

THE MORMON PRESENCE IN BRITISH
COLUMBIA, 1830-1890

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The Mormon presence in British Columbia between 1830 and 1890 was largely literary. It consisted of two or three proposals to colonize Vancouver Island, the naming of a gravel bar in the Fraser River "Mormon's Bar," the immigration of a single Mormon family to Vancouver Island, the conversion of a member of the British Columbia legislature to the Mormon faith, and the exploration of south-eastern British Columbia by Charles Ora Card and his party. However, none of the colonization schemes ever took place, the miner for whom the gravel bar was named disappeared into the mists of anonymity, and the prominent convert resigned his seat in the legislature and made his way across the mountains to become a member of C.O. Card's settlement on Lee's Creek, N.W.T. That left only the immigrant family, isolated from its co-religionists, inclined to drift from its Mormon roots, and sufficiently obscure that its presence in B.C. passed un-noticed. A more important "Mormon presence" was the information and mis-information about Mormons that came into British Columbia in the Newspapers of the time. This paper will address both aspects of the Mormon presence in British Columbia: first, Latter-day Saint interest in colonizing B.C., and second, popular information about Mormons which was available to British Columbians as the Mormons settled "next door" on Lee's Creek, North West Territory.

The first mention of British Columbia as a possible center of Mormon colonization appears to have occurred in 1845 in a letter which Brigham Young addressed to Latter-day Saints throughout the world, inviting them to gather to Nauvoo in

preparation for moving westward in the spring of 1846. A postscript to this epistle observed, "There are said to be many good locations for settlement on the Pacific, especially Vancouver's Island, near the mouth of the Columbia."¹ Hubert Howe Bancroft in his *History of Utah*,² cites the *Niles Register*³ for the assertion that "There were many current reports in Illinois in 1845 that 'the Mormons had chosen Vancouver Island as their future home, the metropolis to be situated at Nootka'."

Nootka of course is still not a metropolis, Mormon or otherwise, and Brigham Young led the majority of the Latter-day Saints, not to Vancouver Island, but to the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains in 1847. Meanwhile Mormon interest in the Island had developed in another locale. The leaders of the Saints in Great Britain, knowing that the British Government was actively considering the question of establishing colonies on Vancouver Island, got up a petition to Queen Victoria and every member of the British Parliament. It asked for land on which to settle "nearly twenty thousand able and intelligent people."⁴ As there were only some 15,000 Latter-day Saints in Britain at the time the difference was apparently to be made up with penurious non-Mormons who wished to emigrate.⁵ This proposal was not favoured by Queen Victoria's Ministers, so it did not progress past the petition stage.

It became a dead issue in January 1849 when a charter was issued to the Hudson's Bay Company giving it exclusive rights to colonize Vancouver Island.⁶ But Mormon interest in the Island revived in 1857 with the possibility that the Mormons would be forced out of Utah by the "Mormon War" and the campaign of the United States government to force the abandonment of polygamy.

Inquiries were made by Mormon leaders relative to the availability of land in "British Territory on the North West Coast of America."⁷ James Douglas, agent for the Hudson's Bay Company and governor of the Island received detailed instruction from the British government on how to respond to any Mormon request to take up residence on the lands within his jurisdiction:

Should they apply for admission to occupy any portion of the North Western Territory peacefully, and as a community or in scattered communities: you will remember that the soil of this territory belongs [to] the Crown subject only to such rights as may be recognized in the Indian Tribes (who are not authorized to part with the soil without permission of the crown) and to the trading rights of the Company.

Her majesty's government are [sic] not prepared at present to exercise the right reserved to them in the Company's license of forming a Colony in these parts. Least of all would they exercise that right in favor of refugees who have defied both the Authorities of their country and the usage of Christian and Civilized life.

No rights of occupation whatever are therefore to be granted to them.

If, however, Individuals or families . . . should peacefully apply for admission into Vancouver's Island the case is different. Much must be left to your discretion, . . . Of course no parties must be allowed to use British Territory as a refuge from which they engage in acts of aggression against the Government of the United States. The acquisition of land for purposes of settlement under the ordinary rules . . . is not in the view of Her Majesty's Government to be refused merely because the parties applying have been members of that territorial community against which the arms of the United States Government are now directed. But this can only take place on the supposition that such immigrants submit themselves entirely to the laws of England, as retained in the Colonial community

over which you preside.

Polygamy is not tolerated by those laws; and if any attempt should be made to continue . . . that system, I rely on the good will of the Legislature and authorities to devise means by which such abuses may be effectually suppressed.⁸

It appears that Douglas had no need to implement these instructions as no group of Mormons ever requested his permission to settle within his jurisdiction. The fact that a gravel bar in the Fraser River near Lytton was named "Mormon's Bar" indicates that at least one Mormon had entered British Territory before 1858, but the circumstances are not known and Douglas had no concern with such entry.

The Mormon Church, as a group, showed no further interest in British Columbia until 1886 when the Charles Ora Card party crossed the 49th parallel looking for a haven under the British flag. But in the meantime at least one Utah family had made its way to Vancouver Island, not, evidently, in search of a haven from persecution, but more likely in quest of wealth through prospecting for gold. William Francis Copley, his wife Maria, and three small children arrived in Victoria from San Francisco in June, 1875. They had gone from Utah to Nevada where Francis worked for some time in a stamp mill. He became ill as a result of that employment and reached the point where recovery was almost despaired. Nevertheless, in spite of his illness, the family made its way to California, where the gold rush was long over and their efforts to prosper proved unsuccessful. When Francis heard that there was gold in British Columbia they again packed up and took ship for Victoria, the outfitting center for intending prospectors. Upon arrival in Victoria Copley was advised by a Captain Thane that he was too late to strike it rich in the gold fields on the

mainland, and that he would do better to settle down and farm on Vancouver Island. This advice was taken, and the Copleys initially settled on land rented from Thane near Cowichan Bay.⁹ Contact with the Mormon Church was almost totally lost. Only when Maria went to Utah to visit relatives or when she received letters from those same relatives did they have any contact with Mormons. Not until 1903 did the Mormon missionaries finally come to British Columbia,¹⁰ and when Maria Copely discovered them she greeted them with great emotion and affection, or in the words of her son "fell on them with rapture."¹¹

It appears that the next Mormons to come to British Columbia arrived in 1886. C.O. Card and his companions would have been quite happy to settle in the southeastern portion of Canada's most westerly province, but they reported that the good land was all occupied, either as Indian reservations or as ranches.¹² They looked no further west than Kamloops.

