

Rumor Has It: The Ghosting of Madame Mountford

Ninety-year-old Wilford Woodruff was enchanted. At five feet six inches tall, Woodruff tipped his head back as he gazed up at this buxom, six-foot-tall Russian woman from Jerusalem. Newspaper reporters described Madame Lydia Mary Olive Mamreoff Von Finkelstein Mountford as a “blonde of Amazonian proportions with a gait and manner that any tragedy queen might envy.”¹ Woodruff attended Mountford’s first biblical panorama, in Salt Lake City, on 7 February 1897, and never missed a performance after his initial experience. He described the live action gospel performances as “the Most interesting of Any I Attended on the Holy Land and upon all that was spoken by the savior.”² Through her dynamic and dramatic reenactments of biblical scenes from the life of Jesus Christ, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (CJCLDS) filled the tabernacle daily for three weeks to imbibe in this “celebrity revivalist’s” promise to reveal hidden biblical meanings and messages.³

Madame Mountford’s traveling sermons paralleled other late nineteenth century American female itinerant preachers revitalizing a lost legacy of traveling women religionists. However, “the Madame” (as she preferred to be called) was unique among her traveling preacher sisters in that she claimed to be a native Palestinian so gained notoriety for her panoramic performance which promised authenticity and relatability. Mountford also didn’t want to be tied

¹ Thomas G. Alexander. *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet*. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993). 23, 325.; “Madam Von Finkelstein Mountford.” *The Young Woman's Journal*. Salt Lake City. June 1897. Vol. 08, No 9. BYU Library Digital Collections. BX 8605.1. Yo84.; As quoted in Burke O. Long. *Imagining the Holy Land: Maps, Models, and Fantasy Travels*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003). An Australian reporter gave this “Amazonian” description of Mountford.

² Wilford Woodruff. “February 8, 1897.” *Wilford Woodruff Papers*. <https://wilfordwoodruffpapers.org/>. Accessed April 13, 2024.

³ The audience ranged from nine to ten thousand people for each nightly performance. “Madame Lydia von F. Mountford,” Salt Lake City, Utah. *Relief Society Magazine* 8 (Feb. 1921). 71.; Leah Payne. “‘Pants Don’t Make Preachers’: Fashion and Gender Construction in Late-Nineteenth-and Early-Twentieth-Century American Revivalism.” *Fashion Theory*. 2015. 19:1. 84.

down to one denomination as it would limit “her world-sphere” and “influence in lecture and literary opportunities.”⁴ Capitalizing on a growing public fascination for “Holy Land theater,” Mountford reenacted biblical passages with a costumed acting troop.⁵ Her dramatic performances made the Bible come alive and appealed to the aspiring American middle class who wanted a taste of the Holy Land but couldn’t or didn’t want to travel the distance.⁶ Mountford conveyed “rhetorically powerful” performances which cultivated a “mystical moment of connection to God” through experiential biblical interpretation.⁷

Mountford’s religious enthusiasm directly connected with Mormon culture, in the late nineteenth century, and set the tone for a three-decade long relationship. Though quickly inserting herself into the elite Mormon social, religious, and academic circles, Mountford’s intimacy with CJCLDS leadership is hazed over by rumor and ambiguity. Many scholars have focused on a possible post manifesto plural marriage between Mountford and Wilford Woodruff but ignored the Madame’s career as a traveling “religious spectacle” lecturer. Mountford’s lectures lie in a relatively unexplored subset of itinerant female preachers who attempted to connect pious middle-class Americans to a growing fascination of the Holy Land through dramatic biblical demonstrations. While the Madame fulfilled her self-proclaimed divine calling through a costumed, live interpretation of the Bible, her connection to the Church of Jesus Christ

⁴ “Lydia Mountford to Benjamin Cluff, June 29, 1897.” UA 1093 Series, 10 Item 371, Box: 4, Folder: 3. Office of the President correspondence, UA 1093. L. Tom Perry Special Collections. Brigham Young. 8.

⁵ Lydia Mamreoff Von Finkelstein Mountford. *The Life Sketch of Lydia Mamreoff von Finkelstein (Madame Mountford)*. (D.C., 1908.) *Susa Young Gates Papers*, circa 1870-1933. General Correspondence. Church History Library.; Burke O. Long. *Imagining the Holy Land*. 20.

⁶ Burke O. Long. *Imagining the Holy Land*. 46.

⁷ As quoted in Lisa Dawn Zimmerelli. *A Genre of Defense: Hybridity in Nineteenth-Century Women’s Defenses of Women’s Preaching*. Dissertation. (College Park: University of Maryland, 2009). 82.; As quoted in Catherine A. Brekus. *Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). 143.

of Latter-day Saints Utah elite left behind a cryptic puzzle of unrealized expectations, unpaid invoices, and evaporated friendships.⁸

Women in Religious Leadership

In the mid nineteenth century, as peripheral American religions became more institutionalized and respectable, women's religious preaching efforts, participation opportunities became increasingly marginalized. In order to fulfill a desire for religious participation in the United States, evangelical women were socially forced to give up itinerant circuit routes to seek alternative methods of serving God, like being a minister's wife.⁹ As female associations and accompanying societal influence swelled in the late nineteenth century, the ideal of womanhood changed from "homebound domesticity" to "the educated 'New' woman" who "was committed to 'willing, thinking, and doing.'"¹⁰ This new landscape of women ideologies "bespoke female empowerment and agency," which revived the legacy of female religious preaching.¹¹

This expanded spiritual sphere offered women, who were driven by a "fierce religious conviction and sense of calling," an opportunity for increased religious participation and set the stage for twenty-two-year-old Lydia Mary Olive Mamreoff Von Finkelstein.¹² Born in Christ Church, Jerusalem, Lydia was the youngest of five children born to Constantine and Maria Mamreoff Von Finkelstein.¹³ Though Lydia's parents lived in Russia, they became religious

⁸ As quoted in "Born in Jerusalem." *Washington Star*. Washington, D.C. March 12, 1909. Church Archives. MS 2824. Folder 7. Page 2.

⁹ Catherine A. Brekus. *Female Preaching in America*. 300.

¹⁰ As quoted in Leah Payne. "'Pants Don't Make Preachers.'" 85.; Louis Billington. "'Female Laborers in the Church': Women Preachers in the Northeastern United States, 1790-1840." *Journal of American Studies*. Vol; 19, No 3. Dec 1985. 378.

¹¹ "Historical and Archaeological Perspectives on Gender Transformations: From Private to Public." Edited Suzanne M. Spencer Wood. (Rochester: Springer, 2013). 238.; Louis Billington. "'Female Laborers in the Church.'" 378.; Leah Payne. "'Pants Don't Make Preachers.'" 84-85.

¹² "Historical and Archaeological Perspectives." Edited Suzanne M. Spencer Wood. 84-85.

