

Thirsty Land into Springs of Water:
Negotiating a Place in Canada as Latter-day Saints, 1887-1947

by

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I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

This dissertation examines how Latter-day Saints—originally an American tradition—expanded into an international religion beginning with their settlement on Canadian soil. The “Americanization thesis” promoted by scholars such as sociologist Armand L. Mauss, geographer Ethan R. Yorgason, and historian Thomas G. Alexander, who argued that Latter-day Saints assimilated into the American mainstream society by the mid-20th century, might lead one to expect to find a linear progression of “Canadianization” and a clear distinction between American and Canadian Latter-day Saints (LDS) by the 1950s. However, my investigation of Latter-day Saints in Alberta and their material culture, politics, economics, gendered roles, and marriage practices reveals that there was no singular element that differentiated American from Canadian Latter-day Saints. Understanding the subtle nature of the Mormon experience in southern Alberta (rather than America) required attention to Canadian society and Canadian narratives, and how Canadian LDS negotiated their identities in these Canadian contexts as a type of integration. The key to offering a critical analysis of negotiation, especially with a case study featuring Latter-day Saints, was to focus on the tension between integration and “peculiarity.” Mainstream society forced the newcomers to decide what they were willing to give up, maintain, or innovate in their own tradition as well as what they would adopt, reject, or ignore in their adopted society. Certain beliefs, traditions, and practices unique to Mormonism—characteristics that drew borders around themselves and maintained an identity of peculiarity—provided enough tension between the LDS and outsiders to keep them separate and different; however, this was generally in an inoffensive way because the Mormons successfully represented themselves as valuable settlers and labourers who posed little threat to the status quo in Canadian society.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In Palmyra, New York, in the year 1830, rising religious leader Joseph Smith Jr. (1805-1844) published the Book of Mormon, another gospel of Jesus Christ, and set forth in motion the formal organization of the new religious movement to be known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. About five months later, Joseph Smith Sr. (1771-1840), father of the Church's founder, and his youngest son Don Carlos Smith (1816-1841) carried the controversial text and new religion into Upper Canada. The provinces of Upper Canada and the Maritimes offered up hundreds of converts to the growing religious organization later named the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church). As the centre of Mormonism moved British North America lost many of these converts to locations such as Kirtland, Ohio and Nauvoo, Illinois, but their ties to the future-nation of Canada remained strong.

One such convert was John Taylor (1808-1887). He started his life in Milnthorpe, Westmorland, England, was christened in the Church of England and later, became an adult member of the Methodist Church. His parents relocated to Upper Canada around 1830, and John joined them in Toronto in 1832 where his connections to Methodism led him to his first wife Leonora Cannon (1796-1868) whom he married in January of 1833. Growing dissatisfaction with the Methodist Church and a meeting with LDS missionary Parley P. Pratt (1807-1857) opened the Taylors to learning about the new church. According to LDS Church History, Pratt baptized John and Leonora in the year 1836 in Black Creek at Georgetown, Ontario. The following year, Prophet Joseph Smith Jr. (1805-1844) traveled to Upper Canada and soon called John Taylor as an Apostle, an ordained leader, of the LDS Church, which required his relocation

to Missouri. Taylor eventually became the third President and Prophet of the LDS Church in 1880.¹

When the Latter-day Saints faced severe pressure from the American government, President Taylor looked back to his time in Canada and suggested that the Church search Canadian territory for a place where the LDS might find peace from prosecution for their practice of plural marriage (the custom of a man marrying more than one woman). Following the efforts of Charles Ora Card (1839-1906), Latter-day Saints began settling in the District of Alberta in the North-West Territories in 1887. Many of these settlers were involved in non-monogamous relationships, but tended to bring only one spouse to the new Canadian communities. Before, the Church sought converts and encouraged gathering together in Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and Utah. Now, the in-gathering of the Saints began to shift to a scattering of Zion's seeds out into the world. The permanent residency of Latter-day Saints in Canada was the first such experiment. Once more, the LDS were in a diaspora, starting over, separated from their Church headquarters and families, on the Canadian prairies.

1.1 Thesis

This dissertation examines how Latter-day Saints—originally an American tradition—expanded into an international religion beginning with their settlement on Canadian soil. Inspired by the “Americanization thesis” promoted by scholars such as sociologist Armand L. Mauss, geographer Ethan R. Yorgason, and historian Thomas G. Alexander, who argued that Latter-day Saints assimilated into the American mainstream society by the mid-20th century, one

¹ In the LDS Church, the Prophet is a man selected by God, as representative of Jesus Christ, to teach and lead the Church as president and prophet.

might expect to find a linear progression of “Canadianization” and a clear distinction between American and Canadian Latter-day Saints by the 1950s. These and other previous studies that measured the different ways and levels of assimilation guided the research of this dissertation into categories such as politics, economics, marriage, and gender, searching for a Canadian mirror to the American story. However, there was no singular element that differentiated American from Canadian Latter-day Saints and so my search for a “Canadian Mormonism” shifted gears and concentrated more on Canadian society (and less on “American Mormonism”) and Canadian narratives, and how Canadian LDS negotiated their identities in these Canadian contexts as a type of integration rather than “Canadianization.” The key to offering a critical analysis of negotiation, especially with a case study featuring Latter-day Saints, was to focus on the tension between integration and peculiarity/particularity.² Beliefs, traditions, and practices unique to Mormonism, characteristics that drew borders around themselves and maintained an identity of peculiarity, provided enough tension between the LDS and outsiders to keep them separate and different, although in a generally inoffensive way because the Mormons successfully represented themselves as valuable settlers and labourers who posed little threat to the status quo in Canadian society.

As this dissertation will show, Latter-day Saints living in southern Alberta from 1887 to 1947 integrated into Canadian society and maintained their “peculiar” identity through negotiations evident in their material culture, business style and politics, gendered roles, and

² The term “peculiar” comes from LDS sources and is not derogative. In 1892, LDS Church President Wilford Woodruff admitted that “The Latter-day Saints are somewhat peculiar from other religious denominations.” See J. Spencer Fluhman, *A Peculiar People: Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012). Throughout this dissertation I will use both “peculiar” and “particular” to describe distinctiveness.

family and marriage practices. Integration was a negotiation. Mainstream society forced the newcomer to decide what they were willing to give up, maintain, or innovate in their own tradition as well as what they would adopt, reject, or ignore in their adopted society. As this dissertation will demonstrate, depending on the group's level of success, they might also maintain some tensions with the dominant society and keep a distinctive identity that the dominant group(s) would find acceptable. The process of negotiation, however, takes time; it is multi-dimensional, messy, and complicated.

The title of this dissertation comes from chapter 35 verse 7 of Isaiah: "And the parched ground shall become a pool, and the thirsty land springs of water: in the habitation of dragons, where each lay, shall be grass with reeds and rushes." Latter-day Saints interpreted this chapter to mean that "In the day of restoration, the desert will blossom, the Lord will come, Israel will be gathered, and Zion will be built up."³ While many might read and think of the Mormon experience in Utah, with the evolving meanings of Zion and the globalization of the Church, the passage also applies to the Mormon experience in Canada. Latter-day Saints in Canada not only literally brought water to "parched ground" through several irrigation projects in southern Alberta, but also, with time, flourished, or blossomed, like vegetation from watered soil. Where once there was no water, water shall abound; where once there was no LDS Church, Latter-day Saints shall prosper.

³ In 1831, Joseph Smith Jr. asked God about "the gathering" to Zion and received the revelation that "in the barren deserts there shall come forth pools of living water; and the parched ground shall no longer be a thirsty land" (D&C 133:29).

1.2 The Outline

The goal of this dissertation is to explore how Mormons negotiated a particular identity in Canada by responding to a number of social environments. In the following literature review, I divide previous scholarship into three categories that align with the processes/methods and contributions of this dissertation: providing a religious studies perspective to the study of Latter-day Saints in Canada, including non-dominant religious groups in the history of religion in Canada, and introducing Canadian Mormon history into the growing field of “Mormon Studies.”

Chapters two to five using categorized sections, are “Material Culture,” “Business and Politics,” “Women,” and “Family and Marriage.” The Material Culture chapter looks at Mormon material culture with a focus on architecture and grave-markers in southern Alberta. In Business and Politics, I study the LDS emphasis on co-operation, their participation in the Canadian political system at various levels, and distinctly Albertan political ideology. The chapter concentrating on women and gender considers the evolution of women’s roles in Church, home, and society. The practice of plural marriage dominates the chapter called Family and Marriage, which also investigates its intersection with Canadian law and Indigenous customs of non-monogamous relationships. Finally, the conclusion summarizes my findings and thesis. Content in the next four chapters breaks into sections and subsections under the headings “Otherness,” “Difference,” and “Integration.” Otherness sections explore the early periods of Mormon settlement in Alberta when practices, such as polygamy, or unusual buildings, such as the

Temple, caused the greatest amount of tension with the surrounding community.⁴ This tension blocked any attempts to integrate. The categories of Difference sometimes discuss difference from Canadians and difference from American LDS. This was a significant discovery in my research because it was the subtle differences that maintained or created Latter-day Saints' distinct identity. Not only did Canadian LDS balance tensions with Canadian society, but also with their American Church brethren. Integration sections examine how the LDS in Canada abandoned what made them "Other" and participated in the mainstream society, for example, political participation in the Canadian government, or the excommunication of vocal supporters of plural marriage.

1.3 Historical Background

The American Revolution accelerated an erosion of tradition and expansion of independent thinking in the former British colonies. Separated from Great Britain, the isolated United States "made it possible for religious outsiders to see their own destiny as part and parcel of the meaning of America itself," and this ideology weakened the upper class and likewise their religious institutions.⁵ In *The Democratization of American Christianity*, historian Nathan O. Hatch, discussing Joseph Smith Jr., wrote, "In a land of democratic promise and burgeoning capitalist expectation, Smith was born into a family in 1805 that never was able to break the grip of poverty, wearisome toil, and chronic dislocation."⁶ They lived in New York State, surrounded by religious revivals and an assortment of denominations and sects, none of which helped the

⁴ Temples, for LDS Church members, are the most sacred place of worship on earth, distinct from their meetinghouses. A Temple is the house of the Lord where members participate in sacred ceremonies that do not occur outside the temple.

⁵ Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 113.

Smith family in their search for stability, spirituality, and prosperity. By 1830, Joseph Smith Jr., earlier claiming he possessed gold plates and the tools to translate them, published the Book of Mormon, a narrative written in biblical prose, set in the New World, as a fifth Gospel. In the new text,

Smith also projects a distinctly populist vision that suggests how God will restore the ancient order of things. He is violently anticlerical but confident that God will reconstitute the church according to popular norms. The Book of Mormon has its own preferential option for the poor, not as persons to be pitied, but as those whom God has chosen to empower.⁷

Violent opposition to Smith and his followers chased the growing church to Kirtland, Ohio and Jackson County, Missouri, but the group did not find peace in either location. Eventually they established another community in Illinois, calling it Nauvoo, but in 1844, after openly preaching the doctrine of plural marriage and destroying a dissident group's paper press, authorities arrested Joseph and Hyrum Smith. A mob stormed the jail and killed Joseph and his brother.

Not without conflict, Brigham Young took control of the LDS Church and instigated a further westward migration, to the territory to be known as Utah. From 1847 to 1857, almost a hundred towns came into being because of Latter-day Saints' efforts in Utah, but the public announcement of plural marriage in the summer of 1852 added more problems for the Church during this time of settlement. Despite the Civil War, Congress managed to pass the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act into legislation in 1862. The Act made marriage to more than one wife a crime and disincorporated the LDS Church.⁸ Non-LDS Americans labelled plural marriage a form of white slavery and, in 1882, the U.S. President signed the Edmunds Act and removed the right to

⁷ Ibid., 120

⁸ Terryl Givens, *The Latter-Day Saint Experience in America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 42.

vote from those practicing the doctrine of plural marriage in addition to mandating fines and imprisonment.⁹ The LDS Church did not change their beliefs or practices and thus came the Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1887. As Mormon historian Terryl Givens explained,

The bill dissolved the church, its Perpetual Emigrating Fund, and its militia, the reconstituted Nauvoo Legion. Church property was confiscated, and an obedience and loyalty test oath stripped virtually all Mormons of their political rights... A few months later, church president John Taylor died in hiding, and for the next three years, the Mormons endured more imprisonments, bankruptcy, dismembered families, and virtual criminal status for membership in their church.¹⁰

It was during this turmoil that Church leaders sent members, in particular men with more than one wife, into the North-West Territories to wait out this conflict with the U.S. government. However, in the end the Church submitted and began the end of the practice of plural marriage with the Manifesto of 1890 publicly claiming that Church leaders would no longer encourage the practice.

Latter-day Saints were outsiders from the beginning. Givens explained,

hostility to Mormonism emerged long before—and would persist long after—Mormonism’s practices of centralized gathering, economic communalism, or polygamy. From the start, opponents were contemptuous of Mormonism’s ill-suitedness to embody the sacred or the sublime... From the prophet’s [Joseph Smith’s] pedestrian background and name... to his church’s relentless pragmatism... to the specificity and proximity of the Book of Mormon’s origin and story.”¹¹

They remained outsiders in a new environment when the selected few made homes in the District of Alberta, North-West Territories.

⁹ Ibid., 43.

¹⁰ Ibid., 43 and 45.

¹¹ Ibid., 64.

In the late 1770s, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and North West Company (NWC) competed to establish fur-trading posts on land that became the province of Alberta. The two companies merged in 1821, but the fur trade turned unprofitable by the early 1860s. In 1867, the Dominion of Canada formed and, two years later, the Government of Canada, ignoring the people already living in western Canada, purchased Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory from the HBC and created the North-West Territories. Between 1871 and 1877, the Canadian government negotiated seven treaties with Indigenous peoples across the territory. Canadian historian Alvin Finkel explained, "For the federal government, the important objective was to ensure that the Native peoples' defence of their traditional territories did not stand in the way of plans to create a European commercial agricultural economy and society in what they called western Canada."¹² The production of whiskey above the border of Montana caused the prime minister to send the new North-West Mounted Police westward and, with the arrival of law and order, the treaty process and "civilization" moved forward.

Religiously, the Latter-day Saints entered a very Christian land. In 1881, the North-West Territories, with a total population of 56,466, contained over 4,000 Roman Catholics, over 3,000 Anglicans, and a collection of Lutherans, Methodists, and Presbyterians.¹³ After dividing the Territories into districts, the following census allowed more focused statistics from the District of Alberta specifically. In 1891, the total population of the District of Alberta was 25,277 (the North-West Territories had over 66,000 inhabitants) with 23% Roman Catholics, 18% Church of England, 15% Presbyterian, 10% Methodists, 10% Lutherans, and a small variety of other

¹² Alvin Finkel, "The Fur Trade and Early European Settlement" in *Working People in Alberta: A History*, ed. Alvin Finkel (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press and Canadian Committee on Labour History, 2012), 33.

¹³ Census of Canada 1880-81, Volume III (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1883), 114. General Report of the Census of Canada, 1880-81, Volume IV (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1885), 6-7.

Christian denominations.¹⁴ The Latter-day Saints arrived in a region with a population over 53% Protestant.

Industrially, the North-West Territories relied on agriculture. According to the 1891 Census, the most common occupations were farmers (7,798), stock-raisers (703), labourers (922), cabinet and furniture makers (508), and government officials (1,029).¹⁵ In addition, coal mines, ranching, natural gas reserves, and railways lured settlers to the District of Alberta, North-West Territories. The federal government divided the prairies into townships (36-square mile sections) and, after reserving land for the Canadian Pacific Railways, British male subjects and settlers received a homestead of 160 acres. In *Will the Real Alberta Please Stand Up?*, author Geo Takach stated that “The notions of starting afresh on the frontier and struggling to survive unleashed a bias against entrenched power, inherited privilege and the haughty attitudes that went with them.”¹⁶ The experience and feelings described by Takach matched the attitudes of the first Latter-day Saints in New York State learning the populist vision of Joseph Smith. Democracy and independence replaced tradition, power, and privilege. While this still defines some Albertans, University of Calgary professor Tamara Palmer Seiler also acknowledged the land, vast and open, and Alberta’s rural heritage: “Alberta’s traditional character emerged from the period of agrarian settlement, characterized by farm life, small-town life and a strong sense of community.”¹⁷ Albertans had to battle central Canada and what they perceived as morally bankrupt institutions while Latter-day Saints had to negotiate their own social, political, and economic challenges in their new Canadian home.

¹⁴ Census of Canada 1890-91, Volume I (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1893), 328-329.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 181-183.

¹⁶ Geo Takach, *Will the Real Alberta Please Stand Up?* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2010), 64.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 32.

1.4 Literature Review

a. The Religious Studies Perspective

My approach to Mormonism shifted from popular culture to religious history when I discovered the 1960 book *Founding of Cardston and Vicinity: Pioneer Problems* by Jane Woolf Bates (1873-1951) and Zina Woolf Hickman (1887-1956).¹⁸ Zina was the first child born in the first Mormon settlement in the district of Alberta in the North-West Territories. I also found a photograph in the Glenbow Archives (Image No: NA-114-14) dated about 1906 of Zina wearing University of Utah graduation regalia, showing that this daughter of frontier immigrants had eventually moved to the heart of Mormondom. As I dug deeper I discovered she entered a polygamous union with her husband George Hickman (1869-1958), who was already married to Harriett Douglas (1869-1949)—not to mention that her father was polygamous. Zina had a long career in the newspaper industry and penned the advice column “Come to Heart’s Haven with Betty Blair” for the Salt Lake *Telegram* in the 1920s.

All this information convinced me that Zina Woolf Hickman was possibly only one of many fascinating characters to come out of the Mormon settlements in southern Alberta and her book, co-written with her sister Jane, proved I was right. Zina and Jane compiled and wrote the history of their community from the years 1887 to 1897, mainly from the memories of Jane who was aged 13 when the family travelled to the North-West Territories as part of the earliest group to arrive at Lee’s Creek.¹⁹ Their history of Cardston revealed a very difficult environment and a

¹⁸ Jane E. Woolf Bates and Zina Woolf Hickman, *Founding of Cardston and Vicinity: Pioneer Problems* (N.p.: [publisher not identified], 1960). Both women died before they could see the published version of their work. Their nephew William L. Woolf made the publication possible in 1960. Amateur historians Charles Ursenbach and Norman Criland printed a second edition in October 1974.

¹⁹ In some of the Mormon literature, it is referred to as Lee Creek. See Ron Kellan, “Lee Creek (or is it “Lee’s Creek”?) – Part 1 of 2,” *RETROactive* (the official blog of the Historic Resource Management Branch of Alberta

life filled with hardships and hard work balanced with communal activities such as baseball, dances, and church. But one thing was missing from *Founding of Cardston* – plural marriage. These were the daughters of John Woolf (1843-1928), a man married to their mother Mary Hyde (1848-1915) and a second wife Celia Hatch (1856-1939). John was only one of many Mormon settlers who came to the NWT with one wife at his side and one wife back in Utah. The story of Mormons in Canada, it seems, is not only about what they did and did not do, but also about the omissions in their telling of that story.

Zina and her sister's book was neither the first nor the last research conducted by Mormon residents of southern Alberta. Newspaper editor and publisher N. W. MacLeod produced a collection of photographs, stories of settlement, work in the industries, and biographical notes in his 1900 book, *Picturesque Cardston and Environments: A Story of Colonization and Progress in Southern Alberta*.²⁰ MacLeod's book, like Bates and Woolf's historical account of the founding of Cardston, was a work of local history.

Nearly all the LDS towns in southern Alberta produced their own histories starting in 1967 with the publication of *Raymond, 1901-1967*. Compiled and edited by J. Orvin Hicken, Kay B. Redd, and John L. Evans, the book laid out the history in categories such as Churches, Cultural Activities, Education, Health Services, Sports, and Family Histories.²¹ The Cardston and District Historical Society published the first volume of *Chief Mountain Country* in 1978.

Culture and Tourism), September 11, 2012, accessed November 8, 2017, <https://albertahistoricplaces.wordpress.com/2012/09/11/lee-creek-or-is-it-lees-creek-part-1-of-2/>.

²⁰ N. W. MacLeod, *Picturesque Cardston and Environments: A Story of Colonization and Progress in Southern Alberta* (Cardston, NWT.: N.W. MacLeod, 1900).

²¹ J. Orwin Hicken, Kay B. Redd, and John L. Evans, *Raymond, 1901-1967* (Lethbridge, AB: Lethbridge Herald Co., 1967). Also see Raymond Alberta Stake Book Committee, *A Planting of the Lord: A Century of the Latter-day Saints in Raymond 1901-2001* (Raymond, AB: Raymond Alberta Stake of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2001).