British Columbia was not destined to be a Mormon haven, but it did produce one convert to Mormonism in the 19th century. Anthony Maitland Stenhouse, son of a minor Scottish nobleman, arrived in Victoria on 22 March 1884.¹³ He looked over available land on Vancouver Island and shortly settled in the Comox Valley, intending, apparently, to lead the life of a gentleman farmer. He became an opposition candidate in the election of 1886 and won the right to represent Comox in the provincial parliament.¹⁴ He played a very modest role in the legislature during the first session following his election, and then thoroughly shocked everyone by announcing that he had been persuaded of the truthfulness of

Mormonism, including polygamy, and intended to throw in his lot with that persecuted sect.¹⁵ How he was converted remains a mystery. The Copleys are an unlikely source, and there were, of course, no Mormon missionaries in B.C. in 1886. It is known that Stenhouse carried on a correspondence with Wilford Woodruff, but the earliest of the extant six letters to Woodruff presupposes earlier correspondence, probably with John Taylor, but no such letters have been found.¹⁶ In fact, none of Stenhouse's correspondence, other than to Wilford Woodruff and published letters in various newspapers, has been found.

So much for Latter-day Saint interest in British Columbia, an anticipated presence which, for the most part, did not materialize. But what of British Columbians' knowledge of Mormons? Or perhaps more to the point, what would an informed, long-time resident of the province, dependent on local sources, be likely to know about the Mormons as he adjusted to the idea of having neighbors from that polygamous sect just across the mountains?

The pages of the *Victoria Gazette* and the *British Colonist*¹⁷ provide some insight into what British Columbians had been exposed to over the years.¹⁸ The editors of the *Gazette* and *Colonist* had a lively interest in the Mormons and devoted considerable space, (when one considers the small size of these newspapers) to items about the Saints. It can safely be assumed that they would not have devoted this precious space to such material if their readers had not been interested in the topic.

The first newspaper to be published in what is now British Columbia was the *Victoria Gazette*, which began publication

on 25 June 1858, followed almost six months later by the *British Colonist* on 8 December. So it was only half-way through the year 1858 that the residents of the far western portion of British North America began to be informed from local sources about the Mormons.

Twice within the first couple of months of publication, the editor of the *Gazette* published extras (which he did not date). Both of them devoted considerable space to the Mormons; in the second instance, one full column out of a total of four. It can be safely assumed that these reports gave British Columbia readers the distinct impression that the Mormons were a very stubborn group. A dispatch of 2 May 1858 from Governor Cummings, Brigham Young's successor as Governor of Utah Territory, announced his arrival (on 12 April) in Utah. A 15 May dispatch reported that he had been everywhere respectfully received, but had been warned that if General Johnston's troops were to cross the mountains into the Great Salt Lake Valley, the torch would be applied to every house indiscriminately, throughout the country.¹⁹ The second extra carried a long dispatch from General Scott in Washington, D.C. dated 14 June, indicating that General Johnston, in Utah, did not agree with Governor Cummings' conclusions regarding the pacific intentions of the Mormons, but considered them armed and dangerous. In mid-August was published a report from Salt Lake City indicating Mormon satisfaction with Governor Cummings, but "growing coldness between the Mormons and officers of the army."²⁰ (Any reference to Mormon interest in fleeing to Vancouver Island is conspicuously absent.)

Several examples from the mid-eighteen-eighties no

doubt tended to convince British Columbians that Mormons were probably not only stubborn but also violent. An 1884 issue of the *Colonist*, under a Salt Lake caption of 18 March, quotes Bishop West of Juab at length:

It is time . . . that we ceased cowardly silence and humble submission. . . . It is time for us to fling their defiance and scurilous domination back in their faces. The shade of the sainted martyr, Smith, calls aloud for vengeance. The time is at hand when the blood of our gentile persecutors shall be spilled on their own threshold to appease the anger of our prophet. . . . The thieving Murray [the governor] has . . . defied everyone but the devil, who is his sponsor. His head will be placed upon the walls of our city and his entrails scattered throughout the streets of Zion, that every gentile adventurer may behold. . . . ²¹

The following year two more items appeared with a similar theme:

John Taylor, president of the Mormons, in a recent sermon said: ". . . forbearance might cease to be a virtue. . . . [but] he did not want blood to flow just yet. There would be a change before long" ²²

In the tabernacle yesterday Apostle Heber J. Grant said "Wo be unto the judge who sits on the bench of the Third District Court. We will not stand his abuse much longer" The apostle lauded those of the brethren who refused to submit to the law. . . . "Remember there is a limit, and this limit must soon be reached." ²³

More spectacular was an attack on the U.S. district attorney "by three young Mormons who struck him in the face." ²⁴ "Frank J. Cannon and Angus Cannon were held today in \$1,000 bail each, for assault on U.S. Attorney Dickson. S. Kenner was discharged." ²⁵

Rumors that the Mormons were arming or armed, to violently resist efforts to force cessation of polygamy also commanded attention ²⁶ as did mammoth Mormon protest meetings. ²⁷

Who would want such neighbors, who in addition were accused of "throw[ing] . . . filth through the windows of lawyers and judges who took part in anti-polygamy trials."²⁸

Another class of material that seems regularly to have caught the eye of the editor was friction between Mormon and "Gentile" residents of Utah, material which must surely have given the impression that Mormons were unable to get along with their non-Mormon neighbors. Thus the *Gazette* of 9 December 1858 reported the birth of a weekly "Gentile" newspaper in Salt Lake City, the *Valley Tan*, a paper devoted to bringing to light the "truth" that the Mormon papers allegedly suppressed.²⁹

In the mid-eighties the Mormon-Gentile friction was still extant. The Gentile paper was no longer the *Valley Tan*, but the *Tribune*, and the *Colonist* reported that the previous day "both Mormon papers . . . call[ed] on their people to boycott the *Tribune*, the Gentile organ and . . . every business man who advertise [sic] in it."³⁰ Nor were Mormons quiet about their dissatisfaction with the officials sent by the Federal Government to rule over them. The appointment of Charles I. Zane, as Chief Justice of Utah inspired "a caucus of Mormon lawyers and their clients . . . to protest against the appointment. . . . The gentiles favor Zane, while Mormons are satisfied with the nominal sentences pronounced upon their leaders by Chief Justice Sanford."³¹ The Impression had to be that the Mormons were a cantankerous lot.