¹³ Lydia's parents are listed on the Von Finkelstein's marriage certificate to Charles Mountford. "India Marriages, 1792-1948." *FamilySearch*. <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:FGNL-F7N>. Accessed April 4, 2024.; Lydia

exiles to Palestine and tried to revive and recreate their believed Melchizedek and Abrahamic heritage.¹⁴ Constantine and Maria cultivated a devout Biblical home environment while directing a religious center which entertained pilgrims, merchants, and missionaries.¹⁵ In 1840, the Mamreoff Von Finklestein's hosted Mormon missionary Orson Hyde who taught Constantine about Joseph Smith Jr. and the "golden Bible."¹⁶ Though the family was part of the Doohovnogee Christianie, or Spiritual Christians in the Jerusalem Protestant community,¹⁷ eight-year-old Lydia was Christened on July 7, 1855 in the Episcopal church.

After Constantine died of Asiatic fever in 1858, Maria Mamreoff Von Finklestein employed a "Mahometan" female companion for Lydia. This nanny taught Lydia indigenous knowledge, customs, and "the religious life of the Oriental."¹⁸ As the family often encountered multiple nationalities through their religious center, each family member spoke Arabic, Russian, English, French, and German.¹⁹ Because of their multi-lingual skills, the Von Finklestein brothers, B.A. and Peter, were employed at the American Embassy. B.A. eventually became a private secretary to United States Secretary of State William H. Seward, and both B.A. and Peter

Mamreoff von Finckelstine Mountford. *The Life Sketch of Lydia Mamreoff Von Finkelstein (Madame Mountford)*. 24.

¹⁴ "Madame Lydia von F. Mountford, " *Relief Society Magazine*. Salt Lake City, UT. 8 (Feb. 1921). 74.

¹⁵ Mr. Mamreoff was only able to open a Christian religious center after obtaining a firman or charter from the Jerusalem Turkish authority Sultan Abd II Majid in 1840. Anna F. Mamreov. "Orientalism of Biblical Records." *Susa Young Gates Papers, circa 1870-1933*. General Correspondence. Church History Library.; Lydia Mamreoff von Finckelstine Mountford. *The Life Sketch of Lydia Mamreoff*. 29.

¹⁶ "Madam Von Finkelstein Mountford." *The Young Woman's Journal*. Salt Lake City. June 1897. Vol. 08, No 9.; "Madame Lydia von F. Mountford, " *Relief Society Magazine*. Salt Lake City, UT. 8 (Feb. 1921). 72.; "Dedication of the Holy Land." *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*.

<https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/history/topics/dedication-of-the-holy-land?lang=eng>. Accessed 4/15/2024.

¹⁷ "What Women Say and Do." *New York Tribune*. Sept 24, 1899. Susa Young Gates papers, circa 1870-1933; General Correspondence; Alphabetical Subject Files; Mountford, Lydia M. von Finkelstein, 1897-1920, Church History Library. 2.

¹⁸ "What Women Say and Do." *New York Tribune*. Sept 24, 1899. 2.

¹⁹ "Madame Mountford." *The Woman's Exponent*, Salt Lake City. Feb 2, 1914. Vol. 41 no. 14.

followed Seward to New York City to permanently relocate to the United States, and the rest of the family followed the brothers to America in 1870.²⁰

After arriving in New York, Lydia Mamreoff Von Finklestein began taking courses at Binghamton College while also publishing religious articles for the *New York Independent*, *Harper's Young People*, *N. Y. Observer*, and *Christian Advocate*.²¹ After her print culture articles gained some prominence, a Sunday school class at Cooper Union Course invited Von Finkelstein to give a lecture on Palestine. Mountford dressed up in some scarves and a headdress, and upon arrival to the church, she realized the address had been advertised in the newspaper and the building was full of eager listeners.²² Coincidentally, American clergyman, Henry Ward Beecher was in the audience and invited Von Finkelstein to perform a lecture series for his own congregation at Plymouth Congregational Church in Brooklyn. Beecher supported and encouraged Von Finkelstein to make these biblical performances her life's work.²³ "She conveyed this gnostic sense in part by embellishing biblical stories with personal experiences and comments on Palestinian customs and by contextual references to obscure familial lineages and word derivations" to make biblical stories tangible.²⁴ Jerusalem was viewed as a place of divine holiness that would bring religionists closer to biblical principles and cultivated what John Kirtland Wright phrased as "geopiety."²⁵ American Christian's "wished to see and experience all the Palestine could offer. They were interested in everything: the country's geography, history, architecture, and people."²⁶

²⁰ "Madame Lydia von F. Mountford," *Relief Society Magazine*. 8 (Feb. 1921). 74-75.; Lydia Mamreoff von Finkelstein Mountford. *The Life Sketch of Lydia Mamreoff*. 36.

²¹ Lydia Mamreoff Von Finkelstein Mountford. *The Life Sketch*. 38.; Thomas G. Alexander. *Things in Heaven and Earth*. 324.

²² "Madam Von Finkelstein Mountford." *The Young Woman's Journal*. Salt Lake City. June 1897. Vol. 08, No 9.

²³ "Madame Lydia von F. Mountford," *Relief Society Magazine*. 8 (Feb. 1921). 75.; "Madam Von Finkelstein Mountford." *The Young Woman's Journal*. Salt Lake City. June 1897.

²⁴ Thomas G. Alexander. *Things in Heaven and Earth*. 325.

²⁵ Isaam Nassar. "In Their Image: Jerusalem in Nineteenth-Century English Travel Narratives." *Jerusalem Quarterly*. Institute of Palestinian Studies. Issue 19. 2003. 9.; As quoted in Glenda Abramson. "Two Nineteenth-Century Travellers to the Holy Land." *Israel Affairs*. Vol 8, No 3. (Spring 2002). 69.

²⁶ Doron Bar; Kobi Cohen-Hattab. "The New Kind of Pilgrimage: The Modern Tourist Pilgrim of Nineteenth-Century and Early Twentieth-Century Palestine." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol 39, No 2. April 2003. 133.

Von Finklestein's presented herself as "Jewish in knowledge and custom, but perfected in Christianity," and her native knowledge of Palestine and claim to noble Russian and priestly biblical lineage instantly endeared herself to the American aspiring middle class seeking Christian authenticity and Holy Land tangibility.²⁷ Von Finklestein reenactment of Biblical scenes helped religious Americans perform a type of pilgrimage that combined sacred history with Christian experience which summoned "energizing fantasy" of the exotic Orient that was both remote and familiar.²⁸ At one of the Brooklyn performances, James E. Talmage witnessed Von Finklestein's lecture. Talmage, a professor at Brigham Young Academy in Provo, Utah, approached Von Finklestein and invited her to lecture in Salt Lake City and stated, "Let this always be your life work, for you can do more towards illuminating the Bible than all we preachers can do with our theology. I have learned and understood this evening more of the true meaning of the Bible text than I did in all my university course."²⁹

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, biblical entertainment became the pinnacle experience of all religionists who wanted an authentic understanding of biblical text. After an 1863 sojourn to Jerusalem, John Heyl Vincent became convinced that intimate knowledge of Palestine was a basic tenet to "Christian morals and salvation."³⁰ In partnership with Lewis Miller, the two men founded the Chautauqua Assembly in New York state where serious scholars could become connected to Biblical understanding.³¹ The Assembly soon created satellite campuses around the United States and enlisted clergy, biblical scholars, and traveling artists to convey, teach and demonstrate biblical knowledge, languages, and ideas. For Americans, the Chautauqua Assembly's

²⁷ As quoted in Burke O. Long. *Imagining the Holy Land*. 24, 46.