Concentrating on the years 1887 to 1950, contributors to *Chief Mountain Country* intended for the volume to be “a general interpretive history of the founding and early development of the town of Cardston and the district it serves, and to be a specific history of the people who made it happen.”²² Family histories, like those in the Raymond history, made up over fifty percent of the book while the rest was organized by categories such as Communication, Culture and Entertainment, Education, and Health Care. Similarly, the Magrath area produced its own local history called *Irrigation Builders* in 1974.²³ Both books combined family histories and local history using newspapers, personal diaries, and interviews. In the 1980s, the town of Stirling produced its own collection called *Stirling: Its Story and People, 1899-1908* and Cardston completed the second volume of *Chief Mountain Country*.²⁴ These local histories were not analytical or revolutionary, and they ignored the fact that their ancestors practiced plural marriage, but they were informative and significant stepping stones for my further research into the lives of southern Albertans.

The significance of the Latter-day Saints’ settlements in southern Alberta did not escape the notice of Canadian sociologist Carl A. Dawson. Dawson turned his attention to the LDS in part three of *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada*. He identified seven ways the LDS were more successful at joining Canadian society than the Doukhobors and Mennonites. The first, religious institutions, provided unity and prevented loneliness; the second, division of responsibility, provided the population with various responsibilities; third, observed

²² Keith Shaw, ed., *Chief Mountain Country: A History of Cardston and District*, vol. 1 (Cardston, AB: Cardston and District Historical Society, 1978), preface.

²³ Magrath and District History Association, *Irrigation Builders* (Magrath, AB: Magrath and District History Association, 1974).

²⁴ Stirling Sunset Society, *Stirling: Its Story and People, 1899-1908* (Stirling, AB: Stirling Sunset Society, 1981). Beryl Bectell, ed., *Chief Mountain Country: A History of Cardston and District*, vol. 2 (Cardston, AB: Cardston and District Historical Society, 1987).

Dawson, the group had an “unusual degree of dependence upon the insight, foresight, and inspiration of the leader.”²⁵ Some of these dominant leaders were Charles Ora Card (1839-1906), John W. Taylor (1858-1916), and Edward J. Wood (1866-1956). The role of prophecy, patriarchal blessings, and healing ordinances also contributed to their success as a community. In particular, blessings acted as a “religious device among the Mormons which acts as a stabilizer to the individual in times of crisis.”²⁶ The seventh circumstance that facilitated the community’s success was Canadian weather and community prayer because problematic weather conditions, such as hail and floods, affected crops and homes, but miracles achieved through prayer acted as unifiers and symbols of hope.²⁷

Rural sociologist Lowry Nelson’s contribution to *Group Settlement* also appeared in his book *The Mormon Village*. Nelson homed in on the concept of the farm village as employed by LDS settlers while visiting Canadian communities in the 1930s. “The manner in which rural people arrange their habitations upon the land constitutes one of the important factors determining the nature of the social organization,” wrote Nelson.²⁸ The Mormon village came from the Plat of the City of Zion which was “a social invention of that group, motivated by a sense of urgent need to prepare a dwelling place for the Saviour at His Second Coming.”²⁹ The

²⁵ Carl. A. Dawson, *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936; Millwood, NY: Kraus, 1974), 260. Citations refer to the 1974 edition.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 265. According to the LDS Church, an “ordinance” is a sacred ritual for example anointing with consecrated oil, laying hands on the sick, baptism, celestial marriage, dedication of buildings, and naming of children. A “Patriarchal Blessing” is another example of an ordinance. In this case, an authorized patriarch places his hands on the recipient’s head and gives a blessing that can identify the tribe of Israel the recipient belongs to, offer advice or counsel, or bless the recipient with specific gifts or knowledge.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952), 3.

²⁹ Nelson, *Mormon Village*, 28. The Plat of the City of Zion: everyone lived in the city, the city is a mile square, blocks contain ten acres cut into half-acre lots allowing 20 houses to the block. Streets are 8 rods wide and intersect at right angles and run north and south, and east and west. The middle tier of blocks should be 50% wider than the others and are used for schools, churches, and public buildings. Stables and barns are outside the city. See Nelson,

early LDS settlements, as farm villages, separated their homes from their farms, grouping their homes in villages with wide streets and large yards for gardens and smaller stock.³⁰

Moving forward, in the 1980s, Canadian sociologists Brinkerhoff and Grandin questioned how rural youth treated Latter-day Saints in rural Albertan communities. After interviewing more than 250 high school students they concluded that “religious factors (activity, as measured by listening to religious radio, and beliefs in the paranormal) and social familiarity factors (both the number of Mormon acquaintances and closeness to them) have significant independent effects on religious distance for Mormons. This appears to confirm that anti-group hostility, in this case directed toward the Mormons, can be countered by exposure to cosmopolitan world views and by becoming personally better acquainted with the targets of hostility.”³¹

In addition to local/amateur histories and academic sociological studies, the discipline of history offers a large selection of research on Canadian Mormonism. A popular topic has been the founding of Cardston and other early settlements in Alberta by the Latter-day Saints. For example, relying heavily on Charles Ora Card’s papers, Wilcox’s 1950 M.A. thesis examined the period of “exploration, colonization, and consolidation,” but denied the practice of polygamy in Alberta and lacked thorough footnotes or in-text citations.³² In his article for *Pacific Northwest*

Mormon Village, 38. “Zion,” according to LDS beliefs, is either a group of God’s followers or a place where such a group lives.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.

³¹ Merlin B. Brinkerhoff and Elaine Grandin, “Contemporary Reactions to Mormonism: A Case Study from Rural Alberta,” *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 16, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 181. Also see Merlin B. Brinkerhoff, Elaine Grandin, Irving Hexham and Carson Pue, “The Perception of Mormons by Rural Canadian Youth,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30, no. 4 (1991): 479-486. Also see Kristen L. Goodman and Tim B. Heaton, “LDS Church Members in the U.S. and Canada: A Demographic Profile,” *AMCAP Journal* 12, no. 1 (1986): 88-107.

³² Archie G. Wilcox, “Founding of the Mormon Community in Alberta,” (master’s thesis, University of Alberta, 1950). A similar standard history of Cardston is Karen West, “Cardston: The Temple City, Canada,” *Canadian Geographical Journal* 71 (1965): 163-169. For more details on why the LDS migrated to the North-West Territories see John R. Hicken, “Events Leading to the settlement of the communities of Cardston, Magrath, Stirling and Raymond, Alberta” (master’s thesis, Utah State University, 1968).

Quarterly, history professor Lawrence B. Lee examined the role of the Canadian government in the success of the Mormon colonization in Alberta and attributed the partnership of the Church with the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company as an important factor.³³ Later, demonstrating what can result from studying diaries and personal histories, a group of two Brigham Young University professors along with a Church administrator and president of the Cardston Historical Society teamed up and determined that the route of the first party of Mormon pioneers to Alberta was actually along the Riplinger Road and not the Whoop-Up Trail.³⁴

Historians also studied Canadian regions outside of Alberta that are of significance to the LDS Church. Richard E. Bennett's M.A. thesis combined the study of religious pluralism in Upper Canada in the 19th century and the Mormon concept of "the gathering."³⁵ The first Latter-day Saints travelled to Upper Canada to recruit members for their new church and encouraged them to move to the United States to live with their fellow Latter-day Saints. For an article in *BC Studies*, Bennett, working with Arran Jewsbury, examined correspondence between Brigham Young and the Hudson's Bay Company during the years 1846 to 1858 because "for a period of time, the HBC and the British government took the possibility of a Mormon exodus to [Vancouver] Island very seriously and laid contingency plans for it."³⁶ Also writing for *BC Studies*, Robert J. McCue presented the untold story of the first Latter-day Saints on Vancouver Island from their migration in the 1870s to missionary efforts in the early 20th century.³⁷ Across

³³ Lawrence B. Lee, "The Mormons Come to Canada, 1887-1902," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (1968): 21.

³⁴ Dennis A. Wright, Guy L. Dorius, David L. Innes, and H. Dale Lowry, "Mapping the Alberta Route of the 1887 Mormon Trek from Utah to Cardston," *Alberta History* 51, no. 3 (2003): 2-11.

³⁵ Richard E. Bennett, "A Study of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Upper Canada, 1830-1850" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1975).

³⁶ Richard Bennett and Arran Jewsbury, "The Lion and the Emperor: The Mormons, The Hudson's Bay Company, and Vancouver Island, 1846-1858," *BC Studies* no. 128 (Winter 2000/2001): 37.

³⁷ Robert J. McCue, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and Vancouver Island: The Establishment and Growth of the Mormon Community," *BC Studies* no. 42 (Summer 1979): 51-64.

the country in Nova Scotia, Gordon Pollock explored a similar unknown history of the Church in Nova Scotia for the *Nova Scotia Historical Review*.³⁸

Probably the most thorough work came from Melvin Tagg's Ph.D. dissertation, which he turned into a book sponsored by the Lethbridge Stake.³⁹ Tagg wrote the first straightforward, chronological history of the LDS Church in Canada from 1830 to 1963 starting with the early missions in Upper Canada to the colonization of southern Alberta and transition to permanent life in Canada.⁴⁰ After comparing Tagg's dissertation to his book, I realized how much important data he kept out of the book and concluded that the dissertation was the more reliable source. For example, he included several sections on all aspects of polygamy in his dissertation, but these sentences and paragraphs were left out of the book. For example, regarding their infamous trip to Ottawa, Tagg wrote, "Another important matter which the Mormons wanted clarified was the possibility of bringing plural wives to Canada to live. Accordingly, they proposed to send a delegation to Ottawa, the Dominion capital, to ascertain their rights in these matters and to petition for use of natural resources. John W. Taylor and Francis M. Lyman – two of the apostles from Utah – and C. O. Card carried these matters to the heads of the Canadian government."⁴¹ This, along with several more pages, are absent from the book. For the book, Tagg instead added more details on specific stakes and missions in Canada while deleting significant elements that contributed to the colonization and life of the Latter-day Saints. By the 1960s, when Tagg wrote

³⁸ Gordon Douglas Pollock, "Tin Hat on the Disciples of Brigham Young: Nova Scotians, Mormons, and Polygamy, 1920-1928," *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 14 (1994):41-67.

³⁹ "Stake" is an intermediate unit of organization between Church headquarters and the local wards, usually comprised of five to twelve wards.

⁴⁰ Melvin S. Tagg, "A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Canada, 1830-1963" (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1963). Melvin S. Tagg, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada* (Lethbridge, AB: Lethbridge Stake Historical Committee, 1968).

⁴¹ Tagg, "A History of the Church," 139.

his dissertation, Latter-day Saints had witnessed their Church excommunicate members (John H. Blackmore) for just talking about plural marriage let alone practicing it.⁴² They also saw government officials raid Mormon fundamentalist communities and separate children from parents at Short Creek, Arizona in 1953.⁴³ The contemporary Latter-day Saint identified more with their non-Mormon American or Canadian neighbour than they did with their Mormon fundamentalist cousins. They did not want any link to polygamy, fundamentalism, or plural marriage and it may well explain why the Lethbridge Stake and Tagg deleted sensitive material.

Mormon towns outside of Cardston received academic attention as well. Tychsen wrote his M.Sc. thesis on the town of Raymond, Alberta.⁴⁴ The region was also of importance to Iwaasa's research for *Alberta History* on the lives of Japanese-Canadians in Alberta. Concerning Raymond, Iwaasa reported, "What is interesting is that many Mormons played important roles in the Japanese-Canadians coming to southern Alberta at a time when the vast majority of other communities in Canada refused to accept them."⁴⁵ In another article for *Alberta History*, Historic Sites Curator for the LDS Church History Department Gary L. Boatright, Jr. presented the settlement of Stirling, Alberta and the role of its leader Theodore Brandley.⁴⁶

Other historians investigated the LDS in southern Alberta through the lens of education, politics, and secularization. In his thesis for a Masters of Education, Dean Cook considered the

⁴² In the LDS Church, to be excommunicated is the removal of Church membership and all priesthood ordinances and temple blessings. Bruce C. Hafen, "Disciplinary Procedures," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992): 385-387.

⁴³ For more on the 1953 raid of Short Creek, see Martha Sonntag Bradley, *Kidnapped from That Land: The Government Raids on the Short Creek Polygamists* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993).

⁴⁴ Holger B.C. Tychsen, "The History of Raymond, Alberta, Canada" (master's thesis, Utah State University, 1969).

⁴⁵ David B. Iwaasa, "The Mormons and their Japanese Neighbours," *Alberta History* 53, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 7.

⁴⁶ Gary L. Boatright, Jr., "Strangers in a New and Strange Land: Theodore Brandley and the Settlement of Stirling, Alberta," *Alberta History* 61, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 2-10. Also see Gary L. Boatright, Jr., "Remembering the Early Saints in Canada: The Southern Alberta Historic Markers Project," *Mormon Historical Studies* 13, nos. 1-2 (Spring/Fall 2012): 199-208.

transitions experienced within Mormon communities of southern Alberta and the use of Latter-day Saints as untrained school teachers to the incoming of trained, non-LDS teachers and, finally, to trained LDS teachers. Cook also looked at how the Latter-day Saints dealt with the move to the public-school system, which caused the LDS Church to emphasize Seminary, Institute, and auxiliary organizations to educate the next generations.⁴⁷

Over fifty years later, *The Mormon Contribution to Alberta Politics* offered the biographies of all the Latter-day Saints that made political contributions at various levels of government.⁴⁸ The political participation of the LDS is significant to any study of Albertan Mormons because, as B. Y. Card argues, “When a person stands for nomination for the Alberta Legislature or the House of Commons, it is a signal. First, that the person is a Canadian citizen, and second, that the person is willing to serve the local and larger good of the province and country.”⁴⁹

Although he concentrated on the time after my period of interest, Canadian historian David B. Marshall’s Tanner Lecture from the 2012 Mormon History Association Annual Meeting addressed my own concerns regarding Canadian Mormonism. Inspired by Jan Shipp’s metaphor, Marshall said, “to Mormonism in the historiography of the Canadian West and of the history of religion in Canada...The landscape of Mormon historiography in Canada is virtually

⁴⁷ Seminary and Institute are part of the Church Educational System (CES) designed to supplement public, secular education with religious teachings. Seminary programs are for high school students and institute programs are for college and university students. Dean Cook, “A History of Educational Institutions in Mormon Communities of Southern Alberta” (master’s thesis, University of Alberta, 1958). Also see Phyllip G. Redd, “A History of Formal Religious Instruction by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Alberta, 1890-1960,” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1961).

⁴⁸ Ernest G. Mardon, Austin A. Mardon, Catherine Mardon, and Talicia Dutchin, *The Mormon Contribution to Alberta Politics* (Edmonton: Golden Meteorite Press, 2011).

⁴⁹ B. Y. Card, “Introduction,” in *The Mormon Contribution to Alberta Politics*, Ernest G. Mardon, Austin A. Mardon, Catherine Mardon and Talicia Dutchin, *The Mormon Contribution to Alberta Politics* (Edmonton: Golden Meteorite Press, 2011), x.

barren.”⁵⁰ Several scholars have already contributed research on plural marriage in Canada. One can find articles in *Alberta History*, *Canadian Oral History Association*, and *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* on the practice of plural marriage in Alberta and the Canadian response to violations of their marriage ideals.⁵¹ But there was more to Canadian Mormonism than plural marriage and it is the goal of this dissertation to uncover how the Mormons integrated into Canadian society while maintaining their peculiar identity.

Marriage and family are undeniably significant to the study of Mormonism. Sarah Carter’s *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada* included the study of plural marriage by Latter-day Saints in Alberta, as they were neighbours to the Kainai Nation, which also practiced polygamy. Carter examined the law around marriage practices in Canada and how it related to the Indigenous communities in the west with some attention given to the effects on Mormonism.⁵² While she devoted more attention to Indigenous peoples, I centre my study around the LDS communities instead.

The leader of the Mormon migration to the North-West Territories Charles Ora Card also drew attention from historians. Professor of Journalism and Telecommunications Donald G. Godfrey wrote Card’s biography with a focus on the years leading up to the migration north and

⁵⁰ David B. Marshall, “The Latter-day Saints, the Doughnut, and Post-Christian Canada,” in *From the Outside Looking In: Essays on Mormon History, Theology, and Culture*, ed. Reid L. Neilson and Matthew J. Grow (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 301.

⁵¹ Brian Champion, “Mormon Polygamy: Parliamentary Comments, 1889-1890,” *Alberta History* 35, no. 2 (1987): 10-18. Jessie L. Embry, “The Mormon Experience in Alberta: Oral History of the Polygamy Question,” *Canadian Oral History Association Journal* 9 (1989): 17-20. Dan Erickson, “Alberta Polygamists? The Canadian Climate and Response to the Introduction of Mormonism’s “Peculiar Institution,”” *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 86, no. 4 (Fall 1995): 155-164.

⁵² Sarah Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada to 1915* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2008).

settlement of Cardston.⁵³ Several years later, Godfrey teamed up with Brigham Y. Card and they published Card's diaries from his years in Canada.⁵⁴ This has been an invaluable resource as I use it to compare with the primary sources when Card's handwriting is illegible.

Two edited volumes on Canadian Mormonism were particularly relevant to my dissertation. The first is *The Mormon Presence in Canada* where we see celebrated Mormon scholars, such as Leonard J. Arrington and Armand L. Mauss, and familiar names from above such as Bennett, McCue, and Card, who have already contributed to the field of Canadian Mormon Studies. This volume was published over 25 years ago, but still contained important research for any study of Canadian Mormonism. For example, Den Otter and Palmer's chapters described public reactions to the arrival of the LDS in southern Alberta and the opposition their presence created.⁵⁵ Embry and Hardy's chapters compared the Canadian and Mexican experiences, while Beecher devoted her chapter to the roles of women in the settlement process.⁵⁶ In his chapter, anthropologist Keith Parry argued for a Mormon ethnic identity because of their "distinctive vocabulary; shared history; distinctive theological beliefs leading to a preoccupation with genealogy; and definite in-group boundaries (including prohibitions on the

⁵³ Donald G. Godfrey, *Charles Ora Card: Southern Alberta Pioneer* (Mesa: D.G. Godfrey, Godfrey Family Organization, 1987). Also see Donald G. Godfrey, "'Canada's Brigham Young': Charles Ora Card, Southern Alberta Pioneer," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1988): 223-238.

⁵⁴ Charles Ora Card, *The Diaries of Charles Ora Card: The Canadian Years, 1886-1903*, ed. Donald G. Godfrey and B. Y. Card (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993).

⁵⁵ A.A. Den Otter, "A Congenial Environment: Southern Alberta on the Arrival of the Mormons," in *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, ed. B. Y. Card et al. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1990), 53-74. Howard Palmer, "Polygamy and Progress: The Reaction to Mormons in Canada, 1887-1923," in *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, ed. Brigham Y. Card et al (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1990), 108-135.

⁵⁶ Jessie L. Embry, "Two Legal Wives: Mormon Polygamy in Canada, The United States, and Mexico," B. Carmon Hardy, "Mormon Polygamy in Mexico and Canada: A Legal and Historiographical Review," and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Mormon Women in Southern Alberta: The Pioneer Years," in *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, ed. Brigham Y. Card et al (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1990).

use of alcohol, tobacco, tea and coffee, and an emphasis on in-group marriage).”⁵⁷ These essays are a guide and starting point for anyone interested in the LDS Church in Canada.

The second edited collection comes from Brigham Young University and is titled *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Western Canada*. Two chapters are particularly significant to my work. Andrew H. Hedges’ chapter on the impact of southern Alberta on the Latter-day Saints examined the new landscape, extreme climate, and various surrounding cultures such as the Kainai Nation and government bodies such as the Mounted Police.⁵⁸ Mary Jane Woodger’s chapter on the manifestation of spiritual gifts in southern Alberta is a helpful companion to my chapter on the changing roles of women. Concerning the gift of tongues, I agree with Woodger that “Giving comfort to others was often the objective of the interpretation’s message.”⁵⁹ Other essays from this collection do not add new research, but reiterate the narratives already presented by earlier histories. For example, McCue’s chapter on the attitude toward plural marriage in Canada is similar to Den Otter and Palmer’s chapters in *The Mormon Presence*. Chapters on the Alberta temple, irrigation industry, polygamy, and the Ottawa delegation can all be found in earlier publications. These are significant topics, but the contributors offer no new information.

⁵⁷ Keith Parry, “Mormons as Ethnics: A Canadian Perspective,” in *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, 330. For Parry’s study of Mormon missionaries on the Blood Indian Reserve see Keith Parry, “To Raise These People Up: An Examination of a Mormon Mission to an Indian Community as an Agent of Social Change” (PhD diss., University of Rochester, 1972).

⁵⁸ Andrew H. Hedges, ““I Wondered If I Could Feel at Home”: Southern Alberta Through the Eyes of Its Early Saints, 1883-1910,” in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Western Canada*, ed. Wright et al. (Provo, UT: Dept. of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 2000), 75-97.

⁵⁹ Mary Jane Woodger, “Frontier Prophetesses: The Gift of Tongues as Manifested by Latter-day Saint Women in Southern Alberta, 1894-1930,” in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Western Canada*, ed. Wright et al. (Provo, UT: Dept. of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 2000), 128.