But non-Mormons in Utah were not always easy to get along with either. Consider two incidents from 1884:

Joseph Cook, addressing a mass-meeting at Salt Lake City, said; "Over the gate . . . of your false prophet is represented a large eagle perched on a beehive, with his

talons thrust deep into the hive. An excellent symbol of Mormonism -- rapacity preying on industry! The priesthood preying on the people!"³²

This was followed only three weeks later by the report of an unpleasant welcome accorded an Irish immigrant convert on his arrival in Ogden and Salt Lake City, by the non-Mormon Irish residents of those cities, "wearing green ribbons with a green flag draped in mourning, [and] with a band wagon similarly trimmed. . . ." ³³

In 1885 a good deal of space was devoted to reporting a Fourth of July incident in Salt Lake City, which might very well have given the impression that Mormons were not patriotic. Flags on public buildings and those belonging to Mormons were flown at half-mast to mourn for "dead independence . . ." (i.e. prosecution of polygamists) while non-Mormon residents expressed indignation at what they considered an insult to the flag.³⁴

On the basis of a "warning" issued by the non-Mormon clergy of Salt Lake City, British Columbians might very well have received the impression that Utah Mormons had no respect for the non-Mormon Christian clergy. Mormon officials, they said, were conspiring to "blacken the character of public men, and had begun the attack on 'Christian ministers'."³⁵ A news story a year later would seemingly confirm this impression:

An incendiary fire this morning burned the [Salt Lake City] Baptist mission school; insurance \$8,000. It will be rebuilt immediately and the school will not be stopped.³⁶

Readers of the Colonist would have been excused had they thought that the Mormon Church was about to collapse. It

was reported that a U.S. Marshall had taken "possession . . . of all books and property of the church in the office of the President."³⁷ It was speculated that Mormonism was at a crisis point, where it appeared that "failing energy and a readiness to give up the struggle" could be detected in Mormon ranks.³⁸ This idea would have been seemingly reinforced by the report of a "Victory for the Gentiles" in the Ogden Utah, municipal elections of 1889: "The Gentiles carried the municipal elections today. It was their first victory and caused great rejoicing."³⁹

Readers of British Columbia newspapers would have been aware that applications to secure statehood for Utah were not successful, and that the recommendations of commissioners appointed to study the question gave little indication that statehood would come in the immediate future, not until "the Mormon people shall manifest by their future acts that they have abandoned polygamy in good faith."⁴⁰ Some non-Mormon groups in Utah, such as the Women's Life Corps, Post No. 1 of Salt Lake City, were making strong "remonstrat[ions] against the admission of Utah as a state."⁴¹

Brigham Young and his family seem to have frequently been deemed by Victoria editors to make good copy, and literate British Columbians may have known quite a bit about them. Some of the published items, such as one copied from the Los Angeles *Star*, appealed to sensation seekers: "a letter from Salt Lake . . . states that one of Brigham Young's wives has lately given birth to a child with three eyes."⁴² A reader still around thirty-one years later might have seen this item apparently contradicted by a very positive assessment of Brigham Young's children:

As a physiological fact, of fifty-six children born to Brigham Young, not one was halt, lame, or blind, all being

perfect in mind and intellect; . . . The boys are a sound, healthy, industrious and intelligent group of men, . . . The girls are finely developed physically, quick and bright of intellect, highly spirited and often talented.⁴³

Perhaps this favourable assessment was the result of the realization that members of the Young family were well received in many areas. John W., "eldest son of Brigham Young" was reported to have "introduced Jos. D. Barclay, a member of parliament for Forfarshire, England. The latter is president of the American pastoral company, owning an extensive ranch in the panhandle district of Texas."⁴⁴ Although the item does not indicate the locale where the introduction was made, the implication is clear: John W. Young enjoyed the company of very respectable people.

An informed British Columbian in 1887 would also have known that by that time Brigham Young had fifteen hundred descendents ⁴⁵ who were "fast going through" the over \$1,000,000 that he left them.⁴⁶

British Columbians would have known about the death of Brigham Young, "this remarkable administrator, prophet and despot." A rather lengthy biographical sketch told of his singular achievements and closed with this back-handed compliment:

He carved out a home for thousands in the heart of a howling wilderness; and divested of his many faults, indecencies, and hypocracies, Brigham Young will live in history as the author of much that was bad, mixed with a leaven of much that was good.⁴⁷

The reading public of British Columbia was also informed about Mormon leadership changes: "John Taylor has been chosen president of the Twelve Apostles and acting president of the Mormon church, . . . Taylor was shot at the time Joseph Smith was

killed, and is a most bitter and bigotted fanatic."⁴⁸ The subsequent death of this third president was announced to B.C. readers with the terse statement that "John Taylor, president of the Mormon Church, died this afternoon."⁴⁹ More detailed notice was taken when the remains of the late president were transferred from a temporary grave to

a vault . . . built of large blocks of granite, girded together with steel bolts. The remains . . . were placed in the vault and a capstone weighing four and a half tons placed on it.⁵⁰

The "succession question" created by Taylor's death was dealt with in a lengthy article which named Joseph F. Smith, George Q. Cannon and Wilford Woodruff as rivals for the vacant position and outlined the results hoped for by opponents of the Mormons:

The succession looks now very much as if it might be the rocks on which all previous harmony is bound to split. The presidency is not likely to be settled for some time yet; and in any event disappointments are bound to come to the Mormon leaders.⁵¹

The appointment of Wilford Woodruff was duly reported the following April.⁵²

Literate British Columbians would be familiar with a story that practising Mormons have always denied:

David E. Whitmer, . . . still living in Missouri at the age of 80, was one of the three witnesses who in 1830 published a certificate declaring that they saw an angel come down with the golden book which Joseph Smith pretended to interpret. But when the witnesses were older they abjured Mormonism, and declared their former testimony false.⁵³

The Latter-day Saint church has always affirmed that the three witnesses maintained the truthfulness of their testimony to their dying day, in spite of "falling out" with the leaders of the church.