²⁸ Isaam Nassar. "In Their Image." 14.; Doron Bar; Kobi Cohen-Hattab. "The New Kind of Pilgrimage." 134.; Burke O. Long. *Imagining the Holy Land*. 20.

²⁹ "Madame Mountford." *Capital*. Annapolis, Md. May 15, 1909. Church Archives. MS 2824. Folder 7. Page 2.; Thomas G. Alexander. *Things in Heaven and Earth*. 325.

³⁰ Burke O. Long. *Imagining the Holy Land*. 11.

³¹ Burke O. Long. *Imagining the Holy Land*. 12.

efforts nurtured an already “lively consciousness” of the Holy Land and “indulged a flair for ritual, celebrated unabashed patriotism, and read the Bible as the privileged book of American (Christian civilization).”³²

Historian Burke O. Long argues that Von Finkelstein’s performances made the Holy Land experience feel realistic and “reaffirmed the cultural identities of a specific band of middle-class Americans. Holy Lands were good for business and good for religion.”³³ Lydia Von Finklestein’s magnetic charisma capitalized and monetized the Christian population’s infatuation with the Holy Land.³⁴ Lydia’s refined and gentle mannerisms combined with a low and full voice exemplified her oratorical skills—nearly six feet tall and “portly” with long titian colored hair piled at the crown of her head—created an imposing and commanding on-stage persona.³⁵ In 1883, Lydia and her brother, Peter, performed a biblical lecture to a Methodist utopian village in Ocean Grove, New Jersey. The Von Finkelsteins, with thirty costumed attendants, presented themselves as native Palestinians and made biblical text “come thrillingly alive.”³⁶ After initial lecture successes, the Chautauqua Assembly retained Lydia Von Finklestein to perform throughout the international “[circuit] of religious spectacle.”³⁷

While performing in Bengal, India, Lydia met, widower, Charles Edwin Mountford and the couple married on 3 February 1890.³⁸ The Mountfords continued on with Mrs. Mountford’s

³² Burke O. Long. *Imagining the Holy Land*. 14.

³³ Burke O. Long. *Imagining the Holy Land*. 86.

³⁴ Lisa Dawn Zimmerelli. *A Genre of Defense*. 98.

³⁵ “Historical Department Journal History of the Church, February 7, 1897.” CR 100 142. *Church History Library*. 164.; “Madam Von Finkelstein Mountford.” *The Young Woman’s Journal*. Salt Lake City. June 1897.; “Madam Mountford.” *The Woman’s Exponent*. Salt Lake City. Oct 15, 1897. Vol. 26 no. 10. BYU Digital Collections.

³⁶ Burke O. Long. *Imagining the Holy Land*. 24.

³⁷ “Madam Von Finkelstein Mountford.” *The Young Woman’s Journal*. Salt Lake City, UT. June 1897. Vol. 08: 9.; “Madame Mountford’s (Lydia Mamreoff Von Finklestein) “\$50,000 Oriental Collection for the American University.” June 1909 Volume XVI, No 1. *The American University Courier Newsletter*. Washington, DC. Susa Young Gates papers, circa 1870-1933 General Correspondence. Church History Library.; Thomas G. Alexander. *Things in Heaven and Earth*. 325.; “Anna F. Mamreov to Charles Johnson, 12 April 1919.” Susa Young Gates papers, circa 1870-1933. Church History Library, <https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets/29cd8d87-0162-4959-87b0-c50d18150baa/0/0?lang=eng>. (Accessed: April 23, 2024). 1.

³⁸ “India Marriages, 1792-1948.” *FamilySearch*. <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:FGNL-F7N..>

preaching circuit throughout the United States where she gave birth to a stillborn son in Washington, D.C. in 1893.³⁹ Shortly after the death of their child, Charles became ill, returned to England, and died in a sanitarium.⁴⁰ Madame Mountford continued on with her performance schedule and devoted her energies in accordance with her divine calling “to make the Bible a living book instead of one which is merely read.”⁴¹

Madame Mountford arrived in the Great Basin, roughly fifteen years after James Talmage’s initial invitation to speak in Salt Lake City. Starting in early February, Madame and thirty Salt Lake City residents performed a nightly two-hour demonstration over a period of three weeks. The first performance was “Bethlehem to Calvary” depicting the life of Christ; the next night “Village Life in Palestine” depicting scenery and an Oriental pastoral life; Tuesday night, “City Life in Jerusalem,” gave listeners insight into the culture with biblical history woven through the narrative, and the last performance, “The Bedouins,” gave an example of an encampment with smells, languages and viewpoints that were engagingly foreign to the audience. Each performance was filled with song, live animals, and “native costumes.”⁴² The newspapers and journal accounts describe the performances as demonstrating

“[t]he unknown and mysterious phase of Oriental thought and life still exists amongst the natives in Palestine and Madame Mountford grew up amidst such surroundings, unconsciously drinking in knowledge and wisdom. At this perennial fountain of living waters, she became imbued with the hidden life of the people as it revealed to her a means to verify the statements made in the Bible outside the written word itself.”⁴³

³⁹ "Madame Lydia von F. Mountford," *Relief Society Magazine* 8 (Feb. 1921). 74.; "Lydia Mary Von Finklestein Mamreoff Woodruff." *Familysearch.org*. <https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/details/KGMB-FR8>. Accessed April 5, 2024.

⁴⁰ "Madame Lydia von F. Mountford," *Relief Society Magazine*. 8 (Feb. 1921). 76.

⁴¹ As quoted in "Born in Jerusalem." *Washington Star*. Washington, D.C. March 12, 1909. 2.

⁴² "Living Pictures of the Holy Land." *The Woman's Exponent*. Salt Lake City. Feb 15, 1897, and March 1, 1897, Vol. 25 no. 16-17. 108-109.

⁴³ "Hidden Life in Modern Palestine: Madame Mountford." *National Chautauqua Bureau Program*. Cleveland, Ohio. Susa Young Gates papers, circa 1870-1933. General Correspondence. Church History Library. MS 7692. 2.

National and regional newspapers praised the Madame's dramatic style as "clear, comprehensive, instructive and entertaining."⁴⁴ The performances grew in popularity with each succeeding lecture and Mountford planned a grand tour throughout the Utah Territory.

