

THE GROWTH OF A MORMON COMMUNITY ON VANCOUVER ISLAND

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, perhaps better known as the "Mormon" Church, was organized in 1830 at Fayette, New York, with Joseph Smith, Jr., as its first president. Almost immediately those who accepted this young man for what he claimed to be -- a prophet of God -- found themselves subjected to severe persecution, and in an effort to find refuge from intolerance, moved in a body first to Ohio, then to Missouri, and then to Illinois. It was in this latter place that a frontier mob murdered Joseph Smith on 27 June 1844, apparently believing that if they killed the Prophet his church would also die.

At this critical point, Brigham Young, the President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, took the reins as the new Prophet and leader of the Mormons, and in the face of an ultimatum to leave Illinois, began searching for a haven for his persecuted followers. One of the locations which he considered was Vancouver Island, but as is well known he ultimately led his people elsewhere; to the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. And yet, a hundred years after his death, there are over twenty-six hundred members of the church which he led living in the various communities of Vancouver Island. When did these people come, where did they come from, and why did they come? How does the fact of a Mormon community on Vancouver Island relate to Brigham Young's "Vancouver's Island" dream? These are some of the questions that this essay seeks to answer.

It was in the 1 November 1845 issue of the Times and Seasons that Brigham Young published a letter inviting the Latter-day Saints (Mormons) throughout the world to "gather" to Nauvoo, the Mormon metropolis in Illinois, in preparation for a migration to a yet undesignated spot in the uninhabited vastness of western North America. A postscript to the letter adds: "There are said to be many good locations for settlement on the Pacific, especially Vancouver's Island near the mouth of the Columbia."¹ With this statement as a basis, rumours were soon widespread in Illinois that the Mormons "had chosen Vancouver Island as their future home, the metropolis to be situated at Nootka."²

Brigham Young's followers in Britain took special note of the postscript to his letter. They liked the idea of a haven, an American "Zion,"

under the British flag, and they quickly sought to promote the idea. The Mormon publication in England, The Millennial Star, in its 28 November 1846 issue carried a petition to Queen Victoria and the members of the British Parliament requesting a grant of land and assisted passage for twenty thousand British settlers who would be taken to "Vancouver's Island." The petitioners advanced their scheme as a "poor relief" measure, since it would remove from Britain large numbers of destitute people who could make a new start in the new world. But the project died when the petition was apparently ignored, and in January 1849, a royal charter turned Vancouver Island over to the Hudson's Bay Company, thus determining that any organized colonization of the Island would be under the auspices and regulation of that company.³ For the time being at least, there would be no official or organized Mormon colonization on the Island.

In the meantime Brigham Young had, in the summer of 1847, pronounced the Great Basin of the Rockies in general, and the Salt Lake Valley in particular, to be "the Place" for the "gathering of the Saints." Other possible places of settlement, including Vancouver Island, were forgotten in the struggle to wrest an existence from the Great American Desert. Then, a decade after the arrival of the harassed Mormons in the Salt Lake Valley, came the outbreak of the "Utah War" as a consequence of the attempt of the U.S. Government to wipe out polygamy in Utah. Again the Mormon leaders considered the possibility of having to move once more into an isolated wilderness area. Renewed rumours of Mormon interest in a Pacific coast location began to spread and soon reached the ears of the British Government as well as the governor and directors of the Hudson's Bay Company. These gentlemen were averse to any large-scale Mormon migration to Vancouver Island, and Sir James Douglas, governor of the Island, received instructions from the Imperial Government early in 1858 that "no rights of occupation whatever" were to be granted to any group of Mormons. "If however individuals or families...should peacefully apply for admission into Vancouver's Island the case is different." Such immigrants were to be received provided they agreed to "submit themselves entirely to the laws of England, as retained in the Colonial community..."⁴ However, extant records do not show that any Mormon immigrants to the Island materialized, either singly or in groups, at this time.

