for confessing a complete "testimony," or faith conviction; compare "Joseph Smith" and "Testimony" in *True to the Faith: A Gospel Reference* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2004), 89–90, 178–80. See also *Preach My Gospel*, 31–46.
23. For scholarly examples, see Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Pres, 1985); Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992); James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992); Matthew Bowman, *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith* (New York: Random House, 2012). For a prominent devotional example, see Scott A. Hales, James Goldberg, Melissa Leilani Larson, Elizabeth Palmer Maki, Steven C. Harper, and Sherilyn Farnes, *The Standard of Truth*, Vol. 1 of *Saints: The Story of the Church of Jesus Christ in the Latter Days*, edited by Matthew J. Grow, Richard E. Turley Jr.,

Steven C. Harper, and Scott A. Hales (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2018).

24. Terryl L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 84–85.
25. For a history of Smith's encounters with Moroni, the translation process, and the publication of the Book of Mormon, see "Printer's Manuscript of the Book of Mormon," in *Printer's Manuscript of the Book of Mormon: 1 Nephi 1–Alma 35*, edited by Royal Skousen and Robin Scott Jensen, Vol. 3, Part 1 of the Revelations and Translations series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, edited by Ronald K. Esplin and Matthew J. Grow, facsimile ed. (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2015), xi–xxviii. For a comprehensive review of accounts of the translation by Joseph Smith's contemporaries, see John W. Welch, "The Miraculous Translation of the Book of Mormon," in *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations, 1820–1844*, edited by John W. Welch, 2nd ed. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2017), 79–227.
26. See Mark Lyman Staker, *Hearken, O Ye People: The Historical Setting of Joseph Smith's Ohio Revelations* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2009); Alexander Baugh, *A Call to Arms: The 1838 Mormon Defense of Northern Missouri* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2000); Stephen LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987); Leonard Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900*, new ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005); Brandon S. Plewe, ed., *Mapping Mormonism: An Atlas of Latter-day Saint History* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2012).
27. For a scholarly biography of Brigham Young, see John Turner, *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).
28. The historiography on Joseph Smith's doctrine and practice of polygamy contends against sparse contemporaneous sources, heavily biased secondhand and thirdhand sources, late reminiscences, innuendos, and allegations, and lacks consensus on precisely how Smith introduced plural marriage. For studies aiming for a strict and scholarly methodology, see Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A House Full of Females: Plural Marriage and Women's Rights in Early Mormonism, 1835–1870* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017); Benjamin E. Park, *Kingdom of Nauvoo: The Rise and Fall of a Religious Empire on the American Frontier* (New York: Liveright Publishing, 2020). For a thoroughly researched and sophisticated apologia, see Brian C. Hales, *Joseph Smith's Polygamy*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2013).
29. This rationale is delivered in the revelation articulating the design of plural marriage, "to prove you all as I did Abraham, and that I might require an offering at your hand by covenant and Sacrifice"; see Joseph Smith, "Revelation, 12 July 1843 [D&C 132]," Documents series, *JSP*. For an analysis of this revelation, see William Victor Smith, *Textual Studies of the Doctrine and Covenants: The Plural Marriage Revelation* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2018).
30. For a scholarly investigation of Utah polygamy, see Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840–1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001).
31. See Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina

Press, 2001); Edward Leo Lyman, *Finally Statehood! Utah's Struggles, 1849–1896* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2019).