British Columbians in the 1880s were relatively well informed of, and perhaps surprised at, the scope, problems and "threat" of Mormon missionary activity. "It will surprise many to know that the Mormon hierarchy had in the field last year more missionaries than the American Board [of Missions]."⁵⁴ Other tid-bits included the information that eighty-eight missionaries had recently left Salt Lake City for all parts of the earth,⁵⁵ and that Mormon missionaries had been assaulted in Mississippi,⁵⁶ Tennessee,⁵⁷ and England.⁵⁸ Reports of arrivals of Mormon converts gave some indication of the level of success that was being enjoyed by these missionaries: 501 from Scandinavia and England,⁵⁹ 415 assorted Europeans,⁶⁰ and another 121 other Europeans.⁶¹ It was observed that "English Mormons have a large balance with the Bank of England,"⁶² that "Twelve Mormon elders were actively proselyting in Wales,"⁶³ and that Mormon missionaries were finding success among the natives of New Zealand.⁶⁴ A series of three items about Mormon activities in Switzerland proved to be enlightening. The first noted that "all the inhabitants of a Swiss village are said to [have] become Mormons. They propose, however, to remain in their homes and not seek America."⁶⁵ Item two informed the reader that a Mormon missionary had lately induced fifty Swiss women to immigrate to Utah by promising them three husbands each. "There are various ways of moving a woman."⁶⁶ The third item, an editorial, reveals rather clearly how the *Colonist* editor's attitudes towards Mormons were being affected by the news he was editing:

The Swiss authorities are to be commended for their decision in prohibiting Mormon missionaries from further

proselyting in their country. Switzerland has been hitherto an exceptionally fruitful field whence Mormonism drew fresh strength and blood, and this decision will be one of the most telling blows it has received in many a day. If now Germany and the other states of Central Europe will follow the example of Switzerland they will richly deserve the grateful thanks of every friend of good morals, and aid materially in checking Mormon growth.⁶⁷

A year later the editor's sentiments appear to have been unchanged:

It says little for the morality and intelligence of the population of some European countries that Mormon missionaries can make converts among them. One would think that if they had not intelligence enough to see the absurdities of this gross superstition, [that surely] their religious training would cause them to recoil from its flagrant immorality.⁶⁸

If one judges by the number of column inches devoted to it, then the thing which residents of 19th century British Columbia would be most likely to associate with Mormons is that "peculiar institution" of polygamy. An item quoting John T. Caine, "the Mormon delegate to Congress," would give any careful reader some idea of why so many Mormon women were willing to enter into polygamy:

Marriage is with us a duty, and it is founded on the passage in the Scripture which says that a man must multiply and replenish the earth. The women of Utah look upon marriage as a religious duty and they marry in many cases more with a view to their condition in a future life than this. According to our belief . . . the woman who does not marry does not attain her highest perfection on earth, and the old maid goes to heaven imperfectly prepared and unable there to stand on an equal plane with women who have married.⁶⁹

In addition the *Colonist* supplied its readers with a considerable amount of information relating to the arrest and trial of polygamists. In the twenty-two month period between 21 March 1884 and 25 February 1886 it reported on the arrest of five "cohabitators"

and the trial and/or sentencing of sixteen others.⁷⁰ Some of the trials were reported in considerable detail considering the total news space available in the newspaper. Interpretation of the laws against polygamy was also featured, for example, "that a separate indictment could be rendered for each day a polygamist had lived with more than one wife since passage of the Edmunds Act. The penalty for each violation of the act is six months imprisonment and \$300 fine."⁷¹ Two presidential pardons of convicted polygamists were noted: Bishop Abram K. Kimball and Lars Christiansen.⁷² It was said that Mormon papers printed the names of grand jurors involved in the indictment of polygamists so that Mormons would know who to boycott.⁷³ They also criticized the federal judges in Utah, and the editor of the *Colonist* took the opportunity to editorialize on the libel conviction of the Mormon editor of the *Ogden Herald*. The libel was against the Chief Justice of the territorial court:

If remarks such as . . . [these] cannot be tolerated in the atmosphere of Salt Lake, how much less can they be tolerated in a community like Victoria, where respect for the law and the bench is proverbial, and where the majesty of one and the dignity of the other cannot be invaded with impunity.⁷⁴

Does one detect a "holier than thou" attitude on the part of the Victoria editor?

Readers of the *Colonist* would have been justified in thinking that polygamy often generated tragedy:

A singular suicide occurred near Salt Lake this morning. Daniel Morris, age 84, a Mormon polygamist with three wives, after reading the governor's message, went to a shed adjoining the house and hanged himself.⁷⁵

Issac Langdon [of Salt Lake City], who lately took a second wife without the knowledge of the first, brought the former home a few days ago. The first wife was so shocked that she became

temporarily insane. Her husband told her that she would soon get over it and went away with No. 2. The wife, in her frenzy, soon after rushed into the street and threw herself in front of a passing street car, which barely stopped in time to spare her life. Her dress was torn off and she received severe injuries, but was not seriously hurt.⁷⁶

How the good woman could receive severe injuries but not be seriously hurt begs explanation.

A thoughtful reader of the *Colonist* would have concluded, on the basis of Emma Smith Bideman's vehement denial that her husband ever practised it, that polygamy was instituted in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by Brigham Young. The *Colonist* borrowed from *Lippincott's Magazine* an account of a dramatic interview with the widow of the late prophet:

"No sir! . . . Joe Smith had but one wife and I was that one . . . Joe Smith knew very well that he couldn't have another wife, here or anywhere else. No, sir! Joe Smith had but one wife. He ruled the Mormons and I ruled him." As Mrs. Biddison [sic] spoke her eyes flashed, her nostrils expanded, and her whole form shook with passion. We were thoroughly satisfied that Mrs. Biddison had the ability to keep Joseph Smith . . . in the straight and narrow road of morality and decency.⁷⁷

The largest number of column inches to be devoted to polygamy in a single issue was the report of the congressional debates on the "Edmund's anti-polygamy bill and the Tucker substitute therefore," and the passage of that bill by the House of Representatives.