Almost as popular as the discipline of history for examining the LDS Church in Canada is geography. Professor of Geography at the University of Winnipeg John C. Lehr contributed several significant articles concerning the Latter-day Saints in southern Alberta. In his article for *Southern Alberta Geographer* titled “Mormon Settlement Morphology in Southern Alberta,” Lehr argued that the Mormon farm villages in Alberta were not reproductions of the Plat of Zion model.⁶⁰ Lehr wrote, “the Church hierarchy actively promoted the farm village as the desirable unit of settlement for Mormon colonization. Paradoxically, Church support had little theological basis but was socially motivated.”⁶¹ Although “the origins of the Mormon village lie rooted in the millennialist eschatology of Mormonism, its perpetuation was solely pragmatic.”⁶² This type of settlement plan “was an empirical attempt to create urban social conditions in the agrarian frontier environment...to secure such an intensity of involvement in religious and quasi-religious activity.”⁶³ The following year Lehr continued his research of Mormonism in Alberta and searched for differences between the Mormon religious landscape and Mormon cultural landscape. He argued that “Transference of cultural landscape elements from the culture hearth [Utah] was therefore dependent upon their relevance to the Mormon pioneer environment of Alberta.”⁶⁴ In other words, what they did not need they let go of and made Alberta, their settlement enclave, different from their homeland, the culture hearth. Working from Francaviglia’s definition of the Mormon Landscape, Lehr identified five of the ten key landscape elements typical of the Mormon West that were absent in Alberta: roadside irrigation ditches,

⁶⁰ John C. Lehr, “Mormon Settlement Morphology in Southern Alberta,” *Southern Alberta Geographer* no. 8 (1972): 9-10. Also note John C. Lehr, “Mormon Settlements in Southern Alberta” (master’s thesis, University of Alberta, 1971).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ John C. Lehr, “The Mormon Cultural Landscape in Alberta,” *Malaspina Papers: Studies in Human and Physical Geography* (1973): 27.

more brick than wood buildings, a specific Mormon architectural style, Mormon hay derricks, and the Mormon fence.⁶⁵ Lehr observed five elements indicative of Mormon settlement in southern Alberta, the contemporary enclave. The first was the farm village, cardinally oriented on a grid system of wide streets and large lots.⁶⁶ The second was ward chapels with tall, thin spires, an absence of crosses, and brick or masonry construction.⁶⁷ In addition to these two, open field landscape around the settlements, an absence of liquor stores and bars, and unpainted farm buildings were characteristic of the LDS settlements. Lehr concluded that the elements present in the hearth/Utah, but not in the enclave/Alberta were elements that have only a peripheral relationship to Mormonism and were more so connected to European and artisanal influence rather than religious influence.⁶⁸

After surveying the literature on Canadian Mormonism, we can see that there are no comprehensive, analytical histories of Canadian Mormonism from a religious studies perspective. While he was a doctoral candidate in religion at Harvard University, Richard Sherlock published in *Journal of Mormon History* on the topic of Mormon migration and settlement after 1875 to places such as Colorado, Mexico, and Canada. However, his treatment

⁶⁵ Ibid., 27-28. See Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape: Definition of an Image in the American West," *Association of American Geographers, Proceedings, Vol. 2* (1970): 59-61.

⁶⁶ Lehr, "Mormon Cultural Landscape," 28-29.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 29. A "Ward" is the basic ecclesiastical unit comparable to a Protestant congregation or Roman Catholic parish. Membership in a ward ranges from 300 to 600 people and it is part of a larger unit called a stake. See Douglas D. Alder, "Ward." in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992): 1541-1543.

⁶⁸ Lehr, "Mormon Cultural Landscape," 30. Also see John C. Lehr, "Poligamy, Patrimony and Prophecy: The Mormon Colonization of Cardston," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21, no. 4 (1988): 114-121; and, Yossi Katz and John C. Lehr, "Jewish and Mormon Agricultural Settlement in Western Canada: A Comparative Analysis," *The Canadian Geographer* 35, no. 2 (1991): 128-142. For data on Canadians and religiously motivated travel to Mormon historic sites in New York state see Klaus D. Gurgel, "Travel Patterns of Canadian Visitors to the Mormon Culture Hearth," *The Canadian Geographer* 20, no. 4 (1976): 405-418. For another geographer's summary of Mormon settlement see Lynn A. Rosenvall, "The Transfer of Mormon Culture to Alberta," *American Review of Canadian Studies: Essays on the Historical Geography of the Canadian West* 12, no. 2 (1982): 51-63. For a presentation of statistical data on the membership of the LDS Church in Canada see Dean R. Louder, "Canadian Mormons in their North American Context: A Portrait," *Social Compass* 40, no. 2 (1993): 271-290.

of Canada is unoriginal, briefly summarizing the reasons for migration and success in southern Alberta.⁶⁹ Lori Beaman, professor of Classics and Religious Studies at the University of Ottawa, offered another example of someone with experience in religious studies directing their attention to Canadian Mormonism, though only with respect to contemporary phenomena. Her article for *Sociology of Religion* presented the “diverse ways in which LDS women exercise their agency, negotiate their identities as agents, and challenge and shape church structure.”⁷⁰ After interviewing over 25 women living in southern Alberta, Beaman concluded that most LDS women remained within the boundaries of church doctrine while negotiating these boundaries by actions such as joining the workforce or challenging expectations of the family structure.

I returned to the two edited collections mentioned above with expectations that at least one contributor had a degree in religious studies. However, in *Regional Studies*, the majority of writers had earned a PhD in history, and there was not one from religious studies. The same was found in *The Mormon Presence in Canada* – the contributors made up a more diverse group of historians, sociologists, geographers, and English professors, but still no religious studies. It is a goal of this dissertation to provide the first study of the history of Mormonism in southern Alberta from a critical religious studies perspective.

My training in religious studies involved history, sociology, theology, and many more disciplines that enabled me to understand and investigate events, people, and practices from various points of view. I am not limited to textual material or to interviewing participants. A religious studies perspective allowed me to observe and identify things that might pass by other scholars. For example, knowing the LDS beliefs regarding their plan for salvation, eternal

⁶⁹ Richard Sherlock, “Mormon Migration and Settlement After 1875,” *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975): 52-69.

⁷⁰ Lori G. Beaman, “Molly Mormons, Mormon Feminists and Moderates: Religious Diversity and the Latter-day Saints Church,” *Sociology of Religion* 62, no. 1 (2001): 66.

progression, and the Spirit World led me to consider the cemetery a sacred space. In addition, recognizing the diversity throughout Canadian Christianity helped contextualize the environment the LDS walked into in 1887 and lived through to the mid-20th century. The motivations behind political decisions (supporting the Social Credit Party) and economic choices (co-operative businesses) all related to religious beliefs, i.e., how they could affect their own salvation and those of their neighbours.

b. Non-Dominant Groups in Canadian Religious History

Anglo-Protestant and French-Catholic narratives dominate the histories of religion in Canada. Scholars of Canadian religion and history must take into consideration the stories of non-dominant peoples, such as Mennonites, Latter-day Saints, and Indigenous peoples, in order to uncover new narratives and hear from suppressed or ignored voices. Furthermore, such studies not only have inherent value but they help contextualize and nuance our understandings of those dominant groups. For example, Canadian sociologist W. E. Mann devoted his attention to non-dominant groups in the book *Sect, Cult, and Church in Alberta* as part of a series on the Social Credit movement published by the University of Toronto. Mann's goal was "To show the way in which religious organization has adapted itself to changing conditions of social life."⁷¹ Like his fellow Canadian sociologist S. D. Clark, author of *Church and Sect in Canada*, Mann used the theoretical framework of church/denomination/sect/cult (originating ultimately with Weber) to understand the historical, social, and economic developments in the province and their relationship to religious organizations. Mann wrote, "only by viewing the religious developments in Alberta against the background of frontier expansion and community instability could anyone

⁷¹ W. E. Mann, *Sect, Cult, and Church in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), 153.

begin to understand the social roots of resurgent sect and cult movements.”⁷² Given that this is Mann’s agenda, the complete absence of Mormonism from his study is puzzling. The LDS Church does not easily fall into any category, but it combines qualities of sects and denominations so its absence from Mann is unacceptable. He wrote, “Among important sections of the population the sects and cults replaced the denominations,” but, I ask, what about the populations of Cardston and Warner Counties where one finds large populations of Latter-day Saints?⁷³ Examples of sects, according to Mann, were Jehovah’s Witnesses, Pentecostal Assemblies, and the Salvation Army. They were characterized by weekly prayer meetings, mid-week meetings, revival meetings, sectarian educational institutions, lay participation, renunciation of worldly amusements, and local headquarters not in Eastern Canada. Considering the LDS Church, who had weekly Sacrament meetings on Sundays, Relief Society and Priesthood meetings during weekdays, conference meetings semi-annually, Seminary and Institute for high school and college-aged members, lay participation at all levels, renunciation of premarital sex, coffee, liquor, and tea, and headquarters in Utah, one could conclude that they matched the definition of a sect.⁷⁴ What I gain from Mann is confirmation of the importance of Alberta. Alberta is significant because of its history of religious non-conformity and various religious groupings (LDS, Hutterites, Mennonites, etc.). Furthermore, Alberta offers examples of the influential role of sectarian religion in the political and social development of the region and country.⁷⁵

⁷² Ibid., 8.

⁷³ Ibid., 153.

⁷⁴ The “Priesthood” is the power of God delegated to men to act as authorized agents and perform ordinances who also preside within the organizational structure of the Church. Richard G. Ellsworth and Melvin J. Luthy, “Priesthood,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992): 1133-1138.

⁷⁵ For further demonstration of the significance of Alberta to Canada’s historical narratives, see Clark Banack, *God’s Province: Evangelical Christianity, Political Thought, and Conservatism in Alberta* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2016).

Surveying the scholarship of the history of religion in Canada, I found few scholars included the LDS Church in their research. In *The Church in the Canadian Era*, clergyman and professor of Church History John Webster Grant allotted one sentence to the Latter-day Saints when he observed after World War II that “The Mormons, who had not previously expanded far beyond several colonies in southern Alberta, began to be visible in all parts of Canada.”⁷⁶ The presence of Latter-day Saints in British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario indicated that Grant’s observation was an exaggeration.

Canadian historian Anthony W. Rasporich was one scholar that wrote about both Western Canada and non-dominant groups. In an essay comparing utopian settlements throughout the prairie provinces, Rasporich observed the survival of several sectarian religious groups such as the Latter-day Saints and Doukhobors. “The diaspora to Canada,” wrote Rasporich, “thus occurred in a period of forceful assimilation of American economic and social values, and the flight northward may be seen as a form of conservative social escape to preserve the integral socio-economic features of their culture.”⁷⁷ The distinctive aspects that the LDS tried to preserve in Canada, argued Rasporich, were plural marriage, nuclear farming villages, and co-operative economic organizations.⁷⁸ He continued this argument in another essay titled, “Utopia, Sect and Millennium in Western Canada, 1870-1940.” Using Charles Ora Card’s diaries, Rasporich added, “The fluid boundaries between eschatology and community-building

⁷⁶ John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Vancouver: Regent College, 1998), 177.

⁷⁷ Anthony W. Rasporich, “Utopian Ideals and Community Settlements in Western Canada, 1880-1914,” in *The Prairie West as Promised Land*, ed. R. Douglas Francis and Chris Kitzan (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2007), 146. Also see A. W. Rasporich, “Utopian Ideals and Community Settlements in Western Canada,” in *The Canadian West*, ed. H. C. Klassen (Calgary: Comprint, 1977), 37-62.

⁷⁸ Rasporich, “Western Canada, 1880-1914,” 146-147.

described for Nauvoo might then be transferred to the Cardston experiment which fused sacred and secular concerns in this enduring new Jerusalem in southern Alberta.”⁷⁹

History professor Mark A. Noll provided an example of a standard North American religious history narrative in *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*. He placed the LDS Church in the section on the 19th century in a chapter titled “Outsiders” and that seemed to be their only relevance according to Noll.⁸⁰ In a chapter on Canadian religion, Noll concentrated on the eastern regions of the country, but did include the Social Credit movement of Alberta in a section on the 1930s.⁸¹

In “Church and State in Institutional Flux: Canada and the United States” for *Rethinking Church, State, and Modernity: Canada Between Europe and America*, Kevin J. Christiano mentioned the Mormons in a footnote, noting

Federal authorities greeted the Mormons, some of whom were fugitives from American justice for having contracted plural marriages south of the border, with enthusiasm. In particular, Canada valued these immigrants for their fluency in spoken English, for their reputation for sobriety and industry, and most of all for their knowledge of hydraulics that they could call upon to irrigate the semi-arid Canadian soil.⁸²

Latter-day Saints remained a side-note in Gauvreau and Hubert’s edited volume called *The Churches and Social Order in 19th and 20th Century Canada*. In this social history of

⁷⁹ Anthony W. Rasporich, “Utopia, Sect and Millennium in Western Canada, 1870-1940,” in *Prophets, Priests, and Prodigals: Readings in Canadian Religious History, 1608 to Present*, ed. David B. Marshall and Mark McGowan (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992), 223.

⁸⁰ Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1992), 192-197.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 435.

⁸² Kevin J. Christiano, “Church and State in Institutional Flux: Canada and the United States,” in *Rethinking Church, State, and Modernity: Canada Between Europe and America*, ed. David Lyon and Marguerite Van Die (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 89.

Protestantism and Catholicism in Canada, one writer observed the rise of Methodism while many treated the LDS Church and Salvation Army with suspicion.⁸³ In another volume of the religious history of Canada, writers examined the changing, rather than declining, roles of Christian churches in society.⁸⁴ Christie and Gauvreau identified the period 1880 to 1910 as one of the most conflictual periods in Canadian religious history because of sectarian splitting, gender antagonism, theological disputes, and rural/urban conflicts.⁸⁵ This was the setting for the influx of Latter-day Saints to the North-West Territories in the late 19th century. Even though the country was in turmoil, Christianity remained dominant and those outside the norm were easily identified.

Two important contributions to religious studies in Canada were *Religion and Ethnicity in Canada* and *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, both edited by Paul A. Bramadat and David Seljak. While earlier studies debated the definition of ethnicity regarding the Latter-day Saints (see *The Mormon Presence in Canada*), neither volume contained a chapter on the LDS Church. In the preface to *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, the editors claimed they were unable “to justify devoting a full chapter to interesting groups such as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints...they are addressed very briefly within other chapters as branches of the main root of a particular tradition.”⁸⁶ By continuing to leave out non-dominant groups, religious studies scholars continue to reiterate the same narratives featuring the same denominations and churches.

⁸³ Kenneth L. Draper, “Finishing Badly: Religion, Authority, and Clergy in Late-Victorian London, Ontario,” in *The Churches and Social Order in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Canada*, ed. Michael Gauvreau and Ollivier Hubert (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2006), 154.

⁸⁴ Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *Christian Churches and Their Peoples, 1840-1965: A Social History of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 4.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁸⁶ Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), xiii.

In his chapter for *Religion and Diversity in Canada*, sociologist Douglas E. Cowan discussed Canada's history of fearing and marginalizing religious groups different from the white, Anglophone, Christian norm. One of his case studies was "the moral panic" regarding fundamentalist Mormonism in British Columbia. He observed that there were plural families still living in Alberta during his stay in Cardston, but that they were different from the polygamous members of the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (FLDS) located in Lister.⁸⁷ However, they are connected by history and doctrine, even as the mainline LDS Church perpetuates a narrative of distance from polygamy.

Western Canada, especially the prairie provinces, and non-dominant groups, such as the LDS Church, are excluded from many histories of religion in Canada. This dissertation offers new narratives to add to the greater Canadian story of religious diversity. Indeed, it attempts to decentre the Eastern provinces as the site of Canadian religious interest. What does Canadian look like when, rather than Canada being what follows in the wake of the frontier, Canada is itself the frontier? What does it look like when expansion comes not from the East but the South?

c. Contribution: Canadian Mormon History

Latter-day Saints arrived in the North-West Territories in the late spring of 1887, three years before the First Manifesto announced the first steps away from plural marriage for the LDS Church. The separation from the public practice of plural marriage coincided with other attempts to blend in with their environment in the United States. As the LDS in Canada were becoming

⁸⁷ Douglas E. Cowan, "Fearing Planes, Trains, and Automobiles: Sociophobics and the Disincentive to Religious Diversity," in *Religion and Diversity in Canada*, ed. Lori G. Beaman and Peter Beyer (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 67-83.

acquainted with their new country, their family members and Church to the south were attempting to re-acquaint themselves with the American way and so my time period of interest coincides with a period of Americanization for the LDS Church. Many scholars across the fields of sociology, geography, and history studied the Church's process of assimilation, but few examined the effects this had on their Canadian members and even less have questioned whether a "Canadianization" thesis even exists.

In his 1954 article for *American Journal of Sociology*, the non-Mormon sociologist Thomas F. O'Dea, inspired by the work of Ernst Troeltsch and Max Weber, identified and critiqued ten factors that prevented the LDS Church from receiving the label of a sect. The Church's successful missionary work, economic flexibility, authoritarian structure, and choice of land in the West, allowed it to retain some sectarian characteristics while also avoiding "stagnation" suffered by many failing sects. O'Dea concluded that the Mormons "became a people, with their own subculture within the larger American culture, and their own homeland as part of the American homeland."⁸⁸ He offered a more in-depth analysis of the LDS in his monograph *The Mormons* and, in passing, mentioned Canada: "After Brigham Young's death, new Mormon settlements continued to appear, especially in Mexico and Canada, whither Mormons went to avoid prosecution for polygamy...In Canada, Cardston was established in the Province of Alberta."⁸⁹ In *The Mormons*, O'Dea considered the conflicts and strains and how the Church adapted. For example, the democratic environment birthed Mormonism, but Church members sought leadership from a single prophet who received authority from contemporary

⁸⁸ Thomas F. O'Dea, "Mormonism and the Avoidance of Sectarian Stagnation: A Study of Church, Sect, and Incipient Nationality," *American Journal of Sociology* 60, no. 3 (1954): 292.

⁸⁹ Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 87. Cardston was actually established in the District of Alberta which was in the North-West Territories; Canada did not create the province of Alberta until 1905.

revelation.⁹⁰ The Church evolved and relationships adapted so that the Church's prophet, instead of leading from his authority alone, eventually worked with a group of prominent elders to instruct and guide the membership. O'Dea explained, the LDS Church functioned on a system of "responsibility going from the bottom up and authority coming from the top down."⁹¹

In his contribution to *Essays on the American West*, sociologist Clark S. Knowlton presented his research on accommodation of subgroups in Utah, but before discussing his conclusions regarding Mexican converts adopting American values, Knowlton offered several helpful definitions. He wrote that accommodation was "the social process through which conflict and competition between individuals and groups within a society are regulated in such a way that social peace is preserved and maintained."⁹² He argued that Latter-day Saints were an ethnic minority because they were "a group whose culture, language, or dialect is distinguishably different from that of the dominant group in society" and that dominant group being the middle-class Protestant Anglo-American majority.⁹³ The Mormons, argued Knowlton, "in order to free themselves from these pressures and to win acceptance from non-Mormons, were willing to rid themselves of many if not all of the unique Mormon values that they once possessed."⁹⁴

O. Kendall White, Jr. differentiated between the LDS Church, a religious organization, and the Kingdom of God, a political organization, to demonstrate that by abandoning the ideal of

⁹⁰ Ibid., 155.

⁹¹ Ibid., 185.

⁹² Clark S. Knowlton, "Social Accommodation in Utah," in *Essays on the American West, 1974-1975*, ed. Thomas G. Alexander (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 80.

⁹³ Ibid., 84.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 84. Also see Richard D. Poll, "The Americanism of Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (Winter 1976): 76-93. Measuring patriotism in 1876 Utah, Poll argued that Utah Mormons were more American than outsiders thought. For example, they sought treatment from herb doctors and physicians, they used midwives, LDS women were busy and productive like other American women, they established businesses like the Pony Express, and followed artistic trends such as contemporary architecture revivals.

the Kingdom of God (Zion), the LDS Church could accept the political legitimacy of the nation-state, whether the United States or Canada. The Kingdom of God, a fundamental tenet of early Mormonism, “became a casualty of accommodation [and] the Saints transformed the kingdom into a mystical entity.”⁹⁵ “Zion is no longer a place, a specific location; it is an attitude, a state of mind. Zion is the pure-in-heart.”⁹⁶ This was significant for the Canadian Mormon colonies and allowed their members to develop attachment to their new nation. However, White argued that “permanence does not imply distinctiveness [but] perhaps at some point in the future Canadian nationalism will produce some differences. That Saints throughout the world may proclaim loyalty to their respective nations is no longer disputed.”⁹⁷ White concluded that the only way for a distinctive Canadian Mormonism to emerge is if a conflict between the Church (religious loyalties) and the nation-state (national interests) resulted in the Church surrendering to the nation-state.⁹⁸ But is this not what happened in the past—at least partially? Was not giving up the practice of plural marriage in favour of following the laws set forth by the nation-state one such act of surrender? Furthermore, there is no evidence that White dug deeper than the general narrative of the Canadian LDS migration to find anything “distinctly Canadian.” Primary sources from Canadian Latter-day Saints are absent in his bibliography. Concluding that Canadians and Americans are not that different, White wrote, “Since Canadian Mormonism is firmly under the wing of the central church, it would experience great difficulty and probably has little interest in developing its own forms.”⁹⁹ But White provided no evidence to support these claims. In fact, in

⁹⁵ O. Kendall White, Jr., “Mormonism in America and Canada: Accommodation to the Nation-State,” *The Canadian Journal of Sociology* 3, no. 2 (1978): 174.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

the 1940s several Latter-day Saints did develop their own form of Mormonism, returning to plural marriage and relocating to British Columbia.