Drawing on the popularity of religious tourism, Mountford magnanimously asserted, "You cannot go to Jerusalem, so Jerusalem comes to you. To American energy all things are possible."⁴⁵ The Utah population heartily agreed and endorsed the performances. Mountford's genetic claim of descent from biblical leaders like Melchisedek and Ephraim fascinated early Mormons as it connected her to their belief system of Melchisedek priesthood keys and the lost tribes of Israel. Chief among the Madame's admirers was Mormon Prophet, Wilford Woodruff, who was fascinated by the mysterious traveler.⁴⁶ With Mountford's professed connectivity to Mormon liturgy and Woodruff's public endorsement of her performances, the Madame moved easily through Mormon elite circles. Madame Mountford was soon corresponding frequently with President Wilford Woodruff, Susa Young Gates, and Brigham Young Academy (BYA) President, Benjamin Cluff, became her professional agent for Utah performance bookings.

The Madame vacationed with Woodruff, he gave her money on several occasions, and the Mormon women's magazine, *The Relief Society Magazine*, reported Mountford's baptismal conversion into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1897.⁴⁷ The performers increased intimacy with Mormon leadership became a source of rumor and speculation which drew criticism from church leaders such as Anthon H. Lund and Woodruff's private secretary L. John Nutall. Lund was skeptical of the veracity of Mountford's background and lack of having a

⁴⁴ Ibid. 2.

⁴⁵ Burke O. Long. *Imagining the Holy Land*. 4.

⁴⁶ As quoted in Thomas G. Alexander. *Things in Heaven and Earth*. 325.

⁴⁷ This discusses one of the occasions where Woodruff loaned Mountford money and one of the many times Nutall and Woodruff discussed Mountford. Wilford Woodruff. "July 7, 1897." *Wilford Woodruff Papers*. <https://wilfordwoodruffpapers.org/>. Accessed April 5, 2024.; "Madame Lydia von F. Mountford," *Relief Society Magazine*. 8 (Feb. 1921). 76.

“scintilla of foreign dialect,” but appreciated the Madame’s public defense of the church and her assistance to Lund and Ferdinand Hintze’s later efforts to acquire land in Palestine.⁴⁸ However, lingering suspicions were reinforced by a Mountford initiated 1897 slander suit against Provo photographer, Adam Anderson.

In March 1897, Anderson asserted that the Madame had defecated in the central washbasin of his Provo studio. Mountford vociferously denied the accusation, but after Anderson’s tale started to circulate throughout Provo and Salt Lake City societies, Lydia’s Utah tour was suddenly cancelled, she borrowed \$200 from Wilford Woodruff, and fled to San Francisco.⁴⁹ During this time, Mountford and Cluff shared several letters. On 5 May 1897, Mountford writes Cluff twice from California. The first letter discusses a possible teaching position for her at the BYA, and the second letter states that she received a box of photographs from Anderson as “pay upon delivery.” The Madame was incensed because she had already met with Anderson and told him she would pay him, eventually, reminded Cluff that he was her financial guarantor, and asserted the invoice was more than previously agreed upon.⁵⁰ Mountford also wrote Susa Gates on May 5, and hinted of an event that caused Mountford to leave Utah suddenly “for there were many things that transpired very unexpectedly after I left you, and I wished for your presence greatly” and when they meet again “I shall be able to tell you what I

⁴⁸ As quoted in Thomas G. Alexander. *Things in Heaven and Earth*. 325.; Letters from Hintze and newspaper reports discuss Mountford’s aid in the Palestinian land search through her networking connections-though nothing came of the search. “Madame Lydia von F. Mountford,” *Relief Society Magazine* 8 (Feb. 1921). 76.; “Ferdinand F. Hintze letters, 1898 June-November.” Nov 5, 1898. *First Presidency mission administration correspondence, 1877-1918*. Turkish Mission CR 1 174. Church History Library.

⁴⁹ *L.M. Mountford v. Adam Anderson*. 337 (4th Distr, Utah County, Utah, 1898). January 15, 1898.; “Legal Business.” *Deseret Evening News*. Salt Lake City, Utah. 1898-02-09. <https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6th9h16/1830799>. Wilford Woodruff. “July 29, 1897.” *Wilford Woodruff Papers*. <https://wilfordwoodruffpapers.org/>. Accessed April 13, 2024.

⁵⁰ “Lydia M. Von Finkelstein Mountford letter to Benjamin Cluff Jr., 3 May 1897, 27 May 1897.” UA 1093 Series, 10 Item 371, Box: 4, Folder: 3. *Office of the President correspondence*, UA 1093. L. Tom Perry Special Collections. Brigham Young University. https://archives.lib.byu.edu/repositories/17/archival_objects/279323. Accessed April 23, 2024. University Archives.

cannot write.”⁵¹ Mountford then does not write to Gates again for three months, whereas before and after this time period, letters were exchanged at least monthly.

Though the Madame paused in writing to Gates, Mountford continued a steady correspondence with Cluff throughout the next several months by both telegram and letter. Sometimes the letter was written on the back of a broadside advertisement or sent multiple telegrams in a day indicating Mountford’s increasing anxiety to communicate with Cluff. While Mountford continues to write Cluff at least bi-monthly, she starts to ask why Cluff is not communicating with her, expresses continued frustration with Anderson and assures Cluff that she promised to pay Anderson, at her convenience. The Madame also asks Cluff to arrange a lady’s maid for her and wanted to schedule additional speaking events throughout Utah. Mountford did not visit Utah again until she filed a defamation suit against Adam Anderson in December 1897, though she does continue to send Cluff invoices for her expenses.⁵²

Not coincidentally, Cluff received several letters regarding Mountford through the Autumn of 1897. Many of the letters declined any interest in participating in hosting the Madame’s performances. Then, in November 1897, Cluff receives a letter from L.F. Moench. The letter aptly expresses Utah’s societal censure of Mountford’s conduct. Moench believes he is “throwing” his money away advertising for Mountford’s performances, and that people are “swearing and cussing” regarding unpaid invoices from the Madame’s charged expenses.⁵³

Mountford had made several purchases of goods and services throughout Utah assuring vendors

⁵¹ “L.M. Mountford to Susa Young Gates-3 May 1897.” Susa Young Gates Papers. MS 7692. Church History Library. 4-5. <https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets/ffbc8fe0-fbf3-4dab-8fb7-27a7e530d3b1/0/4?lang=eng>. Accessed April 13, 2024.

⁵² “May 3, 1897.” *Susa Young Gates Papers circa 1870-1933*. General Correspondence. L. M. Mountford letter to Susa Young Gates. Church History Library.; “Lydia M. Von Finkelstein Mountford letter to Benjamin Cluff Jr.”

⁵³ “L.F. Moench letter to Benjamin Cluff Jr., 1 November 1897.” UA 1093 Series, 10 Item 371, Box: 4, Folder: 3. *Office of the President correspondence*, UA 1093. L. Tom Perry Special Collections. Brigham Young University. <https://cdm15999.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/univarch/id/9788>. Accessed April 23, 2024. University Archives.

she would pay them and then disappeared—Cluff’s reaction is not noted though his increased distancing from Mountford is a telling response.