Now that congress has taken decisive action on this question -- too long a blight upon the fair fame of the Republic -- it is to be hoped that the good work will not be "burked" but that an immediate end will be made of one of the foulest institutions which the ingenuity of man could have devised. So will the great blot on the escutcheon of our southern sister be erased and a cancerous [growth] on the body politic of the

United States be plucked out by the roots.⁷⁸

The bill received final congressional approval a month later.⁷⁹

The editors of the *Colonist* had an eye for polygamy items that had a humorous touch, for example this story copied from a Salt Lake City "gentile" newspaper, the *Valley Tan*:

We saw, a week or two ago, walking down Main Street from the direction of the "president's Office," a man accompanied by four ladies. An air of slight perturbation in the party mingled with evident expressions of satisfaction and happiness led us to inquire who they were. Some one present informed us that they were a party that had been up to President Young's office to be married, and that the four ladies had just been united in indissoluble bonds to the man accompanying them. That, we suppose, might be termed marriage in gross.⁸⁰

Then there was the case of Abram H. Cannon, on trial for unlawful cohabitation. "When asked if two women were his wives, and he had lived with them, he replied: 'They are, thank God! I have lived with them as charged.' Prompt conviction followed."⁸¹

And this, under the heading "Wit and Humour"; "'Two girls and a merchant have disappeared from town during the past three months, and have not been heard from since.' says a dispatch from Clarington, Ohio. If the trio went together, Utah should be searched."⁸²

But do the Mormons have a sense of humour? British Columbians may well have thought not on the basis of a story borrowed from the Salt Lake *Tribune*:

There is a "character" connected with one of the livery stables of this city who has on more than one occasion been the subject of anathemas from the *Deseret News*. His offence consists in driving tourists about town to show them the sights of Zion, point out the double households, and in his own

inimitable way tell the history of not a few of the chief polygamists⁸³

Sometimes items described, not Mormons, but others whose behaviour resembled what was popularly conceived to be Mormon behavior:

John B. Wilkins, of St. Paul, having the instincts of a Mormon, married six wives within the year, and lived with them all, each having a separate establishment and having no knowledge of the others. They were all happy [until] someone . . . gave these women the fruit of the tree of knowledge to eat . . . The husband with whom each had been perfectly satisfied as long as she thought herself the only object of his care, was denounced by all in chorus. He was arrested for bigamy, and will go for a term of years to a place where there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage.⁸⁴

The economics of polygamy held both a humorous and a serious interest: "A Mormon editor has been arrested for supporting two wives. The arrest was undoubtedly [ly] justifiable. An editor with income sufficient to support two wives must be engaged in some sort crooked work."⁸⁵

Leaving the religious aspect of the case out of the question, it [polygamy] would appear to be a good practical solution of the matrimonial question to permit men of means and polygamous tastes to marry as many wives as they chose to provide comfortable homes for! Then the men who feel too poor to marry might remain single, as now, without cheating so many maidens out of homes and husbands. In the multiplicity of doctrines for the settlement of the vexed questions of the day, a social science school may arise which will teach a system of this kind, not as a religion but as a philosophy or political economy. It would be a return, in one respect, to patriarchal days.⁸⁶

And somewhere between the humorous and the practical is the suggestion

that a Mormon with twenty wives is not necessarily twenty

times as miserable as a man with only one. For instance, when one of them gets mad and wants to break his head with a broom -- are there not nineteen other[s] to stand around and protect and save him and call her "a horrid, nasty, cruel thing?"⁸⁷

In a similar category is the suggestion "that the way to get the Mormons out of Utah is to populate the country with Gentiles. But are the Gentiles as efficient populating agents as the Mormons?"⁸⁸

British Columbians must have had some difficulty distinguishing between fact and fiction when it came to stories about the Mormons. An example of an incredible tale comes from early 1887, apparently copied from an un-named newspaper in the eastern United States. The story was that Brigham Young was not dead, but living in Lincoln, Nebraska, and that he would soon make a public appearance claiming to be resurrected. Evidence presented to substantiate the story is tenuous, but interesting: (1) "The return of the prophet" has, for some time past, been taught by church leaders throughout Utah and Arizona. (2) Several months ago a St. Louis man claimed that Young was recognized in a London street. (3) Several prominent Salt Lake City Mormons were recently seen on the street in London. (4) "Important legislation is about to be enacted to the detriment of the Mormon church, "and the veil of mystery with which the prophet's death has always been shrouded makes it almost certain that "he is risen."⁸⁹

British Columbians were also informed when the current edition of the *Book of Mormon* was compared "with the original manuscript in the possession of David Whitmer" by a committee of the Church,⁹⁰ but when the "seven Bibles of mankind" were listed the *Book of Mormon* was not on the list.⁹¹

Regular readers of the Colonist would also have known an interesting smattering of Utah statistics. For example, in 1885 there were said to be "twenty-eight baseball clubs and twenty brass bands in Salt Lake city," [sic]⁹² and in 1887 that territory contained 400 Mormon bishops, 1,423 priests, 2,947 teachers and 6,854 deacons.⁹³

Material which they would have read in 1888 probably made British Columbia residents distrustful of Mormon motives. When a bill was introduced into the Utah legislature by a Mormon, to outlaw polygamy, it was said to be just

"another move in the deliberate and desperate game the Mormon leaders are playing to get their territory admitted as a state. If they could once accomplish their object, they would be free forever from Congressional control, and would thereafter manage their State to suit themselves."⁹⁴

Citizens of B.C. would also be aware that the Latter-day Saints had divided into two groups. As the Reorganized Latter Day Saints were organizing they were viewed as the means of doing "more to check the licentiousness and high-handed wickedness of the Salt Lake Mormon Church than all the plans that have been proposed."⁹⁵ An 1887 revelation to Joseph Smith [III], "the first that he has vouchsafed the church in many years" was reproduced at some length.⁹⁶ In the third citation some scandal surfaced: at Independence twenty members of the "monogamist branch of the Mormon church" were to be tried on charges of immorality.⁹⁷ Readers were left to wonder at the outcome of the trial as it was never reported.