Sociologists Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd supplied another contribution to the collection of work of the Americanization of Mormonism. In their monograph *A Kingdom Transformed*, they explored “how Mormonism—as a religious movement, a social organization, and a cultural system—has adapted itself to a number of internal and external pressures during the first 150 years of its history.”¹⁰⁰ Shepherd and Shepherd, through the examination of Mormon general conference addresses, offered a “statistical analysis of the changing public rhetoric of Mormon leaders.”¹⁰¹ What they discovered was a “Major transition in rhetoric from defiance and utopian themes in the earlier periods of Mormon history to respectability and conservative family themes in more recent times.”¹⁰² Conference themes of a pre-Americanized LDS Church were “church government, Kingdom of God, Zion, plural marriage, persecution, enemies, and gentiles.”¹⁰³ While all Latter-day Saints, regardless of location, had the opportunity to read conference reports in Church publications, or hear summaries from those who attended in person, Shepherd and Shepherd do not consider local conferences and potential discrepancies in themes at the local level. Even if a Church leader spoke about church growth instead of persecution at the General Conference in Salt Lake City, was the speaker at the Stake Conference also avoiding topics such as persecution, enemies, and gentiles? Shepherd and Shepherd’s study is extremely valuable, but the focus is the institutional level and not if these changes occurred

¹⁰⁰ Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984), 1.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 88.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 77.

among the membership. While I looked at the Canadian Latter-day Saints, I tried to concentrate on the regular Church members in addition to the leaders.

Thomas G. Alexander added another study, this time historical, of the LDS Church at the institutional/organizational level and the changes that occurred from 1890 to 1930. Alexander covered a spectrum of subjects including politics (single party to two-party system in Utah), marriage (plural marriage to monogamy), economics (cooperation with Gentiles), and auxiliary organizations (centralization). This history of the LDS Church included pluralism and secularization as factors causing the assimilation of the LDS into American culture. As the subtitle claims, this is “A History of the Latter-day Saints” and not “The History” since its focus is only American. Alexander included one paragraph summarizing the colony in Canada and later claimed that “the church did not enjoy a favorable image outside the United States until quite recently.”¹⁰⁴ However, the LDS in Canada, while facing some discrimination, had a strong reputation for its hard work, morality, and success soon after settling in the District of Alberta. When Alexander discussed the Church’s missionary program and listed the number of missionaries in the year 1901, Canada is absent, but the Church sent missionaries to Manitoba before this year.¹⁰⁵

A study of minorities and assimilation that included Canadian Latter-day Saints came from professors of sociology from the University of Calgary who were “Measuring the attitudes towards other religious groups” of college students in Alberta, Nebraska and Utah.¹⁰⁶ They

¹⁰⁴ Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 204 and 213.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 217.

¹⁰⁶ Merlin B. Brinkerhoff, Marlene M. Mackie, and Jeffrey C. Jacob, “Religious Tolerance: Mormons in the American Mainstream,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20, no. 3 (1987): 91.

discovered that “the hypothesis that members of a historically persecuted minority [such as the Latter-day Saints] will be more sensitive toward other minorities does not hold true for [their] LDS respondents.”¹⁰⁷ So even though they included Canadian Mormons, they were lumped in with other American participants.

One of the scholars that influenced my dissertation the most was Armand L. Mauss and his monograph *The Angel and the Beehive*. Mauss argued that by mid-twentieth century the LDS Church lacked tension with society because they had assimilated too much.¹⁰⁸ If there is no tension, there is no difference, and if there is no difference from other religions what makes the Mormon Church worth committing to? From my research, one form of “tension” can be found by the Cardston Alberta Temple. After its construction, LDS in Canada had one less reason to return to Utah—members could perform marriage ceremonies, sealings, and ordinances without travelling hundreds of miles.¹⁰⁹ The temple, generally a peculiar sight and a symbol of secrecy, kept the Canadian Saints distinct from their Canadian neighbours while also rooting them in the Canadian land. Mauss identified the current phase of the LDS Church as “retrenchment” because it is trying to regain distinctiveness by emphasizing unique practices and doctrines such as the principle of continuous revelation through modern prophets, genealogy and temple work, the missionary program, families, and religious education. While the second half of the book dealt with Mormonism after the 1960s, the first half, in particular Mauss’ account of assimilation in the early 20th century, was extremely helpful for my dissertation. Renunciation of plural marriage and economic communitarianism, changing rhetoric in conference talks, and doctrinal and ritual developments are signs of Church-wide assimilation. Considering the categories of social

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 93.

¹⁰⁸ Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

¹⁰⁹ “Sealing” is a LDS ritual that binds husband, wife, and children as eternal family units.

programs, education, and signs at the grass roots level I realized the applicability of these concepts to my own research. For example, the Boy Scouts established troops in southern Alberta before taking the program to the United States and creating a long-term partnership with the official LDS Church. In order to consider integration in Canadian society then, I had to figure out what examples were local or at the grass roots (local to southern Alberta and Canada), and not Church-wide (American and top-down policy from Salt Lake City). Mauss argued that Latter-day Saints were highly assimilated by the 1960s – in this dissertation I pay attention to whether I can say the same for Canadian Latter-day Saints.

Another contributor to the analysis of Americanization was geographer Ethan Yorgason in his book *Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region*. Earlier geographers defined the Mormon culture region by geopolitical boundaries, but Yorgason instead examined the cultural and social processes that unified the region.¹¹⁰ Mormon-non-Mormon disagreement over issues such as gender authority, economic responsibility, and patriotism transformed the region under study.¹¹¹ Yorgason explained, “Geographers insist that understanding *where* things occur is vital to understanding *what* occurs.”¹¹² He examined the regionality of various events (ex. Smoot hearings), institutions (ex. the United Order), and issues (ex. women’s suffrage movement) and how Americans no longer saw the Mormon culture region as un-American. Once more we have the transformation of Mormonism, but only within the boundaries of the United States.

¹¹⁰ “Regions are sets of social and cultural relations with spatially specific effects or patterns.” See Ethan R. Yorgason, *Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 13. A “culture region” is a region with distinct colonization, settlement patterns, economic organization and development, immigration, and general social patterns which clearly reveals the variant character... [within the region one finds] a distinctive pattern of life.” See Donald W. Meinig, “The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55, no. 2 (1965): 192. The “culture” dominates a large area and leaves a visible imprint upon the land.

¹¹¹ Yorgason, *Mormon Culture Region*, 9.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 14, my emphasis.

General histories of the LDS Church also fail to include detailed analyses of the Canadian communities. They tend to briefly mention Canada as the location for the first Mormon missionaries and for hiding polygamists before the First Manifesto. For example, in *The Latter-day Saint Experience in America*, Terryl Givens wrote that some Mormons went to Mexico and Canada to continue the practice of plural marriage and preserve their families.¹¹³ In a timeline, he noted that the first missionaries to preach outside the United States went to Canada in 1832.¹¹⁴ Professor of American history Matthew Bowman contributed another general history of Mormonism that included Canada as the place the Church obtained converts that gathered in Kirtland, Ohio.¹¹⁵ He went into slightly more detail regarding the topic of plural marriage, including a brief explanation of Charles Ora Card, the trip to Ottawa seeking permission from the Prime Minister to allow the entrance of their wives, and a brief biography of John Taylor, one of the Church's presidents who moved to Canada from England in 1832.¹¹⁶

The unpublished Ph.D. dissertation by Alan Morrell studied “the saint-making process” in locations on the periphery of the Mormon culture region in the United States. Morrell wrote, “The boundaries that marked small town Mormons from non-Mormons were spatial (both geographic and architectural), economic, religious, educational, cultural, political, and familiar. This study allows consideration of these diverse markers both within and between religious groups.”¹¹⁷ I study Mormon towns further out on the periphery of Mormonism's core—towns in southern Alberta, Canada—with similar attention given to geography, architecture, economics,

¹¹³ Givens, *Experience*, 48.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 304.

¹¹⁵ Matthew B. Bowman, *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith* (New York: Random House, 2012), 36.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 147 and 259.

¹¹⁷ Alan L. Morrell, “Zion's Enemies: Boundaries and the Forging of Mormon Identity in the American West” (PhD diss., University of Utah, 2014), 9.

education, politics, and religion. Morrell's case study of Mesa, Arizona (at the other end of the Mormon Culture Region) shared striking similarities to Cardston, Alberta. Established about 1876, Mesa was over 400 miles away from St. George in southern Utah. Cardston was over 650 miles from Logan in northern Utah. Both towns neighbored Indigenous reserves (called reservations in the United States), and were significant distances away from a major city. Mesa was about 15 miles from Phoenix; Cardston was about 50 miles from Lethbridge. Such spatial distances were significant, explained Morrell, "While Mormons interacted with their non-Mormon neighbors in county and territorial politics as well as economically, there was sufficient geographic space for the Latter-day Saints to carry out their peculiar practices without arousing the suspicion of their generally tolerant gentile neighbors."¹¹⁸ Additional similarities between Mesa and Cardston were the presence of strong leaders, co-operative patterns, both friendly and antagonistic neighbouring non-Mormons, large populations of Indigenous peoples, and the establishment of Mormon schools such as Maricopa Stake Academy and Knight Academy in Raymond. Morrell observed that the LDS living in the periphery "solidified their economic and political ties with the outside world while they raised social and cultural boundaries to set themselves apart. Members reinforced their Mormon identities in church attendance, church callings, diet, education, and marriage. They returned to Babylon to shop, work, drink, and vote."¹¹⁹

As the above summaries show, general Mormon Studies, in particular work on assimilation, neglected the topic of Canadian Mormonism as it related to the transformation of the LDS Church. When I look at previous scholarship on specific topics, such as gender, family,

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 106.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 144.

economics, and politics, and Mormonism, I continued to find Canada absent from consideration. One of the first books to devote its attention to LDS women was *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah*. With a focus on Utah, it was unsurprising that Canadian contributions would be absent, but the chapters on spiritual experiences and midwifery informed my chapters on gender and health care.¹²⁰

The various contributors to *Sister Saints* added various biographies about prominent LDS women to Mormon Studies. However, the subjects of these biographies were mostly located in Utah without consideration for the contributions of Canadian LDS women.¹²¹ Carol Cornwall Madsen's chapter in *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective* included an example from Cardston of LDS women washing and anointing a fellow female member during a prayer circle meeting in 1895.¹²² In her essay on spiritual gifts, Linda King Newell described finding records of glossolalia in Arizona and Canada.¹²³ These short notes were only the tip of the information available in primary sources regarding LDS women in Canada and their changing roles in the Church.

I found Mormon Studies scholars are more likely to include Canada when studying plural marriage. In an article for *Dialogue*, D. Michael Quinn examined the practice of plural marriage from 1890 to 1904 and cited several Canadian examples. For example, Quinn listed Samuel S.

¹²⁰ Claudia Lauper Bushman, "Mystics and Healers," in *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah*, ed. Claudia Lauper Bushman (Cambridge: Emmeline Press, 1976), 1-23. Chris Rigby Arrington, "Pioneer Midwives," in *Mormon Sister: Women in Early Utah*, ed. Claudia Lauper Bushman (Cambridge: Emmeline Press, 1976), 43-65.

¹²¹ Vicky D. Burgess, ed., *Sister Saints* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1978).

¹²² Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Mormon Women and the Temple: Toward a New Understanding," in *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective*, ed. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 94-95.

¹²³ Linda King Newell, "Gifts of the Spirit: Women's Share," in *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective*, ed. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 120.

Newton (1858-1954) and Thomas Chamberlain as men that married new wives after 1900 in the United States and later moved to Canada.¹²⁴ Quinn found that the First Presidency authorized local leaders to perform at least two plural marriages in Mexico and Canada in July of 1892, and one plural marriage occurred in Canada each year in 1894, 1895, and 1896.¹²⁵ Quinn observed that the First Presidency sent David W. Rainey to Canada to perform these ceremonies in the years 1892 to 1893.¹²⁶ As late as 1903, John A. Woolf performed a polygamous marriage for Franklin D. Leavitt, according to Quinn's findings, and the First Presidency most likely authorized the union.¹²⁷

Historian Jessie Embry added to the growing data on post-Manifesto marriages with attention to the Canadian Mormon settlements. She observed that Church members openly discussed polygamy in meetings until the 1890 Manifesto, after which it became a more secretive topic of discussion.¹²⁸ Seven years after the Manifesto, 24 of the 49 members of the high priest quorum in the Alberta Stake had plural marriages.¹²⁹ Three LDS men (William Wynder, Edward J. Wood, and Frank Leavitt) became polygamists as late as 1903.¹³⁰

Scholarship on post-Manifesto polygamy continued into the 1990s with B. Carmon Hardy's *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage*. He continued the argument that the 1890 Manifesto did not end plural marriage in the LDS Church. Hardy called the early

¹²⁴ D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890-1904," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 1 (1985): 54.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 57. The First Presidency is the governing body of and highest-ranking quorum in the Church consisting of three persons: the president and two counselors. J. Lynn England and W. Keith Warner, "First Presidency," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992).

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 93.

¹²⁸ Jessie L. Embry, "Exiles for the Principle: LDS Polygamy in Canada," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 3 (1985): 111.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

Mormon colonization efforts in Canada a “Resistance to national pressures to abandon polygamy.”¹³¹ His work offered a complete presentation of Canadian law regarding marriage prior to the arrival of the Mormons in 1887, and included the story of the Mormon delegation to Ottawa in 1888 as a failure to gain permission to bring more than one wife into Canada.¹³² One of Hardy’s most helpful contributions in *Solemn Covenant* is the list of Post-Manifesto polygamous marriages from which I collect all those performed in Canada, starting in 1892 and ending in 1905.

The significance of the research by Quinn, Embry, and Hardy is that they confirmed the continuation of plural marriage in Canada after 1890. Mormon Studies scholars studying plural marriage in the 2000s either neglected Canada entirely, or focused on fundamentalist Mormonism as practiced by groups in British Columbia. Sarah Barringer Gordon’s monograph *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America* made it seem that the United States was the only country in the 19th century to have political and legal problems regarding polygamy.¹³³ In fact, as I uncover in my chapter about marriage, Latter-day Saints influenced Canadian politicians so much that they changed the law only three years after their arrival in order to protect monogamous ideals. I also observed a neglect of Canada in Kathryn Dayne’s book *More Wives Than One* where she studied how polygamy changed over time in the community at Manti. When Daynes mentioned how LDS men had wives in various residences she listed Utah, Arizona, Colorado, and Mexico, but left out Canada.¹³⁴ In her chapter

¹³¹ B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), xviii.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 179-182.

¹³³ Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

¹³⁴ Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840-1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 11.

on Mormon schismatic groups, Janet Bennion examined fundamentalists living in the Rocky Mountain West that were under scrutiny by the Canadian Government for its practice of marrying underage girls.¹³⁵ Without acknowledging the historical connection to Latter-day Saints in southern Alberta, groups such as those in Bountiful, B.C., are easier to vilify in the media and academy.

Politics and economics are other topics commonly paired with the study of Mormonism. Both topics are relevant to my study of the LDS Church in southern Alberta. Church officials kept prominent Church leader in southern Alberta John W. Taylor away from the Reed Smoot trials (U.S. Senate hearings from 1903 to 1907 regarding Apostle and senator-elect Reed Smoot and the Church's policy regarding plural marriage) because of his convictions regarding the practice of plural marriage. Kathleen Flake concluded that the example of the Smoot hearing illustrated the changes to Protestantism, Mormonism, and the U.S. Senate *and* demonstrated the continuity of 19th and 20th century Mormonism.¹³⁶ This caused me to turn back to Canada and consider influential Canadian Mormon politicians, from which there were many to choose (ex. Solon Low, N. Eldon Tanner, David Horton Elton, etc.). I wonder, could there be a book called *The Politics of Canadian Religious Identity: The Election and Excommunication of John Horn Blackmore*? The case of John Horn Blackmore, Member of Parliament, showed the LDS Church's adaptation to Canadian society, by excommunicating a prominent member for verbally promoting, but not practicing, the doctrine of plural marriage.

¹³⁵ Janet Bennion, "History, Culture, and Variability of Mormon Schismatic Groups," in *Modern Polygamy in the United States: Historical, Cultural, and Legal Issues*, ed. Cardell K. Jacobson and Lara Burton (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 106.

¹³⁶ Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

In his history of Mormon economic systems, Leonard J. Arrington argued that “The establishment of God’s Kingdom on earth, according to Mormon belief, required equal attention to the temporal and spiritual needs of man.”¹³⁷ By having equal concern for the material needs of their membership, the LDS Church created economic programs to assist with self-sufficiency, co-operation, local resources, finances, and growth. Arrington’s study showed how colonization movements, such as those in the District of Alberta in the North-West Territories, were founded using systems considered out-of-date back in Utah. He observed that the period from 1885 to 1900 was a time of acceptance for the LDS Church of a secular economy, but new settlements outside of Utah were organized with Mormon institutions founded in the 1850s and 1860s.¹³⁸ This meant companies moved as groups with Church approval, settlement occurred under the pattern of the farm village, members constructed canals using co-operative labour, and leaders parceled out land by community drawings.¹³⁹ Arrington noted the creation of the Alberta Land and Colonization Company in 1896 as a progression away from traditional Mormon economic programs. Although the Church held stock and assisted them financially, other members could purchase stock and create joint-stock ventures to promote the development of projects in the area.¹⁴⁰ Arrington labeled this “the way of Babylon,” and not “the way of the Lord.”¹⁴¹ The LDS Church’s partnership with “gentile” companies in southern Alberta contributed to the success and acceptance of its membership living in the region, which I explore in greater detail.

This survey of literature in Mormon Studies on topics such as assimilation, plural marriage, and politics, demonstrated the holes left by scholars who consistently directed their

¹³⁷ Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 5.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 354.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 354-355.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 383-384.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 384.

studies to American examples. Narrators of the social and religious histories of Canada leave out the Mormon story, and Mormon Studies scholars leave out Canada when writing the history of Mormonism. It is a goal of this dissertation to demonstrate the relevancy of Canadian Mormon history, especially as the LDS Church moves into a time of globalization. One cannot discuss assimilation from 1890 to 1950 without considering the effects on Church members on the same continent. One cannot discuss plural marriage without acknowledging the events after the First Manifesto and the lives of those who left the United States in order to continue the practice. These are only two examples of why Mormon Studies scholars should pay more attention to Canada. As David B. Marshall stated in 2012, “There are no studies indicating how the Mormons in Canada integrated and assimilated while struggling to maintain their “peculiar” identity.” Let this be the beginning.

1.5 Theoretical Lens

Cultural and historical geography specialist Donald W. Meinig described the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as a group that “constitute[s] a highly self-conscious subculture whose chief bond is religion and one which has long established its mark upon the life and landscape of a particular area.”¹⁴² My dissertation targets the particular area of southern Alberta, Canada and examines how the subculture of the Mormons influenced the life and landscape of the prairies and Canada, and, conversely, how the prairies and Canadian society affected the Mormons. The selected location of study falls under the definition of “the sphere,” described by Meinig as “the zone of outer influence and, often, peripheral acculturation, wherein that culture is represented only by certain of its elements or where its peoples reside as minorities among

¹⁴² Meinig, “Mormon Culture Region,” 191.

those of a different culture.¹⁴³” Within this region of southern Alberta, the Latter-day Saints are “recognized by other people as a separate cohesive body who impress a distinctive mark upon the local economy, politics, and society.”¹⁴⁴ It is the question of this dissertation how did the LDS in Alberta balance their distinctiveness with acceptance into Canadian society, so I turn to scholar of religion Thomas A. Tweed and his theory of religion for the religious life of transnational migrants. Tweed’s theory of religion influenced and guided the questions I will ask regarding Latter-day Saints in Alberta.