When the first known Mormon migration to Vancouver Island did take place its participants arrived unheralded, unobserved, and apparently not identified as Mormons. There was no official organized movement, only a single family: William Francis Copley, his wife Maria Judson Copley, and their three small children. Anyone who may have known that they were Mormons apparently did not care enough to draw attention to the fact. Nor is the motive for the Copley's immigration known with any certainty -- one son (born after the family was settled on the Island) thought that it was a vain search for gold; Victoria being an outfitting centre for those seeking quick fortunes in the interior of British Columbia. Another son thought that Brigham Young's interest in Vancouver Island had prompted his parents' migration.⁵ Whether it was one of these motives that inspired the move, or something else entirely, remains a matter for speculation.

The Copleys arrived in Victoria from San Francisco sometime in 1875. They initially took up residence in the Cowichan area, but shortly settled at Shawnigan. They had come from Fillmore, Utah, with sojourns in both Nevada and California along the way.⁶ They appear to be the first Mormons to live on the Island, but they were certainly not the harbingers of any great Mormon influx. It was apparently an additional fifteen years before another Mormon came to the Island, and then it was one of their own relatives: Sarah Jackson, a niece of Maria Copley. She arrived about 1890 for a visit, but when she met and married John Raymond the "visit" stretched into a lifetime.⁷

In the meantime the first conversion to Mormonism to take place on the Island had occurred. How it happened remains a mystery as there is no evidence that the convert had any contact with the Copleys, and there had as yet been no Mormon missionaries sent to the Island. But in the autumn of 1887, Anthony Maitland Stenhouse, Member of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia for Comox, announced his intention to join the Mormons. He accordingly resigned his seat in the legislature,⁸ and shortly took up residence in the infant Mormon Colony at Cardston in the Northwest Territories, where he was baptized into the Mormon faith by Charles Ora Card, founder of that settlement.⁹ There Stenhouse became a prominent citizen until 1891, when he apparently returned to Great Britain, his original home. The conversion of Stenhouse and his vigorous defence of polygamy gave considerable notoriety to Mormonism in the Victoria newspapers,

but had no apparent effect in attracting any new adherents to the Mormon faith. The Mormon community on Vancouver Island thus continued to consist of a single family.

Only in 1902 did the Mormons again show some interest in the area, and this time it was not as a place of refuge, but in accordance with the Mormon emphasis on proselyting, it was as a possible source of converts. On 15 March of that year all of British Columbia was added to the Northwestern States Mission of the Mormon Church, with headquarters at Portland, Oregon.¹⁰ This was followed three months later with the arrival in Victoria of the first large group of Mormons known to have set foot on the Island. The Utah Press Association, fifty-four members strong, visited Victoria and adjacent points, and received the "red carpet" treatment from the Victoria Tourist Association.¹¹ Although this delegation had no official connection with the Mormon Church, half of its members were reported to be Mormons. It seems unlikely that they had any contact with the Mormon population of the Island; if they did so no record of it has survived. Nor is it known whether any of these visitors had any direct influence on the assignment of the first Mormon missionaries to the Island, but vigilance for proselyting opportunities has long been an important part of Mormon life, so it would be quite in character for this group, on returning to Utah, to have urged leaders of the Church to send missionaries to what, on the basis of their hospitable reception, looked like a potentially fruitful field for missionary endeavor. Be that as it may, the departure of the Press Association on 18 June left the Mormon population of Vancouver Island precisely where it had been prior to the Utahns' arrival.

Nearly a year later, on Wednesday 13 May 1903 the first seven of the hundreds of Mormon missionaries that have visited the Island in the ensuing seventy-five years, arrived on the steamer "Majestic" from Seattle.¹² They were

led by Nephi Pratt, President of the Northwestern States Mission. On 14 May, he organized the "Victoria Conference," with Elder W. M. Swan of Salt Lake City as the conference president.¹³ The missionaries were very shortly holding open air meetings on the corner of Yates and Government Streets in Victoria. The local press reported that

Elders B. H. Telford and W. M. Swan of the 'Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' of Utah and Idaho...are addressing meetings...on Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday evenings each week... They preach the Mormon faith, and this is their first visit to the city.¹⁴

This announcement was followed by a comment in the 12 June issue of the Colonist that

quite a number of Victorians have...expressed keen disapproval of the presence in the city of a number of preachers of the Mormon faith, who...[are] spreading doctrines of a sort few in the city would like to see generally followed.¹⁵

The Mormon Elders thus began what turned out to be a long and arduous struggle to build up a Mormon congregation in Victoria.