Mormons and Mormonism were usually so far away that British Columbians knew them only from hearsay. But when an occasional tourist group, such as the "Salt Lake Railway Party"⁹⁸ visited Victoria there was an opportunity to have personal contact

with real live Mormons. Similarly, two of Brigham Young's sons made visits to Victoria: "Lieut. Young, . . . engineer in charge of the Cascade locks, Oregon, and son of the late Brigham Young, arrived in the city on Saturday." He visited the local drydock.⁹⁹ Captain Willard Young, "son of the late Brigham Young, the celebrated Mormon Apostle," stayed at the fashionable Driard Hotel when he paid a visit to Victoria.¹⁰⁰ These Mormons must have turned out to have been rather ordinary as the *Colonist* did not comment on any peculiarities. Visits by touring dramatic companies (but not from Utah) on occasion also offered a more intimate, although not necessarily accurate, perspective.

A stage play,

"The Danites" . . . was presented last evening by the McKee Rankin Company before a crowded house, and drew forth the highest encomiums. The scene of the play is laid in the Sierras, and the Danites are the destroying Angels of the Mormons Sandy is a courageous and generous miner who takes an active part in punishing the Danites.¹⁰¹

When the play re-appeared thirty-five years later it attracted only a small audience.¹⁰²

Mormon colonization achievements were also known in British Columbia. These ranged from settlement of the Yaqui, Orando and Pedras Verde Valleys in Mexico,¹⁰³ to speculation on the extent of Mormon influence in "recent changes in the judiciary of Arizona."¹⁰⁴ It was observed in an extensive item by Eli Perkins, from Salt Lake City, that the Mormons had succeeded in establishing themselves in all the fertile valleys from Arizona to northern Montana. "Seven hundred miles of railroad are lined with them," from San Francisco to Butte City, Montana.¹⁰⁵

The greatest interest in Mormon colonization was aroused

when news reached Victoria that Mormon colonists had taken up residence "at Lee's Creek, near Lethbridge," N.W.T.¹⁰⁶ Readers of the *Colonist* were kept regularly informed on the growth and success of Card's settlement, and the editor informed his readers that this colony, "while part and parcel of the church of the Latter-day Saints . . . do[es] not practise polygamy."¹⁰⁷ Six months later, after the Lee's Creek settlers had asked the Canadian government "to permit those of them who have already more than one wife to live with them," the editor was not so favorable:

They are doing well. They are industrious and frugal, and they help each other, consequently, if they have half a chance, they will be certain to thrive. [But] they are not desirable settlers. At first they declared they had given up polygamy, and there were people simple enough to believe them. Now they are not so strong in their repudiation of their peculiar institution. . . . When they get stronger they will no doubt throw off the thin disguise they still retain and insist on practising polygamy according to the tenets of their religion. They will then be a separate community, and the tendency will be, as in the States, to make the distinction between Mormon and Gentile wider and wider as time progresses. . . . It will not be wise to aid in the introduction of such an element of discord and demoralization into the Canadian Northwest. . . . If the Mormons settle in any part of the Dominion. . . . no favor should be extended to them.¹⁰⁸

Mormonism became a more local interest in British Columbia following the resignation of Mr. A. Maitland Stenhouse, M.P.P. for Comox, from his seat in the legislature to facilitate his departure from the province and baptism into the Mormon Church. Stenhouse's resignation on 16 October 1887¹⁰⁹ was something of a bombshell:

Mr. Maitland Stenhouse . . . yesterday tendered the resignation of his seat. It was somewhat of a surprise to the public when Mr. Stenhouse was declared the member for the

northern island district, . . . But it will be a still greater surprise to know that Mr. Stenhouse has resigned his seat simply and solely for the purpose of becoming a member of the Mormon community in the great city by the Salt Lake.¹¹⁰

In the election campaign to fill the vacated seat, Stenhouse's motives were questioned, particularly after he announced his support for Thomas Basil Humphreys as his successor.¹¹¹ Seven weeks after his resignation his political opponents were claiming that he had no intention of becoming a Mormon, going to Salt Lake City, or leaving British Columbia. Rather he had "sold out" to T.B. Humphreys on condition of "an appointment when 'Tom' gets into power."¹¹²

By mid-January, 1888, the news was that critics of Stenhouse were right in one of their accusations: he would not go to Utah. He would go instead to join "the Mormon settlement in the Northwest."¹¹³ The Mormon convert in fact left Vancouver Island on the S.S. Louise on the morning of 21 April 1888¹¹⁴ for the mainland where he entrained for Lethbridge, proceeding immediately to Cardston where he was baptised into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by none other than Charles Ora Card, on 10 June 1888.¹¹⁵ After his departure from B.C. references to him in the *Colonist* became less frequent, averaging once a month during the rest of 1888, a total of eight references in all of 1889 and only one reference in 1890. His baptism was of local interest¹¹⁶ as was his ordination to the priesthood.¹¹⁷ Before the end of the year rumor had it that "Apostle " Stenhouse had already married three wives¹¹⁸ but the fact is that he apparently remained a bachelor to the end of his days, never marrying even one wife.¹¹⁹

Mr. Stenhouse's spirited defence of polygamy and his claim that there was no law making it illegal in Canada¹²⁰ inspired a senator from British Columbia to introduce a bill "imposing two years' imprisonment and a fine of \$500 upon every person guilty in the Northwest Territories of polygamy, . . . and to entirely disqualify as a voter or candidate any person convicted under the act."¹²¹ If the Mormons wanted polygamy, they would have to go elsewhere.

What, then, was the literary "Mormon Presence in British Columbia" as C.O. Card and his party took up residence on Lee's Creek a century ago?

Mormons had been represented to British Columbians as stubborn, cantankerous, devious, untrustworthy, prone to violence against non-Mormons, unpatriotic, disrespectful of non-Mormon Christian clerics, lacking in sense of humor; but musical and athletic. Above all, Mormons were associated with polygamy. It was thought that the Saints were so attached to polygamy that nothing would detach them, and that continued arrests, trials and tragedies were inevitable. The Church was known to have an extensive and very successful missionary program and the Saints in England were said to have a large balance in the bank of England; nevertheless the Church in Utah was thought to be at the point of collapse as the federal government confiscated its assets.

British Columbians were aware of the Edmunds-Tucker Act and the sanctions it imposed. They had been told that Brigham Young, not Joseph Smith, was the father of polygamy and that the same Brigham Young was not dead and would soon reappear claiming to be risen from the dead. They knew that there had been problems of unity among the Saints, resulting in the Reorganization, and in such

people as David Whitmer, a witness to the Book of Mormon, becoming disaffected. They had seen a play about the "Danites." They had also had personal contact with a few Mormon tourists, including sons of Brigham Young. The resulting opinion of British Columbians is probably well summed-up in two editorials published in a Victoria newspaper, one before, the other shortly after, the "Manifesto" was issued by Wilford Woodruff abandoning polygamy as a practice of the Mormon Church.