In December 1897, the Madame arrived in Ogden, Utah and filed a defamation suit against Adam Anderson and claimed his slanderous rumor caused BYA to rescind invitations for the Madame to speak at the Academy causing reputational damage and \$10,000 in lost income.⁵⁴ Mountford also writes to Cluff to enclose more invoices for him to pay, and questions him whether she has bad timing or has “out stayed her welcome” in Utah because Cluff won’t meet with her.⁵⁵ The new year brought additional venue cancellations for the Madame’s performances. In response, Mountford wrote to Cluff and cancelled all current and future Utah performances because she was going back to England, where her art was appreciated. She also informed Cluff that, following his advice to just pay Adam Anderson, had advised John Nutall, Wilford Woodruff’s secretary, to remit payment. Graciously, she donated the photographic negatives to BYA.⁵⁶ By February 1898, the *Deseret Evening News* reported the court’s ruling on Mountford v Anderson in favor of the plaintiff. However, the award was only for the court costs of \$64.75, rather than Mountford’s asserted \$10,000 in financial damages.⁵⁷ Ironically, Adam’s photographic invoice was \$65.20.⁵⁸

Despite the difficulties in Utah, the Madame continued to regularly correspond with her Mormon friends, and her letters started to advocate for an educational institute in Palestine. She proposed the church partner with her in this venture by funding the expedition while she managed the Jerusalem institute. This proposal was regularly discussed between Mountford and

⁵⁴ *L.M. Mountford v. Adam Anderson*. 337 (4th Distr, Utah County, Utah, 1898).

⁵⁵ "Lydia M. Von Finkelstein Mountford letter to Benjamin Cluff Jr., 28 December 1897."

⁵⁶ "Lydia M. Von Finkelstein Mountford letter to Benjamin Cluff Jr., 13 January 1898."

⁵⁷ "Legal Business." *Deseret Evening News*. Salt Lake City, Utah. 1898-02-09.; "1896-1908; Plaintiffs and Defendants Book 3." *Utah government Division of Archives and Records Service*. Series 26112. Fourth District: Utah County. <https://images.archives.utah.gov/iiif/info/p17010coll51/1964/manifest.json>. Accessed March 16, 2024.

⁵⁸ "Lydia M. Von Finkelstein Mountford letter to Benjamin Cluff Jr., 12 July 1897."

Woodruff, Nutall, and Benjamin Cluff throughout 1897.⁵⁹ When Ferdinand Hintze and Anthon Lund traveled to Jerusalem in May 1898, Madame Mountford wrote to Susa Young Gates about a possible Girl's Institute of Education sponsored by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In this same letter to Susa, Lydia reaffirms her divine calling to lift all womankind up so that Zion could be cultivated in all lands of the Earth, and that Mormon women should support this cause by raising funds for the cause.⁶⁰ Madame couched the proposed educational institute in terms of the Church's failed missionary work and inability to acquire land in Jerusalem. "The total failure of the missionaries so far has been because they endeavored to sow the seed upon unprepared soil and therefore has been no practical result either physically or spiritually."⁶¹ Though this idea may have put some pressure on CJCLDS leaders to join in Mountford's venture, Wilford Woodruff died in September 1898 so nothing came from the Madame's proposals, and Mountford's letters to Utah paused for seven months. Though the Madame had asked Gates to not tell anyone of her Jerusalem based girls institute proposal, a year later, the *New York Tribune* reported Mountford's desires for a Palestinian school. However, her desire for the CJCLDS to fund the institute was not advertised beyond a few Mormon elite.⁶²

By 1899, communication with members of the LDS church started to fade, but fame continued to open opportunities for the Madame. As Lydia had been a delegate in the West Coast Women's Association in the Spring of 1897, Mountford was invited to be the Palestinian representative in the 1899 London International Congress of Women.⁶³ Similarly, the Mormon

⁵⁹ Mountford and Woodruff had been discussing financial assistance for her projects for several months. Wilford Woodruff. "August 11, 1897." *Wilford Woodruff Papers*. <https://wilfordwoodruffpapers.org/>. Accessed April 13, 2024.

⁶⁰ "Typewritten Copy of Mrs. Mountfords letter to S.Y.G. Susa Y. Gates, undated."

⁶¹ "Typewritten Copy of Mrs. Mountfords letter to S.Y.G. Susa Y. Gates, undated." 5.

⁶² "What Women Say and Do." *New York Tribune*. Sept 24, 1899.

⁶³ "What Women Say and Do." *New York Tribune*. Sept 24, 1899.

women's groups, the Relief Society and the Young Women's Association, were also asked to be representatives at the International Congress.⁶⁴ As Zina Young was the President of the Mormon Female Relief Society, she went to the 1899 Congress and Susa Young Gates traveled with "Aunt" Zina to London. Mountford wrote to Gates, in June of 1899, and arranged to meet up with the Mormon delegation in London for the Congress.⁶⁵ The International Congress of Women commenced meetings on July 7, 1899. Throughout the proceedings, Congressional leaders removed Mrs. Mountford as a delegate because she was not a permanent resident of Palestine.⁶⁶ While this seems reasonable, one wonders why the Congress did not consider this residential issue before inviting the woman to the event. It almost seems an excuse to remove the Madame from the proceedings and any future Congressional meetings.

After the London meetings, correspondence between the Madame and Mormon elite veritably ceased. Before the Women's Congress, the Gates family and Mountford were so close that Susa's son, Francis, regularly traveled with the Madame.⁶⁷ However, after the London Women's Congress, the sudden lack of communication between Mountford and Gates, indicates a catalyst of disenfranchisement. In fact, in a May 1901 letter, the Madame expressed surprise and regret that she had learned, from a third party, that Susa had been in New York and never

⁶⁴ *The International Council of Women Minutes*. Edited by the Countess of Aberdeen. (London: T. Fisher Unwin Paternoster Square, 1900.) 201. https://archive.org/stream/internationalco04womegoog/internationalco04womegoog_djvu.txt. Accessed April 13, 2024.

⁶⁵ "June 1899." *Susa Young Gates Papers circa 1870-1933*. General Correspondence. L. M. Mountford letter to Susa Young Gates. Church History Library.

⁶⁶ *The International Council of Women*. Edited by the Countess of Aberdeen. 201.

⁶⁷ Every one of Mountford's letters express missing "Frankie." "Madame Lydia von F. Mountford, " *Relief Society Magazine* 8 (Feb. 1921). 74.

contacted Mountford.⁶⁸ None of Susa Gates' correspondence, journals, or records indicate any intent or desire to reach out to the Madame.

Additionally, letters from Cluff to Mountford also stopped after 1899. In June of 1901, Mountford writes Cluff inquiring why he never responds to her and desires to once again be under his "guardianship" for lecture scheduling.⁶⁹ Later that month, acting Brigham Young Academy President, George Brimhall responds to Mountford's letter to Cluff and states that scheduling any future lectures is "a request the magnitude of which you certainly know not of," and refers Mountford to Mrs. Susa Gates as she schedules all special lectures for the Brigham Young Academy.⁷⁰ Whether an event occurred between Gates and Mountford at the London Woman's Congress, Woodruff's death cut off the flow of Mormon political capital for Mountford, or LDS society members became weary of waiting for promised remittance to unpaid bills, the decline in correspondence indicates that the Madame's Mormon friends were no longer invested in any relationship with the Madame.