32. On Latter-day Saint assimilation, see Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), esp. chapters 2–5; Neilson, *Exhibiting Mormonism*; J. B. Haws, *The Mormon Image in the American Mind: Fifty Years of Public Perception* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).
33. Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930*, 3rd ed. (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2012), 251–272; Gregory A. Prince and William Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005); Kahlile B. Mehr, Mark L. Grover, Reid L. Neilson, Donald Q. Cannon, and Grant Underwood, "Growth and Internationalization: The LDS Church since 1945," in *Excavating Mormon Pasts: The New Historiography of the Last Half Century*, edited by Lavina Fielding Anderson and Newell G. Bringhurst (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2004), 199–228; International Society, *The Challenge of Sharing Religious Beliefs in a Global Setting: International Society 10th Annual Conference* (Provo, Utah: David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, 2000).
34. For a more detailed discussion of these periods of Latter-day Saint mission history, see David Golding, "Gender and Missionary Work," Chap. 13 in *The Routledge Handbook of Mormonism and Gender*, edited by Amy Hoyt and Taylor G. Petrey, 169–186 (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 170–181.
35. Smith, "Revelation, 12 July 1843 [D&C 132]."
36. Golding, "Gender and Missionary Work," 170–181.
37. See Plewe, *Mapping Mormonism*.
38. Representative works that have entertained basic missiological questions include Reid L. Neilson, *Early Mormon Missionary Activities in Japan, 1901–1924* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2010); Dallin H. Oaks and Lance B. Wickman, "The Missionary Work of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," in *Sharing the Book: Religious Perspectives on the Rights and Wrongs of Proselytism*, edited by John Witte Jr. and Richard C. Martin (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999); King, "Missiology and Mormon Missions."
39. Most Latter-day Saints appear unaware of the term *missiology* and generally speak of *missionary work* or *missions* using in-group nomenclature: *mission* doubles as a geographically bounded ecclesiastical unit in which proselytizing activities are staffed and administered. No formal attention in any of the several missionary training centers is given to *missiology* per se, though extensive curricula receive ongoing development within these institutions. Mormon studies scholars have written on the Mormon mission subject for well over half a century and continue to use *missiology* as a catch-all for anything related to mission work, not a formal category of theology. The term has never appeared in a General Conference sermon or official church manual, including missionary guides and scripture indexes. For more on the idiosyncratic mission discourse within Mormonism, see John-Charles Duffy, "The New Missionary Discussions and the Future of Correlation," *Sunstone* 138 (September 2005): 28–39, 42–46. Serious studies of Latter-day Saint/Mormon theology have neglected *missiology* entirely; see Terryl L. Givens, *Wrestling the Angel: The Foundations of Mormon Thought; Cosmos, God, Humanity* (New York: Oxford

University Press, 2015); Terryl L. Givens, *Feeding the Flock: The Foundations of Mormon Thought; Church and Praxis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); Charles R. Harrell, *"This Is My Doctrine": The Development of Mormon Theology* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011).

40. Church President David O. McKay (1873–1970) made some overtures toward ecumenism, but his efforts never took hold; see Prince and Wright, *David O. McKay*, 106–123. Boyd K. Packer, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, publicly denounced ecumenism, insisting the theological position of the church precluded any recognition of outside religious authority: "We do not join associations of clergy or councils of churches. We keep our distance from the ecumenical movements. The restored gospel is the means by which Christians must ultimately be united." (Boyd K. Packer, Discourse, 6 October 1985, in *Conference Report*, 103–108.)
41. Other Christian mission organizations reciprocated the divide; not until January 2014 did the *World Christian Database* series and annual report in the *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* classify Latter-day Saint mission as something other than heterodox; see Todd M. Johnson and Peter F. Crossing, "Christianity 2014: Independent Christianity and Slum Dwellers," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 38, no. 1 (January 2014): 28–29; Ronald E. Bartholomew, "From the Margins to the Center: Latter-day Saint Integration in the Mission Studies Academy," Mormon History Association Annual Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2019, https://mormonhistoryassociation.org/past-conferences/2019-conference-audio.
42. Prominent examples include manuals *Preach My Gospel* and *Missionary Preparation: Student Manual, Religion 130* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2005); see also the numerous discourses, articles, and instructional materials on https://study.churchofjesuschrist.org for examples replete with proof-texting methods.
43. The original manuscript renders the passage differently: "for behold this is my work to my glory to the immortality & the eternal life of man" (Joseph Smith, "Old Testament Revision 1," p. 3, Revelations and Translations series, *JSP*).
44. Smith, "Old Testament Revision 1," p. 2.
45. See Jacob 4, 6; 3 Nephi 21:1–7, 29:1–5; Ether 4:17; 2 Nephi 26:15–17; Mormon 8:14–16. For a scholarly reading of the allegory of Jacob 5 and its surrounding text in the Book of Mormon, see Deidre Nicole Green, *Jacob: A Brief Theological Introduction* (Provo, Utah: Neal A. Maxwell Institute, 2020).
46. Golding, "Foundations and Early Development"; Richard Lyman Bushman, "The 'Little, Narrow Prison' of Language: The Rhetoric of Revelation," chap. 16 in *Believing History: Latter-day Saint Essays*, edited by Reid L. Neilson and Jed Woodworth (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 248–261.
47. Joseph Smith, "Revelation, 25 December 1832 [D&C 87]," in Revelation Book 2, pp. 32–33, Documents series, *JSP*; Joseph Smith, "Revelation, 27–28 December 1832 [D&C 88:1–126]," in Revelation Book 2, pp. 33–46, Documents series, *JSP*; Joseph Smith, Sermon, 29 September 1839, in "Journal, 1839," 12, Journals series, *JSP*.
48. E. Brooks Holifield, *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 39–55. See also Charles L. Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America* (Pasadena: William Carey