The first editorial indicates rather clearly, that the editor of the *Colonist* had a profound distrust of Mormons, particularly of those then emigrating from Utah to Canada:

The laws of the Dominion as regards their peculiar institution are much the same as those of the United States. If they will not conform to the law of the United States in Utah, is it likely that they will be at all more law-abiding in Canada? . . . If the Mormons have made up their minds to conform to the law of the land in which they live, why do they leave Utah, which has been their home for so many years?"¹²²

He feared that they would create an "*imperium in imperio*" in Canada, that like the Chinese they would not assimilate with the rest of the population, and because they were aggressive in proselyting and prolific in natural increase they were more objectionable than the Chinese. The Mormons were acknowledged to be "industrious and frugal, and if allowed to live as they desire will . . . become so numerous and so rich that they will set the laws of the country at defiance and give as much trouble in Canada as they do in the United States." However, the editor concluded that it was "the business of the Government to keep a strict watch over them, . . . If polygamy is put down and kept down . . . we venture to predict that their stay in Canada will not be long."¹²³

The Manifesto which declared polygamy abandoned did little to reassure the editor:

Sudden conversions are always suspicious. . . . Until the other day the Mormons were polygamists. . . . A week or two ago we read of a large importation of young girls from Europe to reinforce the Mormon community. It was believed . . . that many of these girls were to be additions to the harems of hoary Mormons. But immediately following this news we read that the Mormons have repudiated or renounced polygamy. . . . Are the Mormons sincere . . . ? The fact that the abandonment of polygamy will enfranchise all the Mormons, and cause the speedy admission of Utah into the Union as a state has, perhaps, something to do with the decision of President Woodruff. . . . The belief that, if polygamy were formally renounced property in their territory would rise in value, may have something to do with the general acceptance of the repudiating proclamation. The Mormons are no doubt tired of fighting the United States government. . . . Many, . . . it is probable, have decided . . . that it would be best for them to appear to abandon their peculiar . . . institution, but it is not the nature of things that they can all have been made to see the error of their ways by the pressure that has been brought on them from the outside. . . . Convictions like those entertained by the Mormons with respect to polygamy are not got rid of in a day by means of a proclamation, real or sham.¹²⁴

So, thirty years after James Douglas was instructed not to admit groups of Mormons into his colony the situation remained much the same: individual Mormons were unexceptional people, but groups of Mormons were likely to be polygamous, were not to be trusted, and should not be welcomed into the country. There is no reason to believe that the opinions of the editor of the *Colonist* differed to any significant extent from those of British Columbians in general.

As a prophet the editor was a failure. Forbidding

polygamy in Canada did not make short the stay of the Mormons. Their second century in Cardston is now beginning. From that base they have spread from coast to coast, even to British Columbia, where, after a slow and sometimes faltering struggle their presence has become real, not just literary.

NOTES

¹ Tagg, Melvin S., "History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Canada, 1830-1963," unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1963, citing *Times and Seasons*, VI [1 Nov. 1845] p. 1019.

² San Francisco: The History Co., 1889. p.238, as cited by Tagg, p.60.

³ Vol. XIX, p.134.

⁴ Tagg, *ibid*, p.62, citing the *Millennial Star*, IX (11 February, 1847) p.74.

⁵ Leigh Burpee Robinson, *Esquimalt: Place of Schooling Water*, p.32; Tagg, *ibid*, p.61, citing the *Millennial Star*, VIII (October 1846, p.142; J.B. Munro, "Mormon Colonization Scheme for Vancouver Island", *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XXV (1934) p.278.

⁶ Munro, *ibid*.; Walter M. Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1930, p.140; Robinson, *ibid*., p.32.

⁷ Labouchere to Douglas, Great Britain, Public Records Office, C0410/1, pp.120-23.

⁸ Labouchere to Douglas, *ibid*. pp.120-23.

⁹ Copely, George, "Narrative of Father's and Mother's Life With That of My Own," Typescript, copy in the possession of the author, pp.4-5.

¹⁰ *Victoria Daily Times*, 13 May 1903, p.3; 10 June 1903, p.5; "Journal History of the Church, Northwestern States Mission", Vol. I, 14 May 1903. The first R.L.D.S. missionaries arrived in British Columbia in 1898.

¹¹ Copley, *ibid*.

¹² Tagg, *ibid*., p.25.

¹³ *Daily British Colonist*, 23 Mar. 1884, p.3. (Although this newspaper was known from 1858-60 as the *British Colonist*, from 1860-66 as the *Daily British Colonist*, from 1866-86 as the *Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle*, and from 1886 to the present as the *Daily Colonist*, it will be referred to hereafter as simply the *Colonist*.)

¹⁴ *Colonist*, 10 July 1886, p.2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 16 Oct. 1887, p.4.

¹⁶ Stenhouse to Woodruff, 30 Sept., 23 Oct. (2), 29 Nov., 9 Dec. 1887; 7 Aug. 1888.

¹⁷ Most of the material following comes from the *Colonist*. There were many other papers after 1865, reaching a high of ten between 1886 and 1888, but time has not yet permitted their perusal.

¹⁸ What follows is not a complete answer to the question at hand as there were no newspapers in B.C. between 1830 and 1858, a period which may be filled in at some future time from the diaries and other personal papers of early B.C. residents. Nor have private papers of individuals who lived in B.C. during that period been consulted to any extent. At this point the 1860s and 70s are also largely blanks because the newspapers of those decades have not yet been thoroughly examined.

¹⁹ *Victoria Gazette, Extra*, no date, but probably near the end of July as there is a San Francisco dispatch dated 14 July included.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 17 Aug. 1858, p.3.

²¹ *Colonist*, 21 March 1884, p.2.

²² *Ibid.*, 5 Feb. 1885, p.3.