While Lydia's letters continually express sadness about her diminished intimacy with Salt Lake City residents, she continued to push forward in her career trajectories. As plans started to accelerate for the St. Louis World's Fair and American geopiety continued to increase, "respected businessmen and clergy of St. Louis set out to replicate Jerusalem and fill it with their idea of an Oriental city—plus a little piety and entertainment."⁷¹ The World's fair committee charged Mountford with helping to create a Jerusalem exhibit that would celebrate "Jerusalem

⁶⁸ "May 7, 1899." *Susa Young Gates Papers circa 1870-1933*. General Correspondence. L. M. Mountford letter to Susa Young Gates. Church History Library.

⁶⁹ "Lydia M. Von Finkelstein Mountford letter to Benjamin Cluff Jr., 15 June 1901."

⁷⁰ "George H. Brimhall letter to Lydia M. Von Finkelstein Mountford, 29 June 1901." UA 1093 Series, 15 Item 332, Box: 7, Folder 2. *Office of the President correspondence*, UA 1093. L. Tom Perry Special Collections. Brigham Young University. <https://cdm15999.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/univarch/id/17690>. Accessed April 23, 2024. University Archives.

⁷¹ Burke O. Long. *Imagining the Holy Land*. 47.

[as] a religious educator and witness to the triumph of Christian civilization.”⁷² Mountford promptly contacted Charles Johnson, Mormon photographer and Susa Gates’ brother-in-law, and the two traveled to Jerusalem in 1903 to collect photographic images of the real Holy Land.⁷³ Mountford also took the opportunity to expand her collection of “Oriental” clothing which now contained “robes, draperies, and Oriental paraphernalia...They are of heavy linen, fine camels-hair and silks, most of which are heavily embroidered and inter-woven with gold, all done by the hands of the Oriental women of her country.” Mountford claimed the collection was worth more than \$25,000.⁷⁴

Mountford was so admired for her lectures and authentic perspective of Holy Land expertise she spoke at the World Fair’s opening ceremony. Her fusion of bible study and tourism at the fair simulated an Americanized pilgrimage thus furnishing a democratized religious journey.⁷⁵ The relationship between the Fair and Mountford was profitable and beneficial, but as Fair management priorities pivoted, the Madame grew disenchanted and removed her display.⁷⁶ After the fair, the Madame continued her lecture circuit activities until 1909 when she donated her Oriental collection to American University’s Museum in Washington, D.C.⁷⁷

However, the relationship between the American University Museum and Madame Mountford disintegrated quickly in 1915. Because of a dispute with the museum manager, the Madame threatened to remove the exhibit, and the University agreed she needed to remove her

⁷² Ibid. 50-51.

⁷³ Mary Katherine Campbell. "Exalted Bodies: Charles Ellis Johnson and the Practice of Mormon Photography." *Dissertation*. Stanford University, 2010. 21.

⁷⁴ "Madam Mountford." *The Woman's Exponent*. Salt Lake City. Oct 15, 1897.

⁷⁵ Mary Katherine Campbell. "Exalted Bodies: Charles Ellis Johnson and the Practice of Mormon Photography." 25.; Lydia Mamreoff von Finckelstine Mountford. *The Life Sketch*. 47-48.; Burke O. Long. *Imagining the Holy Land*. 4.

⁷⁶ Burke O. Long. *Imagining the Holy Land*. 66.

⁷⁷ "Madame Mountford's (Lydia Mamreoff Von Finklestein) \$50,000 Oriental Collection for the American University." June 1909 Volume XVI, No 1. *The American University Courier Newsletter*.

items. Mountford could not afford to pack up the display and told the University they could keep the collection if they marked it as a memorial to the Madam's legacy. American University declined.⁷⁸ The Madame then wrote her last letter to Susa Gates on August 19, 1915. The language of the letter seems downtrodden and discusses Mountford's personal, financial, and health difficulties, and pleads for Susa to arrange for the CJCLDS to purchase the collection and provide Lydia with an annual endowment.⁷⁹ If Gates replied to Mountford's August letter, her reaction and response are lost.

A few years after receiving the 1915 letter, Susa Gates contacted Charles Johnson making inquiries about Madame Mountford, her Oriental collection, and any Holy Land photographs. Eventually, Anna F. Mamreov, the Madame's sister, wrote to Johnson in April 1919 and gave details of Madame Mountford's last few years and location of the Mountford collection.⁸⁰ After the Madame's dispute with the American University Museum, Mountford took all of the collection that she could carry and moved to McDora, Florida for medical treatments in a sanitarium.⁸¹ After giving one of her Chautauqua Assembly lectures in the rain, Madame Lydia Mary Olive Mamreoff Von Finklestein Mountford died from pneumonia on March 22, 1917 in Lakeland, Florida. On the death certificate lists the Madame's occupation as a "Holy Land Messenger Lecturer."⁸²

⁷⁸ Anna F. Mamreov. "Letter to Mr. Johnson." Sep 5, 1917. Susa Young Gates papers, circa 1870-1933. General Correspondence. Church History Library. <https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets/55455180-7c70-4918-97f7-39ff9836625a/0/0?lang=eng>. Accessed: February 10, 2024. 2.

⁷⁹ Madame Lydia Mountford. "August 19, 1915." *Susa Young Gates papers, circa 1870-1933*.

⁸⁰ Anna F. Mamreov. "Letter to Mr. Johnson." Sep 5, 1917. 1-4.; "Anna F. Mamreov to Charles Johnson, 12 April 1919."

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid. "Lydia Mamreoff Von Finkelstein Mountford Death Certificate." *State Board of Health of Florida Bureau of Vital Statistics*. 1917. File no 3165., Image 168. FamilySearch.org.

As for the Madame's Oriental collection, Anna informs Johnson that, in order to satisfy outstanding debts, Mountford's estate sold the collection to Nanette B. Paul. Susa Gates and Paul shared several letters where Paul assured Gates that the Mountford collection would be used to continue the Madame's legacy of religious spectacle on the American lecture circuit.⁸³ Though Gates seemed invested in catching up with her old friend, it took almost four years for the news of Mountford's death to reach Salt Lake City, which continues to demonstrate the social disaffection between the Madame and Mormon society.

Conclusion

Madame Lydia Mary Olive Mamreoff Von Finkelstein Mountford knew what she wanted out of life and doggedly pursued her dreams of making the bible a book that was not just read but experienced. Madame Mountford used her elocution talents to fulfill her divine calling to educate and preach her religious beliefs. Though Relief Society publications continued to reprint newspaper articles that were highly effusive of Madame Mountford, it is unknown why correspondence between Mountford and Mormon contacts decline so quickly at the end of the nineteenth century. This pattern could be explained by a change in mutual priorities, a relationship that seemed unfulfilling to either or both parties, an undocumented falling out, or destroyed correspondence. Though the Madame found a like-minded community within Salt Lake City Mormon culture, rumors continually hindered her ability to truly settle, and Mountford's lackadaisical use of credit, and reliance on CJCLDS funds, left a bad taste in the mouth of Mormon society.