Library, 1976); R. Pierce Beaver, *Pioneers in Mission: The Early Missionary Ordination Sermons, Charges, and Instructions* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1966).

49. Joseph Smith, "Revelation, July 1828 [D&C 3]," in Revelation Book 1, pp. 1–2, Documents series, *JSP*; see also Joseph Smith Papers, "Revelation, July 1828 [D&C 3]: Historical Introduction," https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-july-1828-dc-3/1#historical-intro.
50. P. P. Pratt, *A Voice of Warning and Instruction to All People, Containing a Declaration of the Faith and Doctrine of the Church of the Latter Day Saints, Commonly Called Mormons* (New York: W. Sandford, 1837); B. Winchester, *Synopsis of the Holy Scriptures, and Concordance, In Which the Synonymous Passages Are Arranged Together* (Philadelphia: Benjamin Winchester, 1842); B. Winchester, *A History of the Priesthood from the Beginning of the World to the Present Time, Written in Defence of the Doctrine and Position of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Philadelphia: Brown, Bicking, and Guibert, 1843); Terryl L. Givens and Matthew J. Grow, *Parley P. Pratt: The Apostle Paul of Mormonism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 103–104.
51. Joseph Smith Papers, "Old Testament Revision 1: Historical Introduction," https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/old-testament-revision-1/1#historical-intro.
52. See D&C 35–40, 42, 51–61, 96, 101, 103–104.
53. Neilson, *Early Mormon Missionary Activities in Japan*, 122.
54. Golding, "Foundations and Early Development," 68–70.
55. This argument is developed in the Book of Mormon; see 2 Nephi 31.
56. Brian Q. Cannon and *BYU Studies* Staff, "The Earliest Accounts of the Restoration of the Priesthood," in Welch, ed., *Opening the Heavens*, 229–279; "Joseph Smith Documents Dating through June 1831," Documents series, *JSP*, https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/doc/introduction-to-documents-volume-1-july-1828-june-1831.
57. David J. Whittaker, "The 'Articles of Faith' in Early Mormon Literature and Thought," in *New Views of Mormon History*, edited by Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 63–92.
58. Emily Conroy-Krutz, *Christian Imperialism: Converting the World in the Early American Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 19–50.
59. Jonathan A. Stapley, *The Power of Godliness: Mormon Liturgy and Cosmology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 6; Gary Shepherd and Gordon Shepherd, *Binding Earth and Heaven: Patriarchal Blessings in the Prophetic Development of Early Mormonism* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012); see also Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018); Matthew L. Harris, "Mormons and Lineage: The Complicated History of Blacks and Patriarchal Blessings, 1830–2018," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 51, no. 3 (Fall 2018): 83–130.
60. See, for example, Neilson, *Early Mormon Missionary Activities in Japan*.
61. Joseph B. Keeler, J. William Knight, and Amos N. Merrill, "Local Missionary Work," *Improvement Era* 15, no. 4 (February 1912): 377–378.
62. Hugh J. Cannon, *To the Peripheries of Mormondom: The Apostolic Around-the-World Journey of David O. McKay, 1920–1921*, edited by Reid L. Neilson (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011).