Tweed defined religions as “confluences of organic-cultural flows that intensify joy and confront suffering by drawing on human and suprahuman forces to make homes and cross boundaries.”¹⁴⁵ Religions are “clusters of dwelling practices,” explained Tweed, that “orient individuals and groups in time and space, transform the natural environment, and allow devotees to inhabit the worlds they construct.”¹⁴⁶ An example of this would be the transformation of the southern Alberta landscape with the influx of Latter-day Saints, the planning of farm villages, construction of ward chapels, and, eventually, the building of a temple. The practice of plural marriage was once what Tweed described as “an attempt to situate the migrant temporarily and spatially,” but the construction of the Cardston Alberta Temple brought a shift from themes of exile and plural marriage to themes of permanence, temple ritual, and genealogy. Tweed unpacked the processes of dwelling/homemaking with four categories of organic/self-centered processes and cultural/object-centered practices: the body, the home, the homeland, and the cosmos. Tweed suggested that, “religiously formed bodies function as the initial watch and

¹⁴³ Ibid., 216.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 217.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 2008), 54.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 82.

compass, but religious women and men construct habitats, intimate spaces for dwelling, and inscribe those homes with religious significance. Moving beyond those intimate spaces and the kin who inhabit them, individuals and groups draw on religion to negotiate collective identity, imagine the group's shared space, and—in the process—establish social hierarchies...”¹⁴⁷

In addition to homemaking, humans crossed boundaries, which Tweed defined with three categories he named terrestrial, corporeal, and cosmic. Latter-day Saints in southern Alberta performed all three types of crossings. They crossed natural terrain and social space (terrestrial), they crossed the limits of their physical bodies (corporeal), and they cared about stages after human death (cosmic).”¹⁴⁸

I direct my focus to crossing (terrestrial and corporeal with some cosmic) and dwelling (in the body, the home, and the homeland) in order to understand the lives of the Latter-day Saints living in southern Alberta from 1887 to 1947. How did the Latter-day Saints, as “a separate cohesive body...impress a distinctive mark upon the local economy, politics, and society”?¹⁴⁹ What was distinctive, or peculiar, about Mormons and Mormonism in Canada? At the same time, what did the Canadian LDS do to assimilate into Canadian society? What tensions with non-Mormons did they eliminate, and what tensions did they maintain in order to preserve their identity? In order to answer these questions, I concentrate on several specific aspects of Mormonism: material culture, business and politics, changing roles of women, and family and marriage.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 97.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 123.

¹⁴⁹ Meinig, “Mormon Culture Region,” 217.

1.6 Methodology

My dissertation falls under the categories of social history, material culture, lived religion, and the history of religion. The fieldwork component involved travel to Utah and Alberta to conduct research at archives, museums, libraries, and historical sites. My first research trip coincided with the Annual Summer Seminar on Mormon Culture—“The History of the Mormon Family”—in June and July of 2014. Under the guidance of Mormon historians Richard and Claudia Bushman, we studied how the LDS Church moved from the most unconventional marriage system in the nation to a model of family stability. Using the L. Tom Perry Special Collections in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University, I began my immersion in primary sources and prepared a paper on the concepts of home and exile for the LDS in southern Alberta at the end of the 19th century. I introduced myself to collections such as the Charles Ora Card Collection and the Charles Ora Card Diaries. During this stay, I also visited the Church History Library in Salt Lake City and read through the minutes of the Cardston Relief Society.

My second research trip to Utah occurred in January and February of 2015. In the L. Tom Perry Special Collections, I read through Zina Young Williams Card collection, Zina Young Card papers, Zina Y. Card’s correspondence, Zina Young Card Brown family papers, Joseph Y. Card diaries, and various autobiographies, personal histories, and oral history transcripts. The Church History Library contained numerous record books from all auxiliary organizations at the ward and stake levels. For example, the Cardston First Ward has the following collections: general minutes, Relief Society, Sunday School, Young Women’s, teacher’s minutes, historical reports, confidential minutes, and bishop’s file.¹⁵⁰ During this trip, I directed my attention to the

¹⁵⁰ In the LDS Church, a Bishop is an ecclesiastical leader of a Latter-day Saint ward who has pastoral and administrative responsibilities at the local level. A bishop is a lay minister and receives no monetary compensation.

minutes of the Relief Society and Young Women's Associations for many wards in the Cardston, Raymond, and Lethbridge Stakes.

For the third research trip during the months of May and June of 2015, I concentrated on the minute books for the High Priests quorums, Melchizedek Priesthood, and historical reports. Additionally, I browsed the Hugh B. Brown family papers, numerous autobiographies, and diaries. A tiny sample of the primary sources I found in the Church History Library included the Glen Arden Hansen family histories, *The Life of Thomas Rowell Leavitt*, *Autobiography of Madell Cazier Palmer*, and *Life Sketch of my Grandfather John Anthony Woolf III*. Helpful oral history collections located in both the CHL and L. Tom Perry Special Collections were the oral history program of the Lethbridge Alberta East Stake and the LDS polygamy oral history project.

My final research trip took place in Alberta in July and August of 2015. I conducted research at the Galt Museum and Archives in Lethbridge, the Courthouse Museum in Cardston, the Raymond Museum, village of Stirling, Magrath Museum, and Glenbow Museum and Archives in Calgary. I photographed the Cardston, Aetna, Leavitt, Raymond, Stirling, and Magrath cemeteries for my chapter on material culture. I collected valuable information from all of the above such as scanned copies of the Magrath Store News dating from 1933 to 1947, the oral histories collected by Charles Ursenbach, and the Mormon pioneers genealogical project collection.

Finally, in order to determine information such as familial relationships, occupations, immigration dates, and plural marriages, I regularly consulted three invaluable resources: the online databases for Canadian censuses (<http://www.bac->

Don M. Peterson, "Bishop," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992): 117-118.

lac.gc.ca/eng/census/Pages/census.aspx); the largest collection of genealogical data at FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/>), which was created and is controlled by the LDS Church; and the website Find A Grave (<http://findagrave.com/>). Without these online resources many questions would have remained unanswered.

Chapter 2: Material Culture

2.1 Introduction

Since the first Mormon settlement in Alberta, several individuals predicted the presence of a temple in Canada. Jonathan Layne (1835-1899), one of Cardston's earliest settlers, prophesied that Canada would provide for the Latter-day Saints just as Cache County, Utah did, and the country would eventually house their temples.¹⁵¹ On his visit to the new Canadian community in 1888, John W. Taylor (1858-1916) made a similar forecast:

I now speak by the power of prophecy and say that upon this very spot shall be erected a temple to the name of Israel's God and nations shall come from far and near and praise His high and holy name.¹⁵²

These predictions clashed with the expectation that their stay in the North-West Territories was temporary, that it was only until they could legally practice plural marriage in Utah that the LDS would remain in Canada. But a temple symbolized permanence. It would be a significant commitment and undertaking for the Canadian LDS communities.

To understand the Canadian Mormon experience, I will examine the Canadian religious and geographic landscapes with a particular focus on southern, rural Alberta, and sacred spaces, such as the meetinghouse, tabernacle, temple, and cemetery.¹⁵³ The question driving this chapter is what does material culture reveal about Mormonism in Canada during the period of

¹⁵¹ Vi Alfred Wood, *The Alberta Temple: Centre and Symbol of Faith* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1989), 26. Richard O. Cowan, "The Alberta Temple: Seventy-five Years of Service," in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History Western Canada*, ed. Dennis A. Wright et al. (Provo, UT: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 2000), 239.

¹⁵² Wood, *The Alberta Temple*, 27. Cowan, "The Alberta Temple," 240.

¹⁵³ For LDS, a meetinghouse is a multipurpose facility to house worship services and spiritual education. See, C. Mark Hamilton, "Meetinghouse," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992): 876-878. A "Tabernacle" performs similar functions, but accommodates more people.

negotiation? The examination of Mormon architecture and cemeteries in southern Alberta revealed ways the Latter-day Saints imagined their homeland.

Tweed shared a theoretical framework for the study of sacred architecture in his book *America's Church: The National Shrine and Catholic Presence in the Nation's Capital*. In this study, Tweed identified the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception as a threshold for understanding Catholicism in America.¹⁵⁴ I will model my study of early Canadian Mormon material culture after Tweed's work because he studied a building that represents both integration and religious distinctiveness. The architecture and material culture in Cardston and surrounding Mormon communities are thresholds for understanding Mormonism in Canada. Ten factors, including location, appearance, context, and function, guided Tweed's study of the shrine and guided my own investigation. Historian Randall M. Miller observed Tweed's placement of the shrine "at the intersection of identity formation, institution building, and social and political interest among Catholics during the twentieth century."¹⁵⁵ These three points of intersection will also guide my own exploration of Canadian Mormonism and its sacred sites.

Cemeteries possess a wealth of information about the deceased. According to folklorists Austin and Alta Fife, while visiting a cemetery observers learn about their loved ones' "civic pride; their family groups or clans and the individual members thereof; their professions, trades, occupations, and affiliations; the ethnic groups to which they belonged; the fraternal orders of which they were members; terms of military service; disasters and tragedies they

¹⁵⁴ Thomas A. Tweed, *America's Church: The National Shrine and Catholic Presence in the Nation's Capital* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 7.

¹⁵⁵ Randall M. Miller, review of *America's Church: The National Shrine and Catholic Presence in the Nation's Capital*, by Thomas A. Tweed, *Church History* 81, no. 3 (2012): 738.

experienced."¹⁵⁶ Folklorist Carol Edison, studying Utah graves, agreed, "Gravestones, with their visual symbolism and wealth of cultural information, represent a category of expression offering another way to recognize and understand this unique cultural region."¹⁵⁷ Writing about rural cemeteries in the Great Plains, professors of architecture Steve C. Martens and Nancy Volkman described the sacred sites as "familiar, ritual landscapes that serve a fundamental human need for remembrance, commemoration, and spiritual healing."¹⁵⁸ Within the cemetery, the grave marker "is an important way for us to tell the next generation who we were and to help preserve our collective cultural identity."¹⁵⁹ Like sacred architecture, the cemetery is "a physical space and a spiritual place," but it is the cemetery, according to Elizabethada Wright, an expert on the rhetoric of memorial place, that "confuses the symbolic and physical to allow memories forgotten in other locations to survive--often silently."¹⁶⁰ The gravestones of deceased Latter-day Saints offer additional evidence for understanding Mormonism in southern Alberta.

From 1887 to 1947, Latter-day Saints in Canada erected several places of worship that are of interest to this study of Mormonism in Canada. However, I will only discuss five buildings in detail: the Cardston meetinghouse (1888), Cardston Assembly Hall (1893), Raymond

¹⁵⁶ Austin Fife and Alta Fife, "Gravestone Imagery," in *Utah Folk Art: A Catalog of Material Culture* ed. Hal Cannon and Utah Arts Council (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), 138.

¹⁵⁷ Carol Edison, "Mormon Gravestones: A Folk Expression of Identity and Belief," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 22, no. 4 (1989): 89. Also see Nancy Millar, *Once Upon a Tomb: Stories from Canadian Graveyards* (Calgary: Fifth House, 1997), 2. Millar said that graveyards are "microcosms of our communities." Richard H. Jackson agreed that "each cemetery is an ever changing volume that records the history, values, and dreams of a people and place." See Richard H. Jackson, "Mormon Cemeteries: History in Stone," in *Nearly Everything Imaginable: The Everyday Life of Utah's Mormon Pioneers*, ed. Ronald W. Walker and Doris R. Dant (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1999), 405.

¹⁵⁸ Steve C. Martens and Nancy Volkman, "Cemeteries," in *The Encyclopedia of the Great Plains*, ed. David J. Wishart (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 70.

¹⁵⁹ John Gary Brown, "Grave Markers," *The Encyclopedia of the Great Plains*, ed. David J. Wishart (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 303.

¹⁶⁰ Elizabethada A. Wright, "Rhetorical Spaces in Memorial Places: The Cemetery as a Rhetorical Memory Place/Space," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (Fall, 2005): 51. Wright continued, "'If one sees cemeteries as a rhetorical space, then there are thousands upon thousands of voices clamoring to be heard, a cacophony of remembrances are calling out' (60).

meetinghouse (1903), Alberta Stake Tabernacle (1904-1912), and Cardston Alberta Temple (1913-1923); and draw evidence from six cemeteries located in Aetna, Leavitt, Cardston, Raymond, Stirling, and Magrath. The meetinghouses and assembly hall followed earlier models of the simple “New England” variety while the tabernacle fell under a more eclectic style of neo-Gothic.¹⁶¹ These early Canadian buildings shared similarities with both earlier Mormon spaces and nearby Christian churches. The Alberta Stake Tabernacle’s six tall, gothic-arched windows and decorative circular recess both imitated the Kirtland and Nauvoo temple-designs, and matched architectural features of other Alberta churches. Until the construction of the Cardston Alberta Temple, Mormon worship spaces in the region blended in with Albertan Christian churches in Fort Macleod and Lethbridge. Not only did the Alberta temple depart from nearby church styles, but it also departed from the assorted Victorian styles of earlier Mormon temples in the United States. As an example of the Prairie School style, drawing inspiration from Frank Lloyd Wright’s Unity Temple, what message did the Cardston Alberta Temple communicate to observers? Architects of the Prairie School sought to distance themselves from European elements and develop a truly North American style. However, at this time of integration, the Latter-day Saints strove for undisputed credibility and legitimacy in the eyes of their fellow North Americans. The choice to build the Cardston Alberta Temple in the Prairie School style revealed the Mormon integration strategy: a combination of both peculiarity and popularity. The architectural style was popular, but not necessarily among non-Mormon church builders in the

¹⁶¹ Puritan architecture favoured a square, or rectangle, centralized assembly hall. Puritans’ wanted their buildings to be an obvious departure from Anglican and Catholic churches. See Anne C. Loveland and Otis B. Wheeler, *From Meetinghouse to Megachurch: A Material and Cultural History* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003). See Mark Gelernter, *A History of American Architecture: Buildings in Their Cultural and Technological Context* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 174. See Thomas Carter and Peter Goss’ definition of “Victorian Gothic, 1880-1910” in *Utah’s Historic Architecture, 1847-1940* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 120.

region during this time. The Prairie School only enhanced the mysteries of the sacred function of the temple despite its location in the “prairies” of Canada.

In this chapter I chronicle the history of the LDS Church in Canada by placing their material culture in the context of late 19th century and early 20th century shifts in North American Mormonism. This requires a division into four periods: (1) 1885-1903, the period of white settlement of the North-West Territories and LDS immigration; (2) 1904-1913, the period of accepting their permanent residence and construction of the tabernacle; (3) 1914-1918, the period of temple construction and World War I; and (4) 1919-1923, the completion of temple construction. Within each of these periods, I will use the architecture and gravestones as lenses to analyse identity formation, institution building, and the social and political interests among Mormons in Canada.

2.2 Integration: The Meetinghouse and Assembly Hall

a. 1885-1903: Temporary Refuge to Permanent Residence

British North America was the first country the LDS Church sent missionaries and Church leaders saw it as a resource for gaining converts. Parley P. Pratt (1807-1857) and John E. Page (1799-1867) were two Latter-day Saint missionaries sent to British North America to preach the Book of Mormon and spread the message of the early LDS Church. “By the early 1840s, more than two thousand people had converted to Mormonism in British North America, constituting at least 38 branches from Lambton County, Upper Canada, to Prince Edward Island,” but, by the 1860s, not even seventy-five people claimed Mormonism as their religion on the official census.¹⁶² Unlike the United States of America, British North America was not a

¹⁶² Richard E. Bennett, ““Plucking Not Planting”: Mormonism in Eastern Canada 1830-1850,” in *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, ed. B.Y. Card et al. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1990), 28 and 30.

sacred land to Latter-day Saints nor was it home to Zion; thus, the thousands of converts relocated and joined the membership in the United States. The Book of Mormon taught that believers would find the “New Jerusalem” in North America, and revelation received by Joseph Smith Jr. instructed members to gather in this latter-day Zion (Kirtland and Jackson County, then Far West, then Nauvoo, and, later, Utah).¹⁶³ Missionaries, like Pratt and Page, encouraged large exoduses from British North America to the United States, which would explain the large drop in Mormons by 1861. New converts, believing the words of their prophet and reading it in their sacred book, left the unimportant land of future Canada to join the gathering of Latter-day Saints.

More than twenty years later, Church president John Taylor (1808-1887) perceived Canada to be a safe haven for Latter-day Saints escaping prosecution and imprisonment for practicing plural marriage. Taylor instructed Charles Ora Card (1839-1906), president of the Cache County Stake, to expand the church into Canada and, after exploring opportunities in both British Columbia and Alberta, Card chose a location between Calgary and the northern border of the United States, a section of land around Lee’s Creek. The group of Latter-day Saints that decided to move north were a people displaced because they refused to stop religious practices and beliefs deemed indispensable to their faith. The move to Canada was necessary to continue the practice of plural marriage; it did not reflect a desire to become Canadian citizens. The move to Canada was another step in their exodus, a journey to escape religious persecution that began in New York State with Joseph Smith Jr. and the Book of Mormon.

Before their families arrived, Card and his companions visited Fort Macleod in April of 1887. The town was an outpost for the North West Mounted Police where the Mormons could

¹⁶³ 3 Nephi 20:22; Ether 13:3. Doctrine and Covenants 29: 7-8.

register with Customs and pay duties.¹⁶⁴ By the Mormons' arrival in 1887, the Anglicans of Fort Macleod were rebuilding their church. The Parish of Christ Church formed in 1885, but the original building burned down the following year. The building, still standing there today, is the same one rebuilt the year the Latter-day Saints arrived. Christ Church combined elements of the Gothic Revival and wooden New England meetinghouse, which equalled a vernacular style often referred to as "Carpenter's Gothic." Christ Church was a white, one-storey structure with lancet arched windows and a single steeple (Figure 1). The Church of England was not the only denomination to institute a missionary program in the territory. In the 1880s, the Roman Catholic Church established a parish in Fort Macleod. Construction of a wooden church began in 1898 and a Carpenter's Gothic style church resulted a year later.¹⁶⁵ Holy Cross Roman Catholic Church had a simple wood-frame structure, a rose window above the entrance covered in wood tracery, and a spire with a cross atop a single tower (Figure 2). Art historian Barry Magrill explained that "the Gothicized single-cell church" was typical during the settlement of western Canada from Vancouver Island to Manitoba.¹⁶⁶

Latter-day Saints also frequently visited Lethbridge, Alberta.¹⁶⁷ This important town provided another example of church architecture typical of the western Canadian frontier. St.

¹⁶⁴ MSS 1543, Charles Ora Card collection, 19th Century Western & Mormon Manuscripts, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University (hereafter MSS 1543, LTPSC). Charles Ora Card, *The Diaries of Charles Ora Card: The Canadian Years, 1886-1903*, ed. Donald G. Godfrey and Brigham Y. Card (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 50-51.

¹⁶⁵ Edmund R. Dorosz and Holy Cross Centennial Committee, *Holy Cross Roman Catholic Church, Fort Macleod, Alberta, 1898-1998* (Fort Macleod, AB: Our Pet's, 1998), 21.

¹⁶⁶ Barry Magrill, *A Commerce of Taste: Church Architecture in Canada, 1867-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 116.

¹⁶⁷ The Matkins were freighters between Lethbridge and Cardston. Charles S. Matkin, oral history, interviewed by Charles Ursenbach, Magrath, Alberta, July 18, 1975, transcript, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as Church History Library). Also, travellers caught the train in Lethbridge and Card frequently travelled there. For example, between October 1889 and February 1890, he visited the town about once a month to pick up Church authorities at the depot, or manage business errands. Card, *The Diaries*, 103-107.

Augustine's Church presented features of both the Romanesque and Gothic revivals. The brick material, low height, and adjoining tower suggested Romanesque influences, but the lancet windows indicated a reference to the Gothic. Visiting Anglican authorities consecrated and dedicated St. Augustine's Church on Sunday, 25 March 1888, the same year the Latter-day Saints completed their own meetinghouse in Cardston.¹⁶⁸ The Cardston meetinghouse was a 20.5 x 20 foot square log structure. The meetinghouse functioned as a chapel, school, and community centre. In his diary, Charles Ora Card wrote that they held their first meeting in the building on 29 January 1888 and dedicated it on 2 February, during the fast meeting.¹⁶⁹

The cemetery memorials for these first immigrants did not present anything unexpected for the Victorian era. The headstones of Hans Peterson (1834-1890) and Martha Woodward (1863-1894) were stone tablets supported by low platforms. Both depicted a hand pointing an index finger towards the sky, which several scholars interpreted as indicative of the destination of the deceased: heaven (Figure 3).¹⁷⁰ In addition to this common Christian symbol, Peterson's headstone included the also familiar epitaph "No pain, no grief, no anxious fear can reach the peaceful sleeper here."¹⁷¹ Peterson was a shoemaker, born in Denmark but immigrated to Utah in

¹⁶⁸ "St. Augustine's Church," *Lethbridge News*, March 29, 1888. Card, *The Diaries*, 71.

¹⁶⁹ Card, *The Diaries*, 61. A Fast and Testimony Meeting occurs on the first Sunday of each month, members bear verbal witness of their feelings of the gospel and follow the meeting with a fast from two consecutive meals and liquids. Mary Jolley, "Fast and Testimony Meeting," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 502.