At this point in time it is difficult to ascertain what success these early missionaries had, but it would appear to have been minimal. One person who stopped to listen to their street corner preaching was George Vancouver Copley, a younger son of William and Maria, and his encounter with these itinerant preachers was to have dramatic results. He apparently did not enquire who they were, nor did he make himself known to them, but quietly concluded that they were probably Mormons. On his next trip home to Shawnigan, he told his mother what he had seen and heard. The effect on her was little short of startling: if there were Mormons in Victoria then she must hurry to the city, some thirty miles away, to meet her co-religionists. Her son's concise description of her subsequent actions paints a vivid picture of her feelings: "She went back with me that night and fell on them with rapture."¹⁶ The Mormon Elders became regular visitors in Maria Copley's home, and this led to the first Mormon baptisms on the Island of which any record has been found. During the summer of 1904, Maria Judson Copley and her eldest daughter, Clara, were baptized at Shawnigan Lake;

then Merian, the seventh son, and William Francis, the father. Mary Graham Copley, wife of the eldest son, may also have been baptized that summer.¹⁷ The elder Copleys had, of course, been baptized many years earlier, before moving to Vancouver Island, but after such a long time out of contact with their church, they seemed anxious to start all over again by being rebaptized. Clara, Merian, and Mary had not been previously baptized, so rank as the first Mormon convert baptisms on Vancouver Island. The available records do not reveal what other successes the missionaries may have had, but these appear to have been minimal, with the result that the missionaries were withdrawn, probably early in 1905,¹⁸ to devote their energies to more productive portions of the Mission.

In February 1910, a renewed proselyting effort was initiated with the arrival of Elders Charlie Roper and David Gerrard, who set up their headquarters at 1511 Pandora Avenue in Victoria.¹⁹ Success at making converts was discouragingly slow, and these two missionaries were replaced several times over before more baptisms took place -- in 1917. Three of the five baptized at that time were children of Sarah Jackson Raymond,²⁰ the Copley niece who by this time had resided on the Island for about twenty-seven years. At year's end the missionaries reported that

after years of almost discouraging opposition, it seems that the Gospel is finally making an impression in Victoria. A few good investigators have been found, and already a number have signified their intention of accepting the Gospel.²¹

During the next few months, additional conversions took place, including the George Vancouver Copley who had first stopped to listen fifteen years earlier, so that by the summer of 1918, the missionaries reported a membership of five families composed of twenty-one souls. On this basis the first Latter-day Saint Sunday school on Vancouver Island was organized,²² with G. V. Copley, freshly baptized, as superintendent.²³

After this spurt of success, the conversions ceased once again with the result that the missionaries were withdrawn in 1923, returned briefly in 1924, then were withdrawn for an indefinite period.²⁴ This left the Victoria Sunday school to its own resources, which proved inadequate for survival when several strong families moved away without replacements. The Sunday school

dissolved, and the few Mormons left on the Island lost contact with their church except for brief and infrequent visits from travelling missionaries. As the "roaring twenties" waned, the effort to establish a Mormon congregation appeared to have died a slow but natural death.