63. Golding, "Gender and Missionary Work," 175.
64. "The Church and Its Missions," chap. 11 in Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*; see also Franklin J. Murdock, Oral History, 1973, OH 89, *CHL*; Edwin (Ned) C. Winder, Oral History, 1974, OH 68, *CHL*.
65. Joseph Smith, Remarks, 27 February 1835, in Record of the Twelve, 14 February–28 August 1835, p. 3, Administrative Records series, *JSP*. See also Blair G. Van Dyke and LaMar C. Berrett, "In the Footsteps of Orson Hyde: Subsequent Dedications of the Holy Land," *BYU Studies* 47, no. 1 (2008): 57–93; James A. Toronto and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, "The LDS Church in Italy: The 1966 Rededication by Elder Ezra Taft Benson," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (2012): 83–100.
66. Whittaker, "Mormon Administrative and Organizational History"; Kahlile Mehr, "Area Supervision: Administration of the Worldwide Church, 1960–2000," *Journal of Mormon History* 27, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 192–214.
67. *Missionary Standards for Disciples of Jesus Christ* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2019), 2.1, https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/manual/missionary-standards-for-disciples-of-jesus-christ/2-missionary-organization-and-activities; R. Lanier Britsch, "Missions and Missionary Administration and Organization," chap. 27 in *A Firm Foundation: Church Organization and Administration*, edited by David J. Whittaker and Arnold K. Garr (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 2011), 595–610.
68. *Missionary Standards*, 6.2; Plewe, ed., *Mapping Mormonism*, s.v., "Missionary Work, 1900–Present"; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Latter-day Saint Missionary Assignments Go Online," news release, September 5, 2018,https://newsroom.churchofjesuschrist.org/article/latter-day-saint-missionary-assignments-go-online (archived at:https://perma.cc/7AA5-P8LZ). Many missionary candidates publish online videos of opening their calls and reading the letter to family and friends; such videos are often posted with "mission call" and "opening mission call" in the title.
69. Derek R. Sainsbury, *Storming the Nation: The Unknown Contributions of Joseph Smith's Political Missionaries* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 2020); Margaret C. Robertson, "The Campaign and the Kingdom: The Activities of the Electioneers in Joseph Smith's Presidential Campaign," *BYU Studies* 39, no. 3 (2000): 147–180.
70. Richard H. Jackson, "Geography and Settlement in the Intermountain West: Creating an American Mecca," *Journal of the West* 33, no. 3 (July 1994): 22–34; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*.
71. Van Evans, Daniel W. Curtis, and Ram A. Cnaan, "Volunteering among Latter-Day Saints," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 52, no. 4 (December 2013): 827–841; Roy B. Huff, "Perceived and Real Barriers for Prospective LDS Senior Missionaries" (Ph.D. diss., University of Idaho, 2001); Po Nien (Felipe) Chou and Petra Chou, "CES Missionary Couples Serving around the World," *Religious Educator* 20, no. 3 (2019): 155–175; "Missionary Assignment Types," https://seniormissionary.churchofjesuschrist.org/srsite/catalog (archived at: https://perma.cc/9XC5-NTH6).
72. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Facts and Statistics," https://newsroom.churchofjesuschrist.org/facts-and-statistics (archived at: https://perma.cc/JZY8-WH3B).