⁸³ "Nanette B. Paul letter to Susa Young Gates," November 8, 1920. *Susa Young Gates Papers*, Circa 1870-1933. General Correspondence. Church History Library.

Because of the Madame's charismatic and eccentric personality, scholars have tried to solidify details around this biblical entertainer, though much of the scholarship has surrounded a possible post-manifesto plural marriage between Lydia and Wilford Woodruff. However, after analyzing correspondence, journals, and travel entries, the evidence supporting the marriage conjecture is porous and nebulous. Wilford Woodruff's journals do mention Mountford or "M" many times. However, much of these entries are Mountford appearing at Church administration offices or Wilford receiving a letter from Lydia. Correspondence from Woodruff to Mountford seems to either be in response to a letter from the Madame or a letter to ask for intercession or assistance for Mormon leaders who were in Palestine while Mountford was also there. The correspondence or socialization between Wilford and Lydia is always in accompaniment with others or mitigated through a third party, usually John Nutall. The language and cadence Woodruff uses to describe the Madame is congenial but never with a sense of affection like Woodruff uses regarding his other wives or family members. While a possible marriage between Wilford Woodruff and Lydia Mountford is interesting, it is not founded on solid evidence.⁸⁴ I argue that because of Woodruff's personality and record keeping style combined with Mountford's natural ability for self-promotion, if a plural marriage happened between the two, it would have been widely documented.

Mountford, and her career, represent a niche in the biblical entertainment sector in the late nineteenth century. As Americans became entranced with the Holy Land, attending Mountford's performances allowed the audience to participate in a geopiety experience where

⁸⁴ It should be noted that Woodruff biographer, historian Thomas Alexander, asserts that while a marriage between Woodruff and Mountford was possible, a plural marriage connection while the two people were living, is unlikely. Thomas G. Alexander. *Things in Heaven and Earth.*; Wilford Woodruff. *Wilford Woodruff Papers*. <https://wilfordwoodruffpapers.org/>. Accessed April 13, 2024.; On the other hand, historian D. Michael Quinn thinks a post-manifesto marriage between Woodruff and Mountford is possible based on the location and situation. D. Michael Quinn. "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890-1904." *Dialogue Journal*. Volume 18 No 1, Spring 1985. <https://www.dialoguejournal.com/>. Accessed Feb 3, 2024.

the proxy pilgrims “emerged a different, better, more spiritual human being.”⁸⁵ However, after the first decade of the twentieth century, middle class religious tourism travel to Palestine was increasingly easy through better technology and increased accessibility. People no longer wanted to hear about the Holy Land, they wanted to physically experience a Christian Pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁸⁶ This decline in interest, caused Mountford’s success to decline quickly and left her destitute and health worn. After the Madame’s death, either from a guilty conscious or an honorific tribute, Susa Young Gates and Anthon Lund performed a proxy temple sealing between Madame Lydia Mountford and President Wilford Woodruff.⁸⁷ Though the Madame found disappointment and poverty at the end of her life, Susa Gates’ lived religion gave her hope that through proxy temple sealing and ordinances, Lydia could find happiness in the next life.

⁸⁵ Doron Bar; Kobi Cohen-Hattab. “The New Kind of Pilgrimage.” 134.

⁸⁶ Ibid. 131.

⁸⁷ Thomas G. Alexander. *Things in Heaven and Earth*. 327.

Bibliography

Primary

- “1896-1908; Plaintiffs and Defendants Book 3.” *Utah government Division of Archives and Records Service*. Series 26112. Fourth District: Utah County.
<https://images.archives.utah.gov/iiif/info/p17010coll51/1964/manifest.json>. Accessed March 16, 2024.
- “Anna F Mamreov to Charles Johnson, 5 Sep 1917,” *Susa Young Gates Papers* circa 1870-1933, General Correspondence, Church History Library.
- “Anna F. Mamreov to Charles Johnson, 12 April 1919.” *Susa Young Gates papers*, circa 1870-1933. Church History Library, <https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets/29cd8d87-0162-4959-87b0-c50d18150baa/0/0?lang=eng>. (Accessed: April 23, 2024).
- “August 11, 1897,” *Wilford Woodruff Papers*, <https://wilfordwoodruffpapers.org/>. Accessed April 5, 2024.
- “Born in Jerusalem,” *Washington Star*, Washington, D.C. March 12, 1909, Church Archives, MS 2824, Folder 7, Page 2.
- “Ferdinand F. Hintze letters, 1898 June-November,” Nov 5, 1898, *First Presidency Mission Administration Correspondence, 1877-1918*. Turkish Mission CR 1 174, Church History Library.
- “George H. Brimhall letter to Lydia M. Von Finkelstein Mountford, 29 June 1901.” UA 1093 Series, 15 Item 332, Box: 7, Folder 2. *Office of the President correspondence*, UA 1093. L. Tom Perry Special Collections. Brigham Young University.
<https://cdm15999.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/univarch/id/17690>. Accessed April 23, 2024. University Archives.

- "Hidden Life in Modern Palestine: Madame Mountford," *National Chautauqua Bureau Program*, Cleveland, Ohio, Susa Young Gates papers, circa 1870-1933, General Correspondence, Church History Library. MS 7692.
- "Historical Department Journal History of the Church, February 7, 1897," CR 100 142, *Church History Library*.
- "India Marriages, 1792-1948," *FamilySearch*. <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:FGNL-F7N>. Accessed April 4, 2024.
- "June 1899." *Susa Young Gates Papers circa 1870-1933*. General Correspondence. L. M. Mountford letter to Susa Young Gates. Church History Library.
- "Legal Business," *Deseret Evening News*, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1898-02-09.
<https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6th9h16/1830799>.
- "Living Pictures of the Holy Land," *The Woman's Exponent*, Salt Lake City. Feb 15, 1897 and March 1 1897, Vol. 25 no. 16-17.
- "L.F. Moench letter to Benjamin Cluff Jr., 1 November 1897." UA 1093 Series, 10 Item 371, Box: 4, Folder: 3. *Office of the President correspondence*, UA 1093, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University.
<https://cdm15999.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/univarch/id/9788>. Accessed April 23, 2024. University Archives.
- L.M. Mountford v. Adam Anderson*. 337 (4th Distr, Utah County, Utah, 1898). January 15, 1898.
- "Lydia Mary Von Finklestein Mamreoff Woodruff," *Familysearch.org*,
<https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/details/KGMB-FR8>. Accessed April 5, 2024.
- "Lydia Mamreoff Von Finkelstein Mountford Death Certificate." *State Board of Health of Florida Bureau of Vital Statistics*. 1917. File no 3165., Image 168. FamilySearch.org.

<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-D1F7-NP?view=index&personArk=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AFP8-7DZ&action=view>. Accessed April 15, 2024.