In view of the strong missionary effort over a long period of time, one is led to wonder why L.D.S. growth was relatively slow on Vancouver Island, especially in the first half of the century. A look at press references to Mormons suggests a possible answer. In 1902, the year before the Mormon missionaries began their work on the Island, the Victoria Daily Times carried thirteen articles about Mormons.²⁵ Two of these dealt with the controversy surrounding the election of a Mormon Apostle, Reed Smoot, to the U.S. Senate. Five others appeared in consequence of the visit of the Utah Press Association to Victoria. One other was a detailed and very complimentary account of the visit of a Victoria resident to Salt Lake City. The remaining four tended to appeal to the sensation-hungry: an account of the shooting of an Anaconda, Montana, woman by her Mormon husband; an article on plural marriage and the number of Brigham Young's descendents; a story on the missionary work of the B. C. Synod of the Presbyterian Church among the Mormons of Southern Alberta; an account of the objections of the residents of Syracuse, New York, to the presence of two Mormon Elders in their town; and a story of the jailing of a grandson of Brigham Young "for the atrocious murder of a woman." In 1903 only three articles appeared:²⁶ one was apparently written and submitted by the Mormon Elders to announce their own arrival in the city; the second was the "local news" note, earlier referred to, which disapproved of the presence of Mormon missionaries in Victoria; and the third was about the Smoot controversy. From then until 1910 the Victoria newspapers seem to have totally ignored the Mormons.

One week after the missionaries arrived in Victoria in February 1910, the Times ran a rather sensational article on the recent death of a Utah Mormon who left as survivors twenty-two children and a total of one hundred and fifty-three descendents.²⁷ Over a year elapsed before any further reference to the Mormons was printed in the local press, and then on Saturday 17 June 1911, a letter to the editor of the Times appeared urging that "something should be done to drive out the Mormon missionaries." This had been preceded on the previous Tuesday by a news report from Ottawa of the deliberations of the Presbyterian General Assembly in which "the menace of the Mormon community to Canada was

emphasized," the assembly going on record in favor of an active campaign against it. The appearance of the letter following the publication of this article seems to be something more than coincidental. Another rather long article appeared on Friday 16 June, in which the sincerity of the Mormons in abandoning polygamy was questioned and some of the workings of the system impartially described. This was followed on Saturday 24 June by yet another article warning Canadians of the potential threat to the Canadian way of life of a group that was capable of becoming a united political influence should they ever decide to move in that direction. On 25 and 28 June news items appeared reporting the testimony of Mormon leaders before the Sugar Inquiry in Washington D.C., with respect to the involvement of the Mormon Church in the sugar industry. After that two week flurry of attention the Mormons once again faded from the printed page in Victoria.²⁸

It seems apparent that the Victoria press tended to ignore the Mormons, and residents tended to do the same thing if the missionaries' report of 18 June 1810 can be taken as typical: "A meeting had been appointed for the evening, . . . the hall had been secured, but no one came."²⁹ For Victorians, Mormonism was a curiosity; serious interest in it was apparently not very great so it was mostly ignored, hence the lack of converts.

The "great depression" years brought a severe curtailment in the number of missionaries sent out by the Mormon Church, with the result that no missionaries were assigned to Vancouver Island for most of the time from 1930 to 1937. However, in 1933, several members of another Mormon family moved to Victoria. Alice Mann and her sons, Reg and Clem, were Mormons, and in 1934 Reg's wife and a Mr. Terry were baptized by a pair of itinerant missionaries. The following year Stanley Hillier and his wife, Una Mann Hillier (a daughter of Alice Mann), and their children also moved to Victoria.³⁰ They, like other members of the Mann family, had been converted to the Mormon faith in Saskatchewan. The nucleus for a revived Sunday School thus existed, and the catalyst which was to bring such an organization into existence was Melvin Oxspring, who, until his employment necessitated his move to Victoria, was the President of the Vancouver Branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. With him came a household of five, including three other adults. He soon made contact with the survivors of the old Sunday School, plus the more recent arrivals, and ascertained that they were anxious to have a Mormon Sunday school organized. This was accordingly done on 17 October 1937, at the Oxspring

residence, 54 Government Street. Present were ten adults, including two missionaries sent by the president of the Northwestern States Mission, and seven children.³¹ This Sunday School proved to be more durable than its predecessor, for when Oxspring left Victoria a few months later, others took his place. This time Mormonism had taken sufficient root in Victoria to survive whether or not there were missionaries present.