73. Joseph Smith, "Discourse, circa 19 July 1840, as Reported by Martha Jane Knowlton Coray–A," in Martha Jane Knowlton Coray, Notebook, ca. 1840–1844, pp. 12–18, Documents series, *JSP*; Armand L. Mauss, *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, "The Doctrinal and Commitment Functions of Patriarchal Blessings in Early Mormon Development, 1834–1835," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 80, no. 3 (September 2012): 718–749. The church preserves transcriptions of all Patriarchal blessings, but given the intimate nature of the blessing, the documents are restricted from the public. Relatives may request copies of deceased ancestors' blessings through the Church History Department. For examples of early Patriarchal blessings, see H. Michael Marquardt, comp. and ed., *Early Patriarchal Blessings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2007); H. Michael Marquardt, comp. and ed., *Later Patriarchal Blessings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2012).
74. Golding, "Gender and Missionary Work," 169.
75. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Missionary Program," https://newsroom.churchofjesuschrist.org/topic/missionary-program (archived at: https://perma.cc/DM5V-FR9T).
76. Resources available to researchers of present congregational growth and mission areas in the church include Matthew Martinich, ed., *Growth of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church)* (blog), https://ldschurchgrowth.blogspot.com; The Cumorah Project, http://cumorah.com; David G. Stewart Jr. and Matthew Martinich, *Reaching the Nations: International Church Growth Almanac*, 2014 ed., 2 vols. (Henderson, Nev.: Cumorah Foundation, 2013).
77. *Missionary Standards*, 2.2, 3.5.1
78. Prince and Wright, *David O. McKay*, 230–232.
79. Spencer W. Kimball, "When the World Will Be Converted," *Ensign* (October 1974): 3–11; Plewe, ed., *Mapping Mormonism*, s.v., "Missionary Work, 1900–Present."
80. Matthew McBride, "'Female Brethren': Gender Dynamics in a Newly Integrated Missionary Force, 1898–1915," *Journal of Mormon History* 44, no. 4 (Winter 2018): 40–67; Calvin S. Kunz, "A History of Female Missionary Activity in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1898" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1976).
81. Tania Rands Lyon and Mary Ann Shumway McFarland, "'Not Invited, But Welcome': The History and Impact of Church Policy on Sister Missionaries," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 36, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 72–101; Golding, "Gender and Missionary Work," 176–181.
82. Thomas S. Monson, "Welcome to Conference," *Ensign* (November 2012): 4–5; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Mormon Leaders Emphasize Missionary Work at Worldwide Broadcast," news release, June 23, 2013, https://newsroom.churchofjesuschrist.org/article/mormon-lmissionary-work-worldwide-broadcast; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Church Provides Additional Missionary Statistics," news release, April 5, 2014, https://newsroom.churchofjesuschrist.org/article/church-provides-additional-missionary-statistics.
83. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Hastening the Work of Salvation: A Unified Effort in Conversion, Retention, and Activation" (June 23, 2013),

https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/training/wwlt/2013/hastening/members-and-missionaries.

84. Gary Shepherd and Gordon Shepherd, *Mormon Passage: A Missionary Chronicle* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998).
85. Glen L. Rudd, *Pure Religion: The Story of Church Welfare since 1930* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1995); Glen L. Rudd, *Pure Religion Epilogue: The Story of Church Welfare from 1995 to 2010* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2011); Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "Helping Hands," Gospel Topics, https://churchofjesuschrist.org/topics/humanitarian-service/helping-hands; see also JustServe, https://justserve.org.
86. Three sections of the Doctrine and Covenants contain the core source texts of Joseph Smith's doctrine of baptism for the dead: D&C 124, 127, 128. On the theological impetus for the doctrine, see Samuel Morris Brown, *In Heaven as It Is on Earth: Joseph Smith and the Early Mormon Conquest of Death* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Alexander L. Baugh, "'For This Ordinance Belongeth to My House': The Practice of Baptism for the Dead Outside the Nauvoo Temple," *Mormon Historical Studies* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 47–58.
87. Jonathan A. Stapley, "Adoptive Sealing Ritual in Mormonism," *Journal of Mormon History* 37, no. 3 (Summer 2011), 59, 108–109; Wilford Woodruff and George Q. Cannon, "The Law of Adoption," *Deseret Weekly* (April 21, 1894), 543.
88. James B. Allen, Jessie L. Embry, and Kahlile B. Mehr, *Hearts Turned to the Fathers: A History of the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1894–1994* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Studies, 1995); Plewe, ed., *Mapping Mormonism*, s.v. "Genealogy, 1894–Present."
89. See David A. Hollinger, *Protestants Abroad: How Missionaries Tried to Change the World but Changed America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017).

Further Reading

Smith, Joseph. Discourse, 6 April 1837. In "Anniversary of the Church of Latter Day Saints." *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 3 (April 1837): 487–488. Documents series, Joseph Smith Papers, josephsmithpapers.org.

Bowman, Matthew. *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith.* New York: Random House, 2012.

Whittaker, David J. "Mormon Missiology: An Introduction and Guide to the Sources." Chapter 18 in *The Disciple as Witness: Essays on Latter-day Saint History and Doctrine in Honor of Richard Lloyd Anderson*, edited by Stephen D. Ricks, Donald W. Parry, and Andrew H. Hedges. Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2000.

Neilson, Reid L., and Fred E. Woods, eds. *Go Ye into All the World: The Growth and Development of Mormon Missionary Work.* Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 2012.

Plewe, Brandon S., ed. *Mapping Mormonism: An Atlas of Latter-day Saint History.* 2nd ed. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2014.