"Lydia M. Von Finkelstein Mountford letter to Benjamin Cluff Jr," UA 1093 Series, 10 Item 371, Box: 4, Folder: 3, *Office of the President correspondence*, UA 1093. L. Tom Perry Special Collections. Brigham Young University.
https://archives.lib.byu.edu/repositories/17/archival_objects/279323. Accessed April 23, 2024. University Archives.

"Madame Mountford," *Capital*, Annapolis, Md, May 15, 1909, Church Archives, MS 2824, Folder 7. Page 2.

"Madam Mountford," *The Woman's Exponent*, Salt Lake City, UT, Oct 15, 1897, Vol. 26 no. 10. BYU Digital Collections.

"Madame Mountford," *The Woman's Exponent*, Salt Lake City, UT. Feb 2, 1914. Vol. 41 no. 14.

"Madame Lydia von F. Mountford," Salt Lake City, UT, *Relief Society Magazine* 8 (Feb. 1921).

"Madam Von Finkelstein Mountford," *The Young Woman's Journal*, Salt Lake City, June 1897. Vol. 08, No 9, BYU Library Digital Collections, BX 8605.1. Yo84.

Mamreoff Von Finkelstein Mountford, Lydia, *The Life Sketch of Lydia Mamreoff Von Finkelstein (Madame Mountford)*, D.C., 1908, *Susa Young Gates Papers*, circa 1870-1933, General Correspondence, Church History Library.

"Madame Mountford's (Lydia Mamreoff Von Finklestein) \$50,000 Oriental Collection for the American University," June 1909 Volume XVI, No 1, *The American University Courier Newsletter*, Washington, DC., Susa Young Gates papers, circa 1870-1933 General Correspondence, Church History Library.

“Anna F Mamreov to Charles Johnson, 5 Sep 1917,” *Susa Young Gates Papers* circa 1870-1933, General Correspondence, Church History Library.

Mamreov, Anna F, "Orientalism of Biblical Records," Susa Young Gates papers, circa 1870-1933, General Correspondence, Church History Library.

Mountford, Madame Lydia, “May 3, 1897,” *Susa Young Gates Papers, circa 1870-1933*, General Correspondence, L. M. Mountford letter to Susa Young Gates, Church History Library.

Mountford, Madame Lydia, “May 7, 1899.” *Susa Young Gates Papers circa 1870-1933*. General Correspondence. L. M. Mountford letter to Susa Young Gates. Church History Library.

Mountford, Madame Lydia, “August 19, 1915,” *Susa Young Gates papers, circa 1870-1933*.

“Nanette B. Paul letter to Susa Young Gates,” November 8, 1920, *Susa Young Gates Papers, Circa 1870-1933*, General Correspondence, Church History Library.

Palmer, Phoebe, *Faith and Its Effects: Fragments from My Portfolio* (London: Alexander Heylin, 1859).

Smith, George A. Lorenzo Snow, Paul A. Schettler, and Eliza R. Snow, *Correspondence of Palestine tourists; comprising a series of letters by, of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Stream Printing Establishment, 1875).

The International Council of Women Minutes, Edited by the Countess of Aberdeen (London: T. Fisher Unwin Paternoster Square, 1900). 201.

https://archive.org/stream/internationalco04womegoog/internationalco04womegoog_djvu.txt. Accessed April 13, 2024.

"Typewritten Copy of Mrs. Mountford's letter to S.Y.G. Susa Y. Gates, undated," *Joseph F. Smith Papers: 1854-1918*, Miscellaneous files, MS1325. Church History Catalog.

“What Women Say and Do,” *New York Tribune*, Sept 24, 1899, Susa Young Gates papers, circa 1870-1933, General Correspondence, Alphabetical Subject Files, Mountford, Lydia M. von Finkelstein, 1897-1920, Church History Library.

Wilford Woodruff, “February 8, 1897,” *Wilford Woodruff Papers*,
<https://wilfordwoodruffpapers.org/>. Accessed April 5, 2024.

Wilford Woodruff, “July 7, 1897,” *Wilford Woodruff Papers*, <https://wilfordwoodruffpapers.org/>.
Accessed April 5, 2024.

Wilford Woodruff, “July 29, 1897,” *Wilford Woodruff Papers*,
<https://wilfordwoodruffpapers.org/>. Accessed April 13, 2024.

Secondary

Abramson, Glenda, “Two Nineteenth-Century Travellers to the Holy Land,” *Israel Affairs*, Vol 8, No 3 (Spring 2002). 69-83.

Ahmed, Leila, *A Quiet Revolution: The Veil's Resurgence, from the Middle East to America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

Alexander, Thomas G., *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993).

Bar, Doron.; Kobi Cohen-Hattab, “The New Kind of Pilgrimage: The Modern Tourist Pilgrim of Nineteenth-Century and Early Twentieth-Century Palestine,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol 39, No 2, April 2003. 131-148.

Berman, Jacob Rama, *American Arabesque: Arabs, Islam, and the 19th Century Imaginary* (New York, New York University Press, 2012).

Billington, Louis, “‘Female Laborers in the Church’: Women Preachers in the Northeastern United States, 1790-1840,” *Journal of American Studies*, Vol; 19, No 3. Dec 1985.

Brekus, Catherine A., "Harriet Livermore, the Pilgrim Stranger: Female Preaching and Biblical Feminism in Early-Nineteenth-Century America," *Church History*, Sep 1996, Vol. 65 No. 3., Sep 1996. 389-404.

Brekus, Catherine A., *Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

Campbell, Mary Katherine, "Exalted Bodies: Charles Ellis Johnson and the Practice of Mormon Photography," *Dissertation*. Stanford University, 2010.

Chaves, Mark, *Ordaining Women: Culture and Conflict in Religious Organizations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

"Dedication of the Holy Land." *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*.

<https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/history/topics/dedication-of-the-holy-land?lang=eng>. Accessed 4/15/2024.

Halstead, Yvonne Yazbeck, "Islam, Women, and the Struggle for Identity in North America," *Encyclopedia of Women and Religion in North America*. Edited by Rosemary Skinner Keller and Rosemary Radford Ruether (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

"Historical and Archaeological Perspectives on Gender Transformations: From Private to Public," Edited Suzanne M. Spencer Wood, *Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology (CGHA)* (Rochester: Springer, 2013).

Long, Burke O., *Imagining the Holy Land: Maps, Models, and Fantasy Travels* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).

Nassar, Isaam. "In Their Image: Jerusalem in Nineteenth-Century English Travel Narratives," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, Institute of Palestinian Studies, Issue 19, 2003.

Payne, Leah, "'Pants Don't Make Preachers': Fashion and Gender Construction in Late-Nineteenth-and Early-Twentieth-Century American Revivalism," *Fashion Theory*, 2015. 19:1.

Quinn, D. Michael, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890-1904," *Dialogue Journal*, Volume 18 No 1, Spring 1985. <https://www.dialoguejournal.com/>. Accessed Feb 3, 2024.

Zimmerelli, Lisa Dawn, *A Genre of Defense: Hybridity in Nineteenth-Century Women's Defenses of Women's Preaching* (Dissertation.: University of Maryland, 2009).