The Second World War was a period of increased growth for the Mormon congregation as the armed forces and war-related industries drew Mormon families to Victoria, particularly from Southern Alberta. While on the Island these people gave the weak Mormon community a strength and maturity that it had not previously experienced. By 1946 there was a self-sustaining congregation in Victoria.³² In Nanaimo that same year a Sunday School was organized with a charter membership of twenty-three,³³ the nucleus of the branch that would build the first Mormon chapel on the Island commencing in 1951.³⁴

With the end of the war other important developments took place. Some families that had moved to the Island for war-related reasons remained at the end of the war, others **returned** as opportunity permitted. Still others arrived as tourists, liked what they saw, and determined to make the Island their home. With the decreased demand for military personnel in the United States young Mormons who would otherwise have been serving in the armed forces responded in large numbers to the call for a greatly expanded missionary program with the result that Mormon missionaries were assigned to Vancouver Island in ever increasing numbers, and communities that had previously been left untouched now found themselves being proselyted by the Mormons. The result was a slow but steady growth of Latter-day Saint congregations in some of these communities. Branches of the Church were organized in Port Alberni in 1953, and in Duncan in 1959 (the same year that the Island congregations were placed under the immediate supervision of Island residents rather than being supervised from Vancouver.)³⁵ Additional branches followed in Comox in 1962, Sidney in 1972, Campbell River in 1976 and Port McNeil in 1977.³⁶ This growth came to fruition in 1975 when a Victoria British Columbia "Stake of Zion" was organized, a recognition by Church leaders in Salt Lake City that the leadership of the Church on Vancouver Island had attained a collective maturity that would enable it to handle its own affairs. By coincidence this new organization was affected just one hundred years after the Copley family arrived on Vancouver Island.³⁷

As one looks for factors influencing the growth of a Mormon community on Vancouver Island, the most prominent is the missionary program. It has not been possible to get a complete or accurate count of the Mormon missionaries that have been sent to the Island over the years, but on the basis of the information that is available it is estimated that probably a thousand Mormon missionaries have been assigned to the Island over the seventy-five year period since the first seven arrived. About ninetyper-cent of these have been from the United States of America.³⁸ How effective has this missionary effort been? An analysis of the origins of officers of the Church on Vancouver Island is enlightening. It reveals that after a rather slow start the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on Vancouver Island is becoming a 'home grown' institution.

Origins of Officers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Victoria, Nanaimo, Sidney, Duncan (pre-1975 only) and Port Alberni³⁹

Place of Baptism	Number			Percentage of Total		
	1941-1975	1975	1978	1941-1975	1975	1978
Vancouver Island	9	73	119	22	40	53
U. S. A.	3	20	9	7	11	4
U. K.	1	12	15	3	6	7
Southern Alberta	19	32	39	46	17	17.5
Other Canada	9	40	40	22	22	16.5
Miscellaneous		7	7		4	2
	41*	184	224	100*	100	100

* These figures refer to Branch Presidents only; other figures include all executive positions.

Whereas in the 1941-1975 period only 22% of Mormon leaders on the Island were converted locally, in 1978 53% were local products. And while 90% of the missionaries sent to the Island were American, American leadership of the the Church on the Island has not, since World War II, been more than the reverse of these proportions, peaking at 11% in 1975 and declining to 4% by 1978. Another group which has spectacularly declined in prominence is that from Southern Alberta. Whereas it composed 46% of the leadership in the pre-1975 period it had fallen to only 17.5% by 1978, having traded relative positions with the locally converted group.

In the first thirty-four years (1903-1937) after Mormon missionaries began working on the Island the net growth in members of the Mormon community was not more than twenty, an average annual increase of about one-half person. In the next thirty-one years that number had grown to over 1,600 (1968), an average increase of about fifty per year. Membership in 1978 was over 2,600, a net average increase of about one hundred per year over the decade. About 85% of these were converts each year.⁴⁰ Missionary work has obviously been increasingly effective as the years have gone by.