¹⁷⁰ Jackson, "Mormon Cemeteries," 408. Douglas Keister, *Stories in Stone: A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography* (Layton: Gibbs Smith, 2004), 108. Ren Davis and Helen Davis, *Atlanta's Oakland Cemetery: An Illustrated History and Guide* (Athens and London: The Historic Oakland Foundation and the University of Georgia Press, 2012), 189.

¹⁷¹ Comes from the 2nd verse of a hymn written by Isaac Watts (1674-1748) "A Funeral Ode at the Interrment of the Body, Supposed to be Sung by the Mourners" – "No pain, no grief, no anxious fear / Invade thy bounds ; no mortal woes / Can reach the lovely sleeper here." Like many Christian denominations of the time, Mormons adopted these lyrics during their time in Nauvoo, Illinois in 1841. Shane J. Chism, ed., *A Selection of Early Mormon Hymnbooks, 1832-1872: Hymn books and Broad-sides from the First 40 Years of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Tuscon: [publisher not identifies], 2011), 336. The hymn appeared as "Hymn 223" in Emma Smith, ed., *A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (Nauvoo, IL: E. Robinson, 1841), 241.

1870 where he took a plural wife (more than one woman married to one man). After serving a prison sentence for polygamy, Peterson and his second wife Jennie moved to Alberta. Woodward was a 31-year-old wife and mother who died of tuberculosis in 1894, soon after arriving in Alberta. Peterson and Woodward shared their Mormon faith and status as immigrants in Canada. Nothing about their headstones displayed anything uniquely Mormon, such as a beehive or the angel Moroni. The monument memorializing Thomas R. Leavitt (1834-1891) was more elaborate in that it included several standard Victorian symbols such as vines of ivy (representing immortality) running over two columns and an arch, and underneath a planter filled with calla lilies (symbolizing beauty, purity, and marriage).¹⁷² Leavitt's epitaph read "A precious one from us has gone, A voice we loved is stilled, A place is vacant in our home, Which never can be filled" (Figure 4). But, again, there was nothing specific to Mormonism. Noah Shurtleff's (1846-1892) simple marker lays flush with the lawn, including his full name, dates and locations of birth and death, and "Utah Pioneer 1851 – Canadian Pioneer 1888" (Figure 5). Like many of the early LDS settlers in Alberta, Shurtleff, at the age of four, travelled from Iowa to Utah Territory with a Mormon migration company. The mention of Utah on his grave is a hint to his faith that not all observers would understand.

As Card and his companions organized in southern Alberta, growth and development continued in Utah. Latter-day Saints found architectural inspiration in the Gothic and they were not immune to the Gothic Revival sweeping 19th century North America. The first four temples of Utah demonstrated the Church's early preference for Gothic-style eclecticism. Manti, Logan,

¹⁷² American Monument Association, *Memorial Symbolism, Epitaphs and Design Types* (Boston: American Monument Association, 1947), 21. Mike Filey, *Mount Pleasant Cemetery: An Illustrated Guide* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1999), 19. Douglas Keister, *Stories in Stone*, 57. Davis and Davis, *Atlanta's Oakland Cemetery*, 188-189.

St. George, and Salt Lake City temples had “strongly fortified buttressed walls” and “impressive towers.”¹⁷³ Churches in the United States favoured Gothic styles for its symbolism and implications.

English architect and Roman Catholic convert Augustus W. N. Pugin (1812-1852) argued that “the great test of Architectural beauty is the fitness of the design to the purpose for which it is intended, and that the style of a building should so correspond with its use that the spectator may at once perceive the purpose for which it was erected.”¹⁷⁴ According to Pugin, the Gothic style, or “Pointed Architecture,” expressed the Christian faith in three ways: the cross, trinity, and resurrection.¹⁷⁵ The plan of a Gothic church was in the shape of a cross and the cross symbolized the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. The cross was also found at the top of some church spires. Pugin related the triangular shapes of the points and arches to the three persons united in the Godhead, the Trinity. In addition, the vertical lines and substantial heights of Gothic buildings alluded to the resurrection of the dead, which is spatially imagined as taking place in Heaven above the Earth. Pugin reflected on the architects of the past and compared them to his contemporaries that returned to pagan styles. In *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, Pugin explained that Classical architecture was inappropriate for 19th century religious buildings because it was meant for “idolatrous worship and rites” and designed for a climate completely different than the British Isles.¹⁷⁶ Churches, in Pugin’s opinion, required

¹⁷³ Paul L. Anderson, “First of the Modern Temples,” *Ensign* (July 1977), <https://www.lds.org/ensign/1977/07/first-of-the-modern-temples?lang=eng>. Allen Dale Roberts, “Religious Architecture of the LDS Church: Influences and Changes since 1847,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (1975): 316.

¹⁷⁴ A. W. N. Pugin, *Contrasts*, 2nd ed. (1836, reprint, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969), 1.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁷⁶ A. W. N. Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841, reprinted from the 1853 impression, Oxford: St. Barnabas, 1969), 40-41.

windows and bells; neither of which were found in the Classical styles Pugin described.¹⁷⁷

Classical architecture was unsatisfactory because it concealed instead of decorated and included unnecessary ornamentation, such as columns or Pagan emblems.¹⁷⁸

Medieval architects were likely members of the churches that commissioned their services. The medieval architect received professional and religious “glory from...creating a sacred space.”¹⁷⁹ Pugin recommended that architects follow several rules to emulate architects of the past: abstain from including unnecessary features and guarantee that all ornamentation enriches the construction.¹⁸⁰ In other words, “the external and internal appearance of an edifice should be illustrative of, and in accordance with, the purpose for which it is destined.”¹⁸¹ Moreover, stone is the ideal material for Gothic designs.¹⁸² Pugin believed that architecture had the ability to influence the most sensitive aspects of society. Victorian art critic John Ruskin (1819-1900) took it one step further and argued that morality existed within the structure.¹⁸³ The link connecting architecture and morality reinforced the close connection between Gothic Revival and Christianity.

Art historian Phoebe Stanton identified the attitudes and lasting convictions from the Gothic Revival. A fear of secularism fuelled critics’ support of Gothic styles and this directly correlated to their disapproval of Classical styles.¹⁸⁴ She acknowledged the lasting opinions of

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 41.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 3-4.

¹⁷⁹ Pugin, *Contrasts*, 5. Also see Phoebe B. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste 1840-1856* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1968), xvii. Stanton defined “revival” as nostalgia for the past.

¹⁸⁰ Pugin, *True Principles*, 1.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 35-36.

¹⁸² Ibid., 2.

¹⁸³ Paul Goldberger, *Why Architecture Matters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 29.

¹⁸⁴ Stanton, *The Gothic Revival*, xviii.

Pugin and Ruskin, stating that these men and their followers truly believed that “architecture of an age illustrates its inner nature, strengths, and weaknesses, and the architect may influence, for good or bad, the lives of those around him.”¹⁸⁵ In other words, a Christian structure must influence for the improvement of society, the morality. The style to accomplish this was Gothic Revival.

The “revived gothic,” as put by Victorian culture expert Chris Brooks, was a reconstruction of the past. He wrote that “its revival has centred on how individuals and societies understood their own place in their own history.”¹⁸⁶ Latter-day Saints saw their church as a restoration of the true, authentic church with direct lineage to the time of Christ. According to Brooks, “in a colonial set-up, gothic’s connection with ancient community affirmed the identity, the togetherness, of settler societies, sometimes at the expense of cultures and communities they had displaced.”¹⁸⁷ With this under consideration, it is unsurprising that Church Architect Truman O. Angell (1810-1887) and Brigham Young (1801-1877) selected Gothic elements for the first temples in Utah. Prior to his departure for a mission in Europe, Angell received a blessing from President Young on 13 April 1856:

You shall have power and means to go from place to place; from country to country; and view various specimens of Architecture that you may desire to see... and be better qualified to continue your work; and you will increase in knowledge upon the Temple and other buildings.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 7.

¹⁸⁶ Chris Brooks, *The Gothic Revival* (London: Phaidon Press, 1999), 4.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 288.

¹⁸⁸ MSS 937, Truman Osborn Angell, Autobiography, ca. 1884. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Hereafter, I will refer to the L. Tom Perry Special Collections as LTPSC.

Young's blessing suggested that the Church sent Angell to Europe with the purpose of observing and learning as much as possible about European architecture where there remained many examples of the medieval Gothic. The first four Utah temples were a testament to this influence.

While the Church finished the Salt Lake City Temple in 1893, growth in Alberta continued with a second wave of immigration due to an irrigation contract between the Church and the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company. The growing community in Cardston was too large for the original log meetinghouse and the Church replaced it with a larger building known as the Assembly Hall.¹⁸⁹ Summarizing the year 1892, Card wrote that he donated \$110 towards a new meetinghouse.¹⁹⁰ He described building the meetinghouse frame to his mother-in-law Zina D.H. Young in a letter dated 17 January 1893:

Across the westend... [we] lengthened out the old one about 5 feet and lowered the stage and gave the new one about 16 inches higher than the old and connecting by folding doors.¹⁹¹

The assembly hall resembled buildings from the early Utah period. It was a single-room structure with small-paned rectangular windows and plank floors made from easily accessible materials.¹⁹² The early Cardston building also resembled plain early American meetinghouses found in New England.¹⁹³ Furthermore, they looked similar to the Anglican and Catholic Carpenter Gothic

¹⁸⁹ "A Tabernacle in the Wilderness: A History of the Alberta Stake Tabernacle," last updated June 7, 2012, <https://history.lds.org/article/cardston-tabernacle>. Also see Matkin's Oral History, 20. He stated that the Assembly Hall burned down around 1911. Shaw, *Chief Mountain Country*, 179. According to Shaw, fire destroyed the Hall in 1916.

¹⁹⁰ Card, *The Diaries*, 210. They were still working on completing the meetinghouse in the summer. See Card, *The Diaries*, 226. Card stated in a Priesthood meeting "the propriety of completing the meeting house with faint response to the request."

¹⁹¹ Correspondence, MSS 3192. Charles Ora Card, Letter, 1893. Martha Sonntag Bradley research papers, 20th Century Western & Mormon Manuscripts, LTPSC.

¹⁹² C. Mark Hamilton, "Meetinghouse," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), 876.

¹⁹³ Paul L. Anderson, "First of the Modern Temples."

churches in Fort Macleod. The hall did not have a steeple, like Christ Church or Holy Cross, but it was one-storey, simple and functional (Figure 6).

The Church organized the Cardston Alberta Stake in 1895 and, in 1898 and 1899, Church members formed the villages of Magrath and Stirling. Shortly after, Jesse Knight (1845-1921) established the town Raymond in between the two villages and quick growth created the need for another meetinghouse. The two-story, rectangular meetinghouse in Raymond resembled the New England-Colonial shape of the Kirtland and Nauvoo Temples, borrowing the modesty transplanted by the Puritans in 17th century New England. It, like the Puritan meetinghouse, was an “unpretentious, unadorned structure built of wood and quite modest in size.”¹⁹⁴ The style and similarity with neighbouring congregations played to the Latter-day Saints’ favour by remaining inoffensive to non-members and blended in with their surroundings.

Memorials in their cemeteries also blended in as standard Christian graves. In the Stirling Cemetery, the blunt obelisk monument for Utah-born Austin G. Russell (1881-1900) included oak leaves, acorns, stars, his vita, an epitaph, and his family name (Figure 7). The oak leaves symbolized strength and the acorns symbolized prosperity and spiritual growth.¹⁹⁵ His epitaph stated, “Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord,” possibly inspired by Revelation in the New Testament. Chapter 14 of Revelation comes after an account of great suffering, but, according to this prophecy, with the fall of Babylon comes better times for the faithful: “And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth:

¹⁹⁴ Loveland and Wheeler, *From Meetinghouse to Megachurch*, 7. The Raymond meetinghouse was also the community’s first schoolhouse.

¹⁹⁵ American Monument Association, *Memorial Symbolism*, 21. Keister, *Stories in Stone*, 61. Thomas R. Dilley, *The Art of Memory: Historic Cemeteries of Grand Rapids, Michigan* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2014), 160.

Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them.”¹⁹⁶

The blessed are those that “either die in the cause of Christ, or rather die in a state of vital union with Christ.”¹⁹⁷ This epitaph appeared on seven grave markers in the Cardston, Magrath, Raymond, and Stirling cemeteries.

Another popular epitaph was “Asleep in Jesus.” The headstone for Orin Leslie Kimball (1889-1901) expanded the quote with, “Asleep in Jesus, blessed sleep, From which none ever wake to weep.” Inspiration may have come from the New Testament verse, “For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him.”¹⁹⁸ The hymn published in 1832 by Margaret Mackey titled *Asleep in Jesus* could also have been related.¹⁹⁹ In his now famous sermon from 1844, Joseph Smith said, “We have reason to have the greatest hope and consolation for our dead of any people on the earth; for we have seen them walk worthily in our midst, and seen them sink asleep in the arms of Jesus; and those who have died in the faith are now in the celestial kingdom.”²⁰⁰ Despite Smith’s speech, “Asleep in Jesus” was appropriate for most Christian denominations and non-Mormons would have been familiar with the epitaph too.

In this first period, Latter-day Saints were strangers to the Canadian western frontier. Their main interest was survival. They saw Alberta as a temporary refuge until polygamy was no longer criminalized in the United States. Even in, what the Latter-day Saints’ perceived as, a

¹⁹⁶ Revelation 14:13, KJV.

¹⁹⁷ Matthew Henry, *A Commentary on the Holy Bible with Practical Remarks and Observations, Volume IX* (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1850), 804.

¹⁹⁸ 1 Thessalonians 4:14, KJV. Another possible verse: “But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept” (1 Cor. 15:20).

¹⁹⁹ Margaret Mackay, “Asleep in Jesus,” in *A Library of Poetry for Sunday Reading*, ed. Philip Schaff and Arthur Gilman (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1880), 683.

²⁰⁰ Joseph Smith, “The King Follett Sermon,” in *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1948): 6: 315.

temporary location, they still remained committed to their faith, established wards and meetinghouses in various communities, and, ultimately, formed organizations that kept community members involved in the Church. For example, Mormon women organized the Relief Society before the end of their first year in Cardston.²⁰¹ In addition, the Church's Young Men's and Young Women's Mutual Improvement Associations, and the Primary Associations could all be found in southern Alberta wards. The release of Card as President of Cache County Stake and calling to be President of the newly formed Alberta stake in April 1895 symbolized that the Canadian mission was no longer temporary. By 1903, there were enough Latter-day Saints in Alberta to divide into two stakes.

The social and political interests of many Mormons in Alberta revolved around plural marriage. Their political concerns involved land, mineral, and water rights, and "the right to follow their religious beliefs according to the dictates of their conscience."²⁰² In other words, wrote educational sociologist Brigham Y. Card, the Mormons in Canada sought permission to bring their plural families to the colony.²⁰³ Charles Ora Card, John W. Taylor, and Francis M. Lyman began their journey to Ottawa, the country's capital city, on 31 October 1888, and arrived 8 November. To their surprise, Canadian law already protected most of the concerns of the colony.²⁰⁴ However, discussions over religious freedom and plural marriage alerted Canadian officials of the potential threat to Victorian ideals and they quickly passed anti-polygamy laws by 1890 (see chapter on family and marriage).²⁰⁵ The Canadian officials prohibited the Cardston

²⁰¹ Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Mormon Women in Southern Alberta: The Pioneer Years," in *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, ed. Brigham Y. Card et al (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1990), 224.

²⁰² Bates and Hickman, *Founding of Cardston*, 70.

²⁰³ Card, *The Diaries*, 92.

²⁰⁴ Bates and Hickman, *Founding of Cardston*, 74.

²⁰⁵ The Latter-day Saints challenged Victorian ideals regarding marriage, family, and sexuality. Specifically, they argued in favor of plural marriage over monogamy and male privilege over female agency. See Laura Woodworth-

settlers from bringing their other wives into Canada, but this did not prevent community growth and prosperity.

2.3 Difference: The Tabernacle

a. 1904-1913: Permanent Residence

The construction of a tabernacle, another essential Mormon institution, offered evidence of the Latter-day Saints' prosperity in Canada. Latter-day Saints built these larger meetinghouses to hold all the members in a specific area, which could comprise several towns. When the Latter-day Saints in Alberta outgrew their 26-by-40-foot Assembly Hall, stonemason and general contractor Samuel Smith Newton (1858-1954) designed a new building in Gothic style, and construction of the Alberta Stake Tabernacle commenced in 1904. The tabernacle had no towers, but it did have a rose window above the main entrance, gabled dormer windows, and lancet windows (Figure 8).²⁰⁶

Before the Latter-day Saints completed their tabernacle, residents of Cardston constructed another new building for their town, the Cardston Courthouse. This was the first courthouse erected in Alberta after the territory became a province in 1905. Newton also led the construction of this Romanesque Revival public building between 1906 and 1909. As it still stands today, the Cardston Courthouse is a rectangular one-story building made of heavy timber, local sandstone, and manufactured brick. This example of later Romanesque Revival included

Ney, *Women in the American West* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 155. Also see Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

²⁰⁶ MSS SC 2901, Richard W. Jackson, "Mormon Tabernacles: An Historical Exegesis, 1847-1937," 1997, LTPSC.

large arched window voussoirs, rusticated stonework throughout, a parapet around the flat roof, and cornice decorated with dentils.²⁰⁷

2.4 Otherness: The LDS Temple

Architectural historian Richard W. Jackson argued that Latter-day Saints in Canada had local autonomy when it came to construction before 1900 and, even after the turn-of-the-century, Church authorities still rarely restricted architectural choices.²⁰⁸ They allowed popular styles to dictate. In regards to Mormon architecture around 1910, Romanesque style replaced the Gothic and nearing the 1920s the Prairie style became most popular.²⁰⁹ Viewers identified the Prairie School style by flat roofs, spacious open interiors, native materials, overhanging eaves, thick masonry piers, grouped (ribbon) windows, and a connection between vertical and horizontal forms.²¹⁰ Jackson observed more than fifty meetinghouses in North America designed in this style and forty-three specifically between 1910 and 1919.²¹¹ Architect Allen Dale Roberts claimed that some LDS architects and members that denied and minimized the influence of Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959), leader of the Prairie School movement, on their church architecture.²¹² The career of Mormon architect Taylor Woolley (1884-1965) challenged these denials and showed at least one connection between Utah and Wright. Woolley not only joined

²⁰⁷ “Cardston Courthouse,” *Alberta Register of Historic Places*, accessed August 11, 2014, <https://hermis.alberta.ca/ARHP/Details.aspx?DeptID=1&ObjectID=4665-0196>. Also see Shannon Rickets, Leslie Maitland and Jacqueline Hucker, *A Guide to Canadian Architectural Styles*, 2nd ed. (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2003), 97. David Mittelstadt, *Foundations of Justice: Alberta’s Historic Courthouses* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005), 126-132.

²⁰⁸ Richard W. Jackson, *Places of Worship: 150 Years of Latter-day Saint Architecture* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2003), 136.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 137.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 148. Robert Twombly, *Frank Lloyd Wright: His Life and His Architecture* (New York: Wiley, 1979), 97.

²¹¹ Jackson, *Places of Worship*, 148.

²¹² Roberts, “Religious Architecture of the LDS Church,” 324.

Wright's Studio in 1908, but also travelled to Italy in 1909 with the famed architect and his son Lloyd.²¹³

The Prairie School was an architectural style that supported Latter-day Saint goals. For members, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints offered the single way to gain salvation, but, like any living tradition, Mormonism adapted. Wright argued that “form and function are one,” which Robert Twombly explained, meant “that there could be only one form for any given function.”²¹⁴ Wright searched for a style that would suit homes on the prairies and buildings in the United States. And, as his son John Lloyd explained, it must be organic. In his father's biography, John Lloyd interpreted “form and function are one” to mean that “form and function *should* be one” but it was not immune to creativity.²¹⁵ The temple was the form and salvation the function. The style of the LDS temples changed, but not the function.

In *Why Architecture Matters*, Paul Goldberger wrote that Frank Lloyd Wright believed, “that the best way to keep the American agrarian, family tradition strong was to house it in new architectural form created specifically for the American continent rather than transported from elsewhere.”²¹⁶ The Prairie School was a reaction to international styles and a rejection of historical styles.²¹⁷ The American mid-Western prairies, a symbol of democracy, inspired the architects to imitate nature's horizontal lines.²¹⁸ The concept of “pure design” required the

²¹³ H. Allen Brooks, *The Prairie School: Frank Lloyd Wright and His Midwest Contemporaries* (New York W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), 84. See also Thomas Carter and Peter Goss, *Utah's Historic Architecture*, 143. Architects designed homes in the style of the Prairie School and public buildings, such as the Ladies Literary Club building in Salt Lake City (Ware and Treganza, 1912) and the LDS Branch for the Deaf in Ogden (Leslie Hodgson, 1916).