- 23 Ibid., 10 Oct. 1885, p.2.
- 24 Ibid., 24 Feb. 1886, p.3.
- 25 Ibid., 25 Feb. 1886, p.2.
- 26 Ibid., 14 May 1885, p.4; 6 Dec. 1885, p.2.
- 27 Ibid., 6 May 1885, p.1.
- 28 Ibid., 15 Sept. 1885, p.4.
- 29 *Victoria Gazette*, 9 Dec. 1858, p.2.
- 30 *Colonist*, 6 Sept. 1884, p.2.
- 31 Ibid., 26 Mar. 1889, p.1.
- 32 Ibid., 27 Sept. 1884, p.4.
- 33 Ibid., 30 Sept. 1884, p.3.
- 34 Ibid., 8 July 1885, p.1; 11 July 1885, p.2; 15 July 1885,
p.3.
- 35 Ibid., 25 Dec. 1885, p.1.
- 36 Ibid., 6 Jan. 1887, p.1.
- 37 Ibid., 25 Nov. 1887, p.1.
- 38 Ibid., 13 Dec. 1887, p.2.
- 39 Ibid., 12 Feb. 1889, p.1.
- 40 Ibid., 24 Sept. 1888, p.1.
- 41 Ibid., 5 Jan. 1889, p.1.

- 42 *Victoria Gazette*, 9 Dec. 1858, p.3.
- 43 *Colonist*, 25 April 1890, p.3.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 21 Sept. 1887, p.1.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 17 April 1885, p.1.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 20 May 1886, p.3.
- 47 *Ibid.*, 31 Aug. 1877, p.2.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 14 Sept. 1877, p.3.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 27 July 1887, p.1.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 21 Aug. 1887, p.1.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 22 Oct. 1887, p.3.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 10 April 1889, p.3.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 5 April 1888, p.4.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 29 June 1884, p.4.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 11 May 1884, p.3.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 21 May 1884, p.1.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 24 Aug 1884, p.3; 3 Mar. 1886, p.3.
- 58 *Ibid.*, 18 Dec. 1884, p.4.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 5 July 1884, p.4.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 9 Sept. 1887, p.1.

⁶¹ Ibid., 25 Sept. 1888, p.2.

⁶² Ibid., 1 Jan. 1885, p.5.

⁶³ Ibid., 14 Sept. 1887, p.4.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 9 Jan 1887, p.3.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 4 Jan. 1885, p.4.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 10 Jan. 1885, p.3.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 6 Oct. 1887, p.2.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 25 Sept. 1888, p.2.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 7 Oct. 1886, p.2, citing the *Cleveland Leader*.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 25 June 1885, p.1; 27 Sept. 1885, p.2; 10 Oct. 1885, p.2; 28 May 1885, p.3; 21 Mar. 1884, p.2; 9 Oct. 1884, p.3; 23 Oct. 1884, p.3; 26 Oct. 1884, p.2; 16 Apr. 1885, p.3; 25 Feb. 1886, p.2.

⁷¹ Ibid., 27 Sept. 1885, p.2.

⁷² Ibid., 27 May 1887, p.1; 27 Sept. 1889, p.1.

⁷³ Ibid., 12 Dec. 1885, p.2.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 22 Dec. 1885, p.2.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 20 Jan. 1884, p.3.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 17 June 1884, p.1.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 8 Jan. 1885, p.4.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 15 Jan. 1887, p.2.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 19 Feb. 1887, p.1.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 22 Dec. 1859, p.1.

⁸¹ Ibid., 20 Feb. 1886, p.3.

⁸² Ibid., 20 Nov. 1884, p.1.

⁸³ Ibid., 29 May 1886, p.3.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 18 Feb. 1888, p.2.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 6 Sept. 1885, p.5.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 18 Feb. 1886, p.2.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 27 Sept. 1884, p.3.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 2 Mar. 1884, p.3.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 3 Feb. 1887, p.1.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 12 July 1884, p.1.

⁹¹ Making the list were the *Bible* of the Christians, the *Vedas* of the Brahmans, the *Tripitaka* of the Buddhists, the *Zend Avesta* of the Persians, the sacred books of Confucius from China, the sacred book of Lao-tsze from China, and the *Koran* of the Moslems. *Colonist*, 2 May 1885, p.1.

⁹² Ibid., 15 Aug. 1885, p.3.

⁹³ Ibid. 5 Nov. 1887, p.1.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 9 Feb. 1888, p.2.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 27 Dec. 1859, p.1.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 30 Apr. 1887, p.4.

⁹⁷ Ibid 14 Sept. 1887, p.1.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 1888, p.4.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 30 Mar. 1886, p.3.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 24 April 1888, p.1.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 30 Apr. 1855, p.3.

¹⁰² Ibid., 9 Nov. 1889, p.4.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 19 Feb. 1885, p.2; 23 Aug. 1890, p.1.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 15 Nov. 1885, p.1.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 30 May 1886, p.1.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 25 Oct. 1887, p.3.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 20 May 1888, p.2.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 21 Nov. 1888, p.2.

¹⁰⁹ Between 16 October 1887 and his departure from Canada, a period of forty-four months, he figured in items in the *Colonist* forty-eight times, and in thirty-two of these Mormonism was also mentioned. There were forty-four other references to Mormons and/or Mormonism which did not relate to Stenhouse.

¹¹⁰ *Colonist*, 16 Oct. 1887, p.4.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 9 Nov. 1887, p.1; 12 Nov. 1887, p.2; 15 Nov. 1887, p.4; 28 Nov. 1887, p.4.

¹¹² Ibid., 30 Nov. 1887, p.2; 27 Nov. 1887, pp.2, 4; 29 Nov. 1887, pp.1, 2; 4 Dec. 1887, p.4.

¹¹³ Ibid., 18 Jan. 1888, p.4; 21 Jan. 1888, p.4.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., Apr. 1888, p.1.

¹¹⁵ "Record of Members, 1887-1890, Cardston Ward, Cache Stake," p.39, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹¹⁶ "Stenhouse Dipped", *Colonist*, 10 Aug. 1888, p.4.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 27 Oct. 1888, p.4.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 29 Dec. 1888, p.4.

¹¹⁹ D. Stenhouse to R. McCue, 3 Oct. 1984.

¹²⁰ *Colonist*, 13 Nov. 1889, p.2.

¹²¹ Ibid., 5 Feb. 1890, p.1; 18 Feb. 1890, p.2.

¹²² Ibid., 8 Dec. 1889, p.2.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 15 Oct. 1890, p.4.