What has attracted Mormons to come to Vancouver Island from other parts of the world? The following chart indicates that employment opportunity has been the greatest attraction, but the climate has also been an important attraction. Very few Mormons seem to have migrated to Vancouver Island with retirement motives. Nor did they settle on the Island because their church sent them. In surveys taken in 1975 and 1978 less than 4% responded that the Church had any influence at all on their decision, and even in those cases they were not asked to move but were attracted by the challenge of helping to strengthen a relatively weak Church community by helping to find new converts.

Reasons for Moving to Vancouver Island: Mormon Leaders in Victoria, Nanaimo and Port Alberni. ⁴¹				
Stated Reason	1975		1978	
Non-military Employment Opportunity	68	60%	57	52%
Armed Forces Posting	6	5%	7	6%
Climate, Beauty, Lifestyle	20	18%	23	21%
To be Near Relatives Already in the Area	13	11%	15	14%
The Challenge of Strengthening the Church	0	0%	2	2%
Retirement	3	3%	1	1%
Other	3	3%	4	4%
	113	100%	108	100%

When, why and from where did Vancouver Island's Mormon community come? Some general conclusions seem in order:

First, an energetic proselyting program over much of the period from 1903 to 1978 has, after a slow start, steadily added converts to the

Mormon community. But until recently immigration has been more significant than missionary work in supplying leaders for Vancouver Island's Mormons. This migration peaked in the period 1970-1974.⁴²

Second, the single most important reason for Mormons moving to Vancouver Island has been related to employment opportunity, with climate and a more congenial lifestyle also being important. It can safely be concluded that most Mormons have moved to Vancouver Island for the same reasons that many others have made the move: employment opportunities in a climate where an easier and better life can be had than in much of the rest of the country.

Third, southern Alberta has been the single most important source of Mormon immigrants to Vancouver Island, with other parts of Canada ranking close behind, but with these sources diminishing in importance as the years go by.

Fourth, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has not attempted to influence the migration of its members to the Island but has coincidentally grown as a result of that migration.

And finally, Brigham Young's consideration of Vancouver Island as a place of refuge has played no part in the growth of a Mormon community on the Island. Until recently most Mormons on the Island were totally unaware that such consideration had ever been made.

NOTES

1. Times and Seasons, VI (1 November 1845), p. 1019, as cited by Melvin S. Tagg, "A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Canada, 1830-1963," unpublished Brigham Young University Ph.D. Dissertation, 1963, pp. 59-60.
2. Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Utah, San Francisco, 1889, p. 238, fn. 6.
3. J. B. Munro, "Mormon Colonization Scheme for Vancouver Island," Washington Historical Quarterly, XXV (1934), p. 278.
4. Labouchere to Douglas, Great Britain, Public Record Office, CO 410/1, pp. 120-123. I am indebted to Dr. James E. Hendrickson of the Department of History, University of Victoria, for this reference.
5. Interview with Elda Mason, grand-daughter of William and Maria Copley, November 1973; also George V. Copley, "Narrative of Father's and Mother's Life with that of my own," unpublished manuscript, p. 57.
6. George V. Copley, Ibid, p. 8.
7. George V. Copley, Ibid.
8. [Victoria] Daily Colonist, Sunday, 16 October 1887, p. 4.
9. "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, reveals that Anthony Maitland Stenhouse was baptized into the Mormon Church on 10 June 1888. He was living in England in 1912, but apparently no longer associated with the Mormon church. (See Henry James Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, A Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters, Toronto: William Briggs, 1912, p.1058.)
10. "Northwestern States Mission Manuscript History," Vol. I, 15 March 1902, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.
11. Victoria Daily Times, Tuesday, 17 June 1902, p. 3; see also Monday, 16 June 1902, p. 2; Wednesday, 18 June 1902, p. 5; Thursday, 19 June 1902, p. 3.
12. Ibid., Wednesday, 13 May 1903, p. 3.
13. "Northwestern States Mission Manuscript History," Vol. I, 14 May 1903.
14. Victoria Daily Times, Wednesday, 10 June 1903, p. 5; Daily Colonist, Thursday, 11 June 1903, p. 5.
15. Daily Colonist, Friday 12 June 1903, p. 5.