²¹⁴ Twombly, *Frank Lloyd Wright*, 315.

²¹⁵ John Lloyd Wright, *My Father, Frank Lloyd Wright* (New York: Dover Publications, 1992), 120.

²¹⁶ Goldberger, *Why Architecture Matters*, 22.

²¹⁷ Brooks, *The Prairie School*, 3 and 5.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

architect to analyse the different components as geometric shapes and then design these parts like building blocks.²¹⁹ The foundation of Mormonism is similar to the philosophy of Prairie School style. The Church was created on the American continent with strong ties to the land and commitments to the family unit. It was a reaction to and rejection of the new Christianities of the time because Latter-day Saints believed Heavenly Father told Joseph Smith Jr. the existing churches were false. The Christian church dating back to the time of Christ had erred and it was up to Smith to organize the correct path. The promotion of democracy is another characteristic that ties together Mormonism and the Prairie School. The Prairie School liberated architects “from the autocratic styles of the past and [offered] a new creative freedom for the individual.”²²⁰ Similarly, Mormonism, according to Nathan O. Hatch, encouraged members “to work together in order to be free individually...collective expressions of self-respect, instilling hope, purpose, meaning, and identity in thousands of persons whom the dominant culture had defined as marginal.”²²¹ The populist movement aimed to transform “farmers and artisans into thundering prophets intent on shaping the destiny of a nation.”²²²

In addition to the philosophical backbone of the Prairie School, other characteristics of the style assisted with the Church’s desired goals because architecture communicated cultural values to following generations.²²³ The exterior of buildings are public, accessible, and visually “loud.” They are almost unavoidable and they are certainly durable due to technological advancements and heritage preservation. Building a temple at a new location, in a new

²¹⁹ Ibid., 39. Also see Frank Lloyd Wright, *Frank Lloyd Wright: An Autobiography* (Petaluma, CA: Pomegranate Communications, 2005. Originally published in 1943), 157: “design is abstraction of nature elements in purely geometric forms.”

²²⁰ Jon C. Teaford, *Cities of the Heartland: The Rise and Fall of the Industrial Midwest* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 149.

²²¹ Hatch, *Democratization*, 58.

²²² Ibid., 188.

²²³ Goldberger, *Why Architecture Matters*, 34.

architectural style promoted a message of rebirth, a fresh start for the Church. A new phase of Mormonism began with President Joseph F. Smith's Second Manifesto on 6 April 1904. The Church officially prohibited post-Manifesto plural marriages and excommunicated disobedient members. The LDS Church tried to disassociate from polygamy and re-brand "celestial marriage" in terms of longevity rather than multiplicity.²²⁴ John W. Taylor, strong supporter of both the Canadian settlement and plural marriage, fell victim to these changes and was eventually excommunicated. In 1888, Taylor accompanied Card to Ottawa with the goal of gaining permission to bring plural wives into Canada. The Canadian government denied this request and the visit alerted them to the Latter-day Saints' intentions, which resulted in an amendment to the Criminal Code making polygamy an indictable offence in Canada. The LDS Church of the 20th century did not want the dark cloud of polygamy to follow them any longer. The construction of a temple in Alberta provided an opportunity to re-present themselves as a group distant from their past.

While distancing themselves from plural marriage, Latter-day Saints did not want to separate themselves from their ancestors, whether or not they were connected by plural marriages because the larger the extended family "the greater its sense of achievement and, in a sense, of salvation."²²⁵ In the early twentieth century, one of the most popular carvings on Mormon grave markers in southern Alberta was the image of a gate. In her poem "Bury Me Quietly When I Die," famous Mormon poetess Eliza R. Snow wrote, "What is death to the good, but an entrance gate / That is placed on the verge of a rich estate."²²⁶ The image of the gate

²²⁴ Flake, *American Religious Identity*, 132.

²²⁵ Douglas J. Davies, *Death, Ritual and Belief: The Rhetoric of Funerary Rites* (London: Cassell, 1997), 112. Mauro Properzi, *Mormonism and the Emotions: An Analysis of LDS Scriptural Texts* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2015), 97.

²²⁶ Eliza R. Snow, "Bury Me Quietly When I Die," *The Woman's Exponent* 10, no. 13 (1881): 97.

symbolized the faithful Latter-day Saint's entrance into the Celestial Kingdom. Mary Ann Meyers explained that, for Mormons, death was not devastating since "life on earth encompassed neither the beginning nor the end of human existence."²²⁷ At the final judgment, when all have been resurrected, Latter-day Saints believed that each person will be assigned one of the three kingdoms of glory: the celestial, the terrestrial, and the telestial. Even within the Celestial Kingdom there are different degrees of glory and those members in the highest glory receive exaltation. One requirement of the highest degree is the priesthood who, religious studies scholar Douglas Davies explained, hold the keys that "unlock the gates of death and afford access to the several levels of heaven. Through ordination into this higher priesthood and through the temple rites accessible only to such priests, an identity is achieved that possesses the capacity to lead the believer through various post-mortem circumstances into the state of exaltation."²²⁸ The LDS Church taught holders of the Melchizedek Priesthood that they have the "power and authority to enter into the eternal worlds through the realm of death and in company with their spouses."²²⁹ On numerous gravestones memorializing deceased Latter-day Saints, one finds the image of an open gate, the "gate of death" opened for the deceased with the keys of the priesthood.

In his chapter on Mormon cemeteries in the United States, Jackson noted the occasional presence of gates on Mormons graves until 1870, which he interpreted as representing the entrance into paradise.²³⁰ Photographer and writer Douglas R. Keister agreed that gates

²²⁷ Mary Ann Meyers, "Gates Ajar: Death in Mormon Thought and Practice," in *Death in America*, ed. David E. Stannard (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 114.

²²⁸ Douglas J. Davies, *The Mormon Culture of Salvation* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), 85.

²²⁹ Davies, *Mormon Culture of Salvation*, 86.

²³⁰ Jackson, "Mormon Cemeteries," 408. Also see Matthew 7:13-14: "Enter ye in the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it" (KJV).

symbolized passage from one realm to the next, or the Last Judgment.²³¹ In his analysis of the historic cemeteries of Grand Rapids, Michigan, amateur historian Thomas R. Dilley observed an open gate on the 1901 gravestone of John Lodewyk as “an obvious end-of-life image suggesting departure and passage to another realm.”²³² In the Cardston Cemetery, the headstone of Fanny Elizabeth Caldwell (1880-1905) presented a wooden picketed gate swung open over a tiled floor and under a brick arch (Figure 9). Her epitaph “She’s gone to dwell with saints above, And rest in God’s eternal love” is not exclusively Mormon, but it does present a message many LDS would understand. For example, the last verse of Abbie A. Bird’s poem “To The Memory of Those Who Are Gone,” published in *The Young Woman’s Journal*, runs, “That when we leave our earthly home / And in seeking friends above, / All will be ready there to greet, / And welcome us with love.”²³³

In the Magrath Cemetery, Helen Shaffer’s (1859-1909) monument is an obelisk crowned with a carving of an open book, a common Christian symbol, which rested above an engraving on a wall of the obelisk of an opened gate (Figure 10). At the base, the epitaph, “Dear wife and mother we lay thee / In the peaceful grave’s embrace. / But thy memory will be cherished / Till we see thy heavenly face” encouraged Mormons to remain faithful and active in order to reunite in the Celestial Kingdom.

Wright’s commission to build for the Unity Temple Unitarian congregation in Oak Park, Illinois offered a reasonable model of inspiration for the architects of the Cardston Alberta Temple. Brooks described the Unity Temple as a massive cubic form with a slab-like roof.²³⁴ To

²³¹ Keister, *Stories in Stone*, 116. Also, John 10:9-16, KJV.

²³² Dilley, *The Art of Memory*, 163.

²³³ Abbie A. Bird, “To the Memory of Those Who Are Gone,” *The Young Woman’s Journal* 8, no. 1 (1896): 1.

²³⁴ Brooks, *The Prairie School*, 87.

Wright, his job was to “build a temple to man, appropriate to his uses as a meeting place, in which to study man himself for his God’s sake.”²³⁵ Practical considerations included cost, purpose, and surrounding environment. He selected concrete because it was a cheap material; he placed the entrance behind the busy street to keep out noise; and he considered the activities housed there, such as Sunday School and special occasions (Figure 11).²³⁶

Prairie School style entered the Canadian prairies before the construction of the Cardston Alberta Temple. The Canadian Department of the Interior commissioned Francis C. Sullivan (1882-1929), an architect from Kingston, Ontario, and Frank Lloyd Wright to design a pavilion for Banff National Park.²³⁷ Designed in 1911 and constructed by 1913, Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright produced a 200-foot long shelter made from horizontal wood siding (Figure 12).²³⁸ The pavilion housed numerous activities before its demolition in the 1930s. The Canadian Department of National Defence used it for storage during the First World War, and weekend visitors from Calgary used it for picnicking in the 1920s.²³⁹ The design emphasized the building’s horizontality: “The massing, the rough-sawn wooden exterior walls, the dramatically overhanging eaves, the continuous row of leaded-glass windows above the walls, the uninterrupted low-hipped roof, and the secondary hipped roof over the clerestory.”²⁴⁰ Maybe the Cardston Alberta Temple was less of an architectural anomaly than first perceived. Nevertheless, the Pavilion was a public, secular building and the Temple was a sacred space.

²³⁵ Wright, *An Autobiography*, 154.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 154-55.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 274. Also see Brian R. Sinclair and Terence J. Walker, “Frank Lloyd Wright’s Banff Pavilion: Critical Inquiry and Virtual Reconstruction,” *APT Bulletin* 28, no. 2/3 (1997): 13-21. Banff is about 222 miles from Cardston. Also see Trevor Boddy, *Modern Architecture in Alberta* (Edmonton: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism; Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1987), 36-40.

²³⁸ Wright, *An Autobiography*, 274.

²³⁹ Sinclair and Walker, “Banff Pavilion,” 14.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 16.

2.5 Difference from American LDS: The Prairie School Style and The Temple

In 1912, the Mormons in Alberta finished the Alberta Stake Tabernacle thereby solidifying their presence in the region. The tabernacle symbolized the success of the LDS Church in southern Alberta, but it was not the only growing denomination in town. St. Thomas' Anglican Church stood on First Street West at 20-by-36-feet before it was destroyed by fire.²⁴¹ Diversity indicated further integration because it meant non-Mormons considered the Mormons to be suitable neighbours. The Church's display of success and expansion did not end with the tabernacle. The year of its completion was the same year of the design competition for the Cardston Alberta Temple.

Over ten years after Jonathan Layne's prediction, in Salt Lake City Church President Joseph F. Smith shared a prophecy concerning the global Church: "I foresee the necessity arising for other temples or places consecrated to the Lord for the performance of the ordinances of God's house, so that the people may have the benefit of the House of the Lord without having to travel hundreds of miles for that purpose."²⁴² Smith officially announced the Church's plan to build a temple in Canada on 4 October 1912 at General Conference.²⁴³

For their first temple outside the United States, the Church decided to proceed with a new approach to temple design. They decided to hold a competition rather than commission the appointed Church Architect and invited fourteen architects to submit designs for consideration.

²⁴¹ Rev. Rodney Andrews, "A History of St. Thomas' Anglican Church, Cardston," in *Chief Mountain Country: A History of Cardston and District*, ed. Keith Shaw, vol. 1 (Cardston: Cardston and District Historical Society, 1978), 188.

²⁴² Wood, *The Alberta Temple*, 27-28. Cowan, "The Alberta Temple," 239.

²⁴³ Cowan, "The Alberta Temple," 240. Alberta Stake President Edward J. Wood recorded, "and to the surprise of us all he announced that the Church would build a Temple in Canada." See Melvin S. Tagg, "The Life of Edward James Wood" (MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959), 92.

On 24 December 1912, seven of those invited submitted their work to the Presiding Bishopric and thus began a new generation of temples in terms of not only appearance but also purpose; temples became reserved for sacred ordinances only.²⁴⁴ The Presiding Bishopric displayed the anonymous competition entries at the Bishop's building until they selected the winning design. Church authorities announced that Harold W. Burton and Hyrum Pope's entry had won and they would be the architects for the Cardston temple. Their design was unlike the Utah temples (Figure 13). Even journalists in Salt Lake City close to Church headquarters were confused by the architectural style of the first Canadian temple, stating, "The architecture of the proposed building cannot be identified exactly with any historically accepted style. The aim of the architects was to conform to the peculiar requirements of such a building rather than to imitate any style."²⁴⁵ A Raymond resident agreed, writing for *Canadian Magazine* in 1913, "The architecture will not correspond to that of any temple erected by the church in Utah. The authorities seek utility in the Canadian building rather than adherence to any type or revealed plan."²⁴⁶ The architects allowed the purpose of the building to drive their design and let typical ecclesiastical styles take a back seat. The modern architects of the time, such as Louis Sullivan (1856-1924) and Frank Lloyd Wright, would have described this as "form follows function." The architects designed the temple according to its function, which all LDS temples were made to serve. There was no longer a need for an assembly hall because now the temple was reserved for sacred ordinances. The exterior of the Cardston Alberta Temple differed from the Gothic Utah

²⁴⁴ Richard O. Cowan, *Temples to Dot the Earth* (Springville: Cedar Fort, 1997), 122. Under the direct supervisor of the First Presidency, the Presiding Bishop and his two counselors make up the Presiding Bishopric and oversee tithing, membership records, and the Aaronic Priesthood. William Gibb Dyer Jr. and H. David Burton, "Presiding Bishopric," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992).

²⁴⁵ "Approved Design for Temple in Alberta Province," *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, January 2, 1913. Cardston Alberta Temple: An Historical Record, University of Lethbridge.

²⁴⁶ W. McD. Tait, "The Mormon Temple in Canada," *The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature* 42 (1913): 488.

temples, but the interior rooms and baptismal fonts remained similar and served the same functions. However, at this time, Mormonism began to act the opposite in terms of its relationship with other Christian communities. On the exterior, to the outside, they appeared the same, but inside they remained unique, or peculiar. For example, the Church gave up polygamy and officially punished defiant members who continued to practice it, but then began to re-emphasize the importance of family by initiating the tradition of Family Home Evenings.

The site of the Cardston Alberta temple remained to be determined. Raymond and Cardston were the two options, but, by February 1913, Alberta Stake President Edward J. Wood (1866-1956) received word from Elder Orson F. Whitney (1855-1931) that the Church selected Cardston. “It was certainly good news and quite in harmony with my early impressions. My first impressions were that we would have this great blessing – that of Temple of the Lord here in Canada and when it was first spoken of I thought it would sure by come to Cardston.”²⁴⁷ The building committee included Wood as chairman, Taylor Stake President Heber S. Allen (1864-1944), John F. Parrish (1870-1957), and William Baxter, who supervised construction.²⁴⁸ In April, Wood travelled to Salt Lake City to review the architectural plans and observed that “the building is a different design than others.”²⁴⁹ In a letter to Randolph W. Lineham, Burton revealed that his fellow competitors produced designs similar to the Salt Lake Temple.²⁵⁰ The Pope and Burton winning design was an anomaly among the Gothic re-creations.

²⁴⁷ Edward James Wood, diary, February 13, 1913, microfilm of manuscript, Edward J. Wood Collection, 1884-1982, Church History Library. Olive Wood Nielson, *A Treasury of Edward J. Wood* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1983), 384.

²⁴⁸ Wood, *The Alberta Temple*, 31.

²⁴⁹ Wood, diary, April 1, 1913. Nielson, *Treasury*, 386.

²⁵⁰ Harold W. Burton, letter, May 20, 1969, photocopy of typescript, Harold W. Burton Papers, 1964-1969, Church History Library.

The same year that Pope and Burton travelled to Alberta to begin construction on the temple was the same year Sullivan and Wright completed the Banff Park Shelter. It was also the same year that the Church officially partnered with Boy Scouts of America. The Boy Scouts of Great Britain organized in 1910 and soon spread their message to Canada. That year, representatives travelled to Cardston and then Aetna where Nathan W. Tanner, bishop and father of Nathan Eldon Tanner (1898-1982), future Counselor in the First Presidency, welcomed them to the Mormon community. James Henry Tanner became the first Scoutmaster of the First Aetna Troop, which Nathan was a member of at the age of thirteen.²⁵¹ Cardston followed suit and quickly started their own troop a whole three years before the Boy Scouts of America and the LDS Church formed an official alliance.

The formal adoption of the Boy Scout program showed how Latter-day Saints' social interests were similar to non-Mormon "Progressives." The period of integration into mainstream society coincided with the Progressive Era and, once more, Latter-day Saints tried to balance their peculiarity with assimilation. Latter-day Saints, like other Canadians, faced the challenges introduced with urbanization and industrialization. Historian Richard Ian Kimball explained that Church leaders introduced a recreation program, which included Scouting, to not only "maintain the cultural distinctiveness of Mormons," but also to "keep young men and women interested in church attendance."²⁵² Kimball continued, "Recreation offered a malleable social device that

²⁵¹ Edward Hansen, "Scouting in Aetna and Cardston District," in *Chief Mountain Country: A History of Cardston and District*, ed. Beryl Bectell, vol. 2 (Cardston: Cardston and District Historical Society, 1987), 150.

²⁵² Richard Ian Kimball, *Sports in Zion: Mormon Recreation, 1890-1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 3. For more on auxiliary organizations during this time of transition, see Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*.

could teach religious values to adolescents and prove to outsiders that Mormons fit in with other religious denominations.”²⁵³

a. 1914-1918: Loyal Residents

Some might assume that global conflict delayed the Latter-day Saints’ progress in Canadian society because it interrupted the construction of the Cardston temple. Nevertheless, the First World War provided the Canadian Latter-day Saints with an opportunity to squash their non-Mormon neighbours’ doubts regarding their loyalty and legitimacy. The revision of the Militia Act in 1903 placed complete control of national defence in Canadian hands.²⁵⁴ About 40,000 men would train in the active militia while thousands of others would commit to serve only in the event of war.²⁵⁵ This plan resulted in a Canadian version of the National Guard with trained marksmen all across the country ready to participate in war if needed. Before the conflict in Europe, the LDS Church called Hugh B. Brown (1883-1975), future member of the Quorum of Twelve, to become an officer in the Canadian Army, he eventually qualified for the rank of major, and trained local Mormon and non-Mormon recruits in the Third Alberta Rangers.²⁵⁶ Canada was automatically a participant in the conflict when Great Britain declared war on Germany in the late summer of 1914. While work on the temple slowed down, Mormon residents in southern Alberta demonstrated their loyalty to Canada and Britain by joining the war

²⁵³ Kimball, *Sports in Zion*, 3.

²⁵⁴ Chris Madsen, *Another Kind of Justice: Canadian Military Law from Confederation to Somalia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 37.

²⁵⁵ James A. Wood, *Militia Myths: Ideas of the Canadian Citizen Soldier, 1896-1921* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 111.

²⁵⁶ Martha Sonntag Bradley and Mary Brown Firmage Woodward, *4 Zinas: A Story of Mothers and Daughters on the Mormon Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000), 411 and 417. The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles is a group of twelve men ordained to the Melchizedek Priesthood office of apostle who serve under the direction of the First Presidency. The Quorum of the Twelve supervise the Quorum of the Seventy, oversee the stakes and training of leaders. See, William O. Nelson, "Quorum of the Twelve Apostles," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992): 1185-1189.

effort. Many men from the Mormon communities enlisted by the end of 1915 and others were conscripted a year later. Major Brown led the 13th Overseas Mounted Regiment, part of the Canadian over-seas expeditionary force, to join the Canadian Army's cavalry in Europe.²⁵⁷

The First Depot Battalion, Alberta Regiment, was another unit that included Mormon soldiers. These men from southern Alberta were conscripted near the end of the First World War. Marion Stoddard Hanson, John Whitaker Head, Schuyler White Hinman, Jeremiah Leavitt, Joseph Leavitt, William Ervin Low, Lehi Harold Marsden, Hyrum Adamson Maughan, and Lorenzo Snow Nelson are just a sample of the men from the LDS settlements who served as privates in the First Depot Battalion.²⁵⁸ Some were born in Alberta, others were born in Utah, or their parents were born in Utah. Some Canadian Latter-day Saints demonstrated their commitment to the nation by sacrificing their lives. Others fought and risked their lives to prove where their loyalty lay. They fought side-by-side with their non-Mormon neighbours for the same cause.

Meanwhile, as war progressed in Europe, Church authorities back in Salt Lake City announced a new practice that would help maintain “their heritage as a truly distinctive people with a unique message.”²⁵⁹ On 27 April 1915, the First Presidency addressed a letter to the stake presidents, bishops, and parents concerning the family. Editors published this letter in the June issue of *The Improvement Era* for all to read, “we advise and urge the inauguration of a ‘Home Evening’ throughout the Church, at which time fathers and mothers may gather their boys and

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 417.