16. George V. Copley, "Narrative...", p. 10.
17. Interview with George V. Copley, 25 February 1974.
18. Mason to McCue, 20 January 1975. Maria J. Copley kept an autograph album which contains signatures of twenty-one L.D.S. missionaries with whom she had contact either in her home at Shawnigan or in Victoria. The last of these signatures appears under date of 5 April 1905. Maria Copley left British Columbia apparently shortly after that date, for she was in Utah before 25 May 1905. The missionaries may have been withdrawn at about this time, for there is no further trace of them until 19 February 1910.
19. "Northwestern States Mission...", Vol. I, 19 February 1910.
20. Personal records of David W. Evans, Salt Lake City, Utah, who was present as a missionary at these baptisms.
21. "Northwestern States Mission Manuscript History," Vol. II, 25 December 1917.
22. Ibid., 2 July 1918.
23. George V. Copley to McCue, 1 March 1975.
24. "Northwestern States Mission Manuscript History," Vol. III, 25 March 1923; 16 August 1924.
25. Victoria Daily Times, Saturday 12 April 1902, p. 1; Thursday 12 June 1902, p. 2; Monday 16 June 1902, p. 2; Tuesday 17 June 1902, pp. 3-4; Wednesday 18 June 1902, p. 5; Thursday 19 June 1902, p. 3; Wednesday 13 August 1902, p. 4; Saturday 13 September 1902, p. 6; Thursday 2 October 1902, p. 4; Saturday 8 November 1902, p. 1; Tuesday 25 November 1902, p. 2; Friday 15 December 1902, p. 1.
26. Ibid., Tuesday 27 January 1903, p. 1; Wednesday 10 June 1903, p. 5; Friday 12 June 1903, p. 5.
27. Ibid., Thursday 17 February 1910, p. 8.
28. Ibid., Tuesday 13 June 1911, p. 3; Friday 16 June 1911, p. 19; Saturday 17 June 1911, p. 16; Saturday 24 June 1911, p. 4; Sunday 25 June 1911, p. 2; Wednesday 28 June 1911, p. 16.
29. Northwestern States Mission Manuscript History, Vol. I, Saturday 18 June 1910.

30. Una K. Hillier, "History of the Victoria Branch Sunday School of the Northwestern States Mission," p.1, unpublished manuscript notes in possession of the author; interview with Reg Mann, February 1975.
31. Oxspring to McCue, 30 January 1975; Una K. Hillier, "History... ," p.1.
32. "Northwestern States Mission...", Vol. V, 11 August 1946; Hillier, "History...", p. 13.
33. Millie Dyson, Miscellaneous minutes and notes, copies in the possession of the author.
34. Millie Dyson, "A Brief History of the Nanaimo Branch - Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," unpublished manuscript, copy in the possession of the author (n.d.), p. 3; "First L.D.S. Chapel on Vancouver Island Dedicated," unpublished manuscript, copy in possession of the author (n.d., n.p.); Nanaimo Free Press, [3] June 1951.
35. Special Victoria District Conference, February 9, 1975. Privately Published. Copy on file in the British Columbia Provincial Archives.
36. Annual Historical Reports, Victoria British Columbia Stake, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Copies in possession of the author.
37. Daily Colonist, Saturday, 8 February 1975, p. 19; personal knowledge of the author.
38. Information extracted from diaries and "calling card" collections of various long-time residents of the area. Because of a very large increase in numbers, the problem of identification becomes unwieldy and so has not been pursued beyond 1960. Personal experience of the author indicates that post-1960 distribution of origins is probably not significantly different.
39. Information extracted from questionnaires circulated by the author to Bishops, Branch Presidents and individual leaders in the church units named, in 1975 and 1978. (Referred to hereafter as 1975, 1978 Surveys.)
40. Monthly Correlated Reports of the Victoria District, 1968-74; Monthly Correlated Reports of the Victoria B.C. Stake, 1975-78; in possession of the author.
41. 1975, 1978 Surveys.
42. Ibid.