²⁵⁸ “Private Marion Stoddard Hanson,” CEF Soldier Detail, *Canadian Great War Project*, last updated 11 November 2016, <http://www.canadiangreatwarproject.com/searches/soldierDetail.asp?ID=123024>.

²⁵⁹ Mauss, *Angel and the Beehive*, x.

girls about them in the home and teach them the word of the Lord.”²⁶⁰ This was the introduction of the Family Home Evening. Later, manuals in the early 1960s presented a resistance to feminism and a re-emphasis on patriarchy.²⁶¹ These particular values are often cited as “important distinguishing traits” of Latter-day Saints.²⁶² Latter-day Saints are similar in one way (emphasis on family) and unique in another (Family Home Evening). The balance between popular and particular continued.

Would this pattern of popularity and integration continue with the completion of the Cardston Alberta Temple? Although the war delayed construction of the Cardston Alberta Temple, in 1915, the Church announced plans to build in Laie, Hawaii. Pope and Burton designed this temple in a similar Prairie School style, making it just over half the size of the Alberta temple and of concrete from crushed lava rock in a cream finish. Heber J. Grant (1856-1945) dedicated the Laie Hawaii Temple in 1919. A month before the dedication, he announced a temple for Mesa, Arizona. Architects Don Carols Young Jr. and Ramm Hansen modelled their plans after the Cardston and Laie temples, which made these three all inspired by the Prairie School with hints of Meso-American motifs.

b. 1919-1923: Canadian?

The First World War ended and temple building continued in Cardston. Construction concluded in 1923 and President Grant dedicated the new temple on 26 August. Pope and Burton’s “great achievement,” according to architectural historian Paul Anderson, was their skill

²⁶⁰ Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, and Charles W. Penrose, “Editor’s Table: Home Evening,” 27 April 1915, *Improvement Era* 18 no. 8 (June 1915): 733.

²⁶¹ Armand L. Mauss, “The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation and Identity: Trends and Developments Since Midcentury,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27, no. 1 (1994): 132.

²⁶² Armand L. Mauss, “Assimilation and Ambivalence: The Mormon Reaction to Americanization,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 22, no. 1 (1989): 41.

to combine what Latter-day Saints needed with the best design ideas.²⁶³ He concluded that the architects adapted the building to their surroundings, which were the plains of Alberta: “The pyramid-shaped silhouette was particularly well suited to the temple’s location on a low hill in the midst of a broad prairie, since the temple appeared equally strong, well-proportioned and handsome from all angles.”²⁶⁴ Characteristics of Prairie School architecture inspired the emphasis on the horizontal. The temple was modern because it was not Gothic or Romanesque, but was inspired by the work of Frank Lloyd Wright. Even so, the building was also Mormon. It was designed for its function as a sacred site where members in good standing could perform rituals that helped them progress through the plan of salvation.

Joseph Y. Card (1885-1956) attributed the style to ancient cultures in an article for *The Improvement Era* in 1923. He wrote that the new temple “has the Grecian massiveness, a Peruvian touch, and is similar only to the ancient temples of the Astecs [*sic*] and other aborigines of Central and South America.”²⁶⁵ Another eyewitness account came from May Booth Talmage (1868-1944) after she trekked to Canada from Utah to view the new structure. In an article for the *Young Woman’s Journal*, she contended that the temple appeared to be “chiselled out as is a piece of sculpture, rather than a building constructed of separate stones.”²⁶⁶ Scholar John Widtsoe’s summary in an article for *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* was similar to the previous observer’s account:

The architecture is baffling, but reminds one of the pre-historic temples unearthed in Central and South America. It is in the form of a Greek cross, or, more accurately, of a Maltese cross, with a blunt

²⁶³ Paul L. Anderson, “The Early Twentieth Century Temples,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 1 (1981): 14.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁵ Joseph Y. Card, “The Cardston Temple,” *Improvement Era* 26, no. 11 (1923): 1003.

²⁶⁶ May Booth Talmage, “Our Visit to the Temple in Canada,” *Young Woman’s Journal* 34, no. 10 (1923): 518.

tower rising from its center. The walls are massive and the foundations secure. The upper courts are covered with flower beds. At a distance, the Temple looks as if it had been carved by some gigantic power from a granite block of tremendous proportions.²⁶⁷

Writing just over fifty years later, architect Allen Dale Roberts argued that “The development of Mormon architecture is as much a story of change in church philosophy and expansion of church organization as it is a story of the adoption of technological or stylistic improvements.”²⁶⁸ That being said, there must be an explanation for the departure from Gothic Revival and adoption of Prairie School style. Numerous factors, such as climate, availability of materials, human resources, and growth patterns, affected the Church’s architectural plans.²⁶⁹ After outlining the different periods of Gothic Revival architecture in the LDS Church’s history, Roberts reached the modern, or, Wright-Influenced, period, which he dated from 1910 to 1921. He observed that some Latter-day Saints and LDS architects deny Wright’s influence on Mormon architecture.²⁷⁰ The above sample of literature on the Cardston Alberta Temple demonstrated that absence. In an article for *Ensign*, Anderson admits that the Cardston Alberta Temple shows “some similarities to the work of the great modern American architect Frank Lloyd Wright,” but he also, like the above authors, compared the temple to pre-Columbian ruins.²⁷¹ The desire to connect the temple to ancient temples found in both Central and South America was unsurprising when considering that many Mormon historians and archaeologists have searched for evidence linking the Book of Mormon to the pre-Columbian Americas. The visual connection acted as a reminder to observers of the authenticity of their sacred text.

²⁶⁷ John A. Widtsoe, “Dedication of the Alberta Temple,” *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 14-15 (October 1923): 154.

²⁶⁸ Roberts, “Religious Architecture of the LDS Church,” 307.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 324.

²⁷¹ Anderson, “First of the Modern Temples.”

However, in this dissertation, I am interested in what the influence of Wrightian designs, not just Central and South American styles, communicated to Latter-day Saints and non-members.

Viewers can observe Wright's presence in more than just temple building and Roberts offers examples that include the Parowan Third Ward Chapel and Ensign Ward Chapel in addition to the Cardston Alberta Temple.²⁷² There is no denying the similarities between these buildings and Wright's Unity Temple in Illinois. However, the modern trend in Mormon architecture did not remain popular for long. The key characteristics of Gothic Revival, such as towers, steeples, and Gothic windows, connote qualities of religion and faith for many Christians. Social constructions equating "Gothic" and "churchlike" visually communicated to outsiders that the purpose of the building that its purpose was religious. Roberts noted that Church members criticized modern architecture for its "awkward" and "unchurchlike" style.²⁷³ It did not communicate the desired message.

Anderson revisited the Cardston Alberta Temple and early 20th century Church architecture in articles for *Dialogue* and *Journal of Mormon History (JMH)* in the early 1980s. In *Dialogue*, Anderson once again argued that Pope and Burton's inspirations for the temple were both pre-Columbian pyramids and Frank Lloyd Wright. He complimented their achievement in combining popular architectural trends with the needs of the LDS Church.²⁷⁴ One of the needs of the Latter-day Saints in Canada at this time was integration. The presence of the new temple communicated that they were here to stay, but the architectural style maintained their distinctiveness. They strove for acceptance of their history, both 19th century and ancient. The

²⁷² Roberts, "Religious Architecture of the LDS Church," 324.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 325.

²⁷⁴ Anderson, "Twentieth Century Temples," 14.

following year, Anderson wrote for *JMH* on the topic of modern architecture. The first wave of Modernism arrived with Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright, but by the 1920s and 1930s, when the Church experimented architecturally, Modernism was a fading trend.²⁷⁵ The Church wanted recognizable characteristics and designs, but they picked ones that were out of date. Roberts counted at least fifty LDS buildings constructed in the Prairie School Style, including the ones listed above.²⁷⁶ No less than five architects moved to Utah from Chicago, home of the movement, around 1900 and employed Prairie School style for homeowners.²⁷⁷ Pope and Burton's winning design for the Cardston Alberta Temple was an example of the influence of the Prairie School style.

Frank Steele, writing for *Juvenile Instructor*, determined that the Cardston Alberta Temple, "convinced Canada that the Latter-day Saints are an intensely earnest people, that they are established permanently, [and] that they are substantial citizens."²⁷⁸ The temple eliminated one reason for Latter-day Saints to return to the United States. The temple did not visually assimilate into the small, rural town, but it fit into Canadian Mormons' needs. Now that they had a temple in Canada, new missionaries, young couples, and families did not have to travel south of the border to receive sacred ordinances.

Additionally, V.A. Wood interpreted the temple's meanings further:

For the members of the Mormon church the dedication of the Alberta Temple was a time of great anticipation, celebration and spiritual renewal. It was also the culmination of the hopes, dreams and sacrifices made by the Mormon pioneers who came to Alberta prior to 1923. To the Church members in Alberta the Temple stood in its place of prominence as a symbol of their sacrifice, of the Lords

²⁷⁵ Paul L. Anderson, "Mormon Moderne: Latter-day Saint Architecture, 1925-1945," *Journal of Mormon History* 9, no. 1 (1982): 72.

²⁷⁶ Allen Dale Roberts, *Salt Lake City's Historic Architecture* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2012), 24.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 123.

²⁷⁸ C. Frank Steele, "The Cardston Temple," *Juvenile Instructor* 58 no. 9 (1923): 439.

acceptance of their labours and of the unity and strength of the members of the area.²⁷⁹

The Cardston Alberta Temple symbolized success. The Latter-day Saints had come a long way since setting up camp along Lee's Creek in 1887 (Figure 14).

2.6 Difference: The Image of the Temple on Gravestones

Images of the Cardston Alberta Temple began appearing in cemeteries even before construction was completed. In the Stirling Cemetery, laying flat to the ground, the grave markers of daughter Olinda Pierson (1896-1918) and father Ola Pierson (1848-1922) pictured maple leaves and the Cardston Alberta Temple cut into bronze plaques (Figure 15). Although Ola lived 73 years, the flu epidemic of 1918 ended the life of his daughter Olinda early, after only 22 years. The temple on their grave markers symbolized “the belief that there is a way to achieve victory over death, not just for the individual, but for the family unit, both nuclear and extended.”²⁸⁰ In her study of Mormon graves in Utah, what Carol Edison labelled as “temple gravestones” she defined as “a folk expression of organizational affiliation and religious belief. [Temple gravestones] speak not only to outsiders as a statement of Mormon religious identity, but also to insiders as a reminder and visual reinforcement of the essence of Mormon belief.”²⁸¹ The LDS temple in Cardston symbolized the permanence of Mormonism in Canada and the presence of the temple on grave markers demonstrated a way the LDS announced their religious affiliation, no longer favouring standard Christian icons, but embracing the uniquely Mormon symbol of the temple. In his guide to cemetery symbolism and iconography, Douglas Keister

²⁷⁹ Wood, *The Alberta Temple*, 73.

²⁸⁰ Edison, "Mormon Gravestones," 92.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

included the Mormon temple in his extensive list of symbols and wrote that it represented one thing: Mormonism.²⁸²

The image of a temple, wrote Edison, “symbolizes the place and the means through which the goal of eternal marriage and family unity is achieved.”²⁸³ The construction of the temple in southern Alberta meant that Latter-day Saints could achieve the principle of eternal marriage without journeying to Utah. They could participate in temple rituals, such as sealing ceremonies, in their current homeland. The marriage ceremony performed in a LDS temple is called a sealing, which the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* simplifies:

The bride and groom meet with family and friends in a designated sealing room of the temple. The officiator [endowed with the priesthood authority]... invites [the couple] to come forward and kneel facing each other across an altar in the middle of the room. The sealer sometimes directs the attention of all present to the mirrors on opposite walls, reflecting endlessly the images of the couple at the altar, and he may comment on the symbolism. Then the sealer pronounces the simple words of the ceremony, which promise, on condition of obedience, lasting bonds with the potential for eternal joy between these two sealed for eternity.²⁸⁴

A significant difference from other Christian marriage ceremonies is the absence of “til death do us part” because, for Latter-day Saints, life as a family continues after death, in the spirit world. “For members of the Church, sealings endow life with greater purpose and give marriage a sense of divine partnership with spiritual safeguards... Sealings can sustain a family in life and console them in death. They establish continuity in life, here and hereafter.”²⁸⁵

²⁸² Keister, *Stories in Stone*, 121.

²⁸³ Edison, “Mormon Gravestones,” 92.

²⁸⁴ James T. Duke, “Marriage: Eternal Marriage,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 858-859. Also see, <http://ldschurchtemples.org/mormon/marriage/>

²⁸⁵ Paul V. Hyer, “Sealing: Temple Sealings,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1289. Also see, <http://ldschurchtemples.org/mormon/endowment/>

Grave markers displaying a Mormon temple communicated “basic Mormon beliefs of eternal progression, marriage for time and eternity, and the sealing together of families.”²⁸⁶ The rectangular slab marker for the Christensen family listed the father Peter F. (1863-1930), the mother Mary S. (1872-1947), daughter Zelma Z. (1898-1917), and son Leroy W. (1913-1916). In between the parents and above the children was an etching of the Cardston Alberta Temple and not the Manti Temple, where they were probably married since they wed in Manti in 1891 (Figure 16). Another couple who were not married in the Cardston Alberta Temple were John Redford (1866-1941) and Sarah Redford (1866-1954). Despite marrying in 1886 in Logan, Utah and probably being sealed in the Logan Temple, the Redfords’ gravestone in the Leavitt Cemetery not only depicted the Cardston Alberta Temple, but also displayed Chief Mountain, a significant feature of the landscape in their adopted home of southern Alberta (Figure 17). Perhaps not surprising when considering that four of their nine children were born in Alberta and they spent the rest of their lives there after immigrating between 1895 and 1899. In the Cardston Cemetery, the granite marker for F. Earl Hurd (1899-1940) and Winnifred Hurd (1903-1935) displayed the Cardston Alberta Temple, their marriage date of 1 October 1921, and the epitaph “For time and all eternity” (Figure 18). The epitaph, like the temple, was distinctly Mormon. For Latter-day Saints, marriage in the temple involved the ceremony of sealing, which joined the couple together “for time and all eternity.” This was the LDS covenant of marriage.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ Edison, “Mormon Gravestones,” 91.

²⁸⁷ Colleen McDannell and Bernhard Lang, “Modern Heave...and a Theology,” in *Mormons and Mormonism: An Introduction to an American World Religion* ed. Eric A. Eliason (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 142.

2.7 Conclusion

The Cardston Alberta Temple was one of seven temples without a statue of the angel Moroni. Five of these seven (St. George, Manti, Laie, Cardston, and Mesa) were completed between 1877 and 1927. Sociologist Armand Mauss determined that the angel represented the charismatic elements of Mormonism such as prophecy, other-worldliness, and spirituality.²⁸⁸ He observed the disappearing angel at Temple Square in Salt Lake City at a later time than the focus of this dissertation, but the relevance remained. Were these the elements the Mormons had to abandon in order to integrate into Canadian society? What would have been more “peculiar”? The angel Moroni atop a tall spire, or the substantial lines of the Prairie School style? The Cardston Alberta Temple might resemble the horizontality of the prairies, but the bright, white granite and immense size within a rural, farming town of about 4,000 residents made the structure a visual oddity.

In the 1930s, Canadian sociology pioneer Carl A. Dawson wrote *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada*. He concluded that the religious dominance of Utah remained apparent in the Canadian settlement. Latter-day Saint men regularly travelled to Utah to attend General Conference, or visit friends and family members.²⁸⁹ Latter-day Saints living outside the United States would always have this connection to Utah. Just like Roman Catholics would always be connected to Rome. By understanding the context of their architectural creations, we understand the significance of the Latter-day Saints in Canadian society. Architecture reminded the observer of its creators and users. The Cardston Alberta Temple symbolized the significant contribution of the LDS Church to southern Alberta’s development.

²⁸⁸ Mauss, *Angel and the Beehive*, 3.

²⁸⁹ Dawson, *Group Settlement*, 223.

Maybe the choice of Prairie School style went against their program of integration, or, perhaps, the Latter-day Saints had reached such a level of integration and acceptance that they were able to experiment without risking their status. The Cardston Alberta Temple drew attention to southern Alberta. It was the first LDS temple in Canada, it stood out against surrounding landscape and non-Mormon buildings, and it provided another talking point about the Church. The new temple attracted visitors and became a sacred destination for Mormons in Alberta. This would have happened regardless of architectural style.

Theoretically, the relationship between Modern architecture and historical styles mirrored the relationship of Mormonism and historical Christianity. Modernist architects followed this ideal:

the rejection of an academic tradition that had degenerated into eclectism, imprisoned in a history that had come to an end and whose forms could only be endlessly recycled. It did not imply a rejection of tradition... The architecture of the future would return to the *true* tradition, in which, it was believed, a harmonious and organic unity had existed between all the cultural phenomena of each age.²⁹⁰

The religious revival of the Second Great Awakening was the context for the arrival of Mormonism in the “burned-over district” of New York State. Joseph Smith, Jr. found himself surrounded by already established Protestant denominations and newly formed Christian sects, all of which combined and recycled different aspects and beliefs of the Christian tradition. In a sense, it was a marketplace of Christian eclectism. Smith rejected these and developed what he believed, like the Modernists, was a restoration, a “return to the *true* tradition.” In his speech at the dedicatory service of the Cardston Alberta Temple, architect Hyrum Pope confessed that,

the design of a temple of the Lord should certainly be worthy of and in harmony with the genius of the Gospel which has been restored, that it

²⁹⁰ Alan Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 10.

should not be a Gothic cathedral or a classic temple but one which should have all the boldness and all the truth expressed in it for which the gospel stands, for truly this is not a church that has been established by Joseph Smith. This is not a new thought; but it is the gospel, it is the truth which the Lord revealed even to father Adam.²⁹¹

The Modernist architects and Latter-day Saints thought they were returning to, not creating, “the truth.” As an example of the Prairie School, the Cardston Alberta Temple reinforced these ideas.

The story of Mormon settlement in Canada began with plural marriage, Church members seeking asylum, and families needing economic opportunities. They built the first meetinghouses with easily available materials and in recognizable styles. When residence in Canada changed from temporary to permanent, the LDS Church invested money and energy in the creation of a tabernacle for the Alberta Stake in Cardston. This was a more ornate building than previous ones and designed with the influence of the Gothic style. This architectural venture of the Church symbolized their investment in the Canadian Latter-day Saints. In turn, Canadian Mormons invested in Canada by developing organizations such as Boy Scouts and participating in international conflicts. Despite the interruption of the First World War, the Church designed and constructed what historian of architecture Trevor Boddy described as “the first consciously ‘Modern’ major building in the history of Alberta architecture.”²⁹² From the first meetinghouse in Cardston to the first temple in the country, Latter-day Saints in Canada balanced their strong ties to Utah with their desire to create a permanent, safe home in Alberta. The construction of the Cardston Alberta Temple marked not only the end of a long period of struggle and development, but also the beginning of a Canadian Mormonism.

²⁹¹ Hyrum C. Pope, speech, 29 August 1923, microfilm, Hyrum C. Pope Papers, Church History Library.

²⁹² Boddy, *Modern Architecture in Alberta*, 33.



Figure 1 Christ Church, Fort Macleod



Figure 2 Holy Cross Catholic Church, Fort Macleod



Figure 3 Hans Peterson's gravemarker



Figure 4 Thomas R. Leavitt's gravemarker



Figure 5 Noah Shurtleff's gravemarker



Figure 6 Cardston Assembly Hall



Figure 7 Austin G. Russell's gravemarker



Figure 8 Cardston Tabernacle



Figure 9 Fanny Caldwell's gravemarker



Figure 10 Helen Shaffer's obelisk



Figure 11 Unity Temple, Oak Park, Illinois

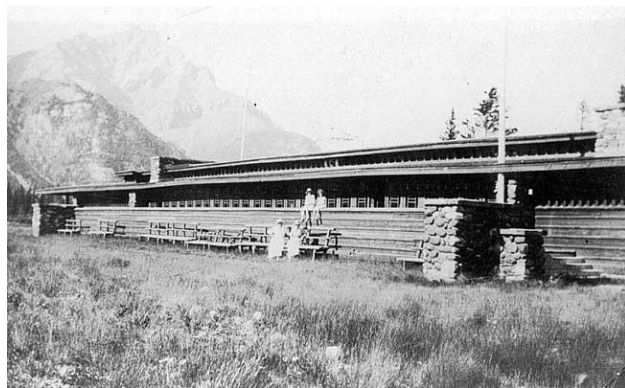


Figure 12 Banff Pavilion



Figure 13 Cardston Alberta Temple



Figure 14 Cardston Alberta Temple



Figure 15 Olinda and Ola Pierson's gravemarker



Figure 16 Christensen Family marker



Figure 17 Redford gravemarker



Figure 18 F. Earl and Winnifred Hurd's gravemarker

Chapter 3: Business and Politics

3.1 Introduction

Latter-day Saints in southern Alberta can attribute their initial economic and social successes, at least partially, to their self-sufficiency. They were creative, hardworking, and dedicated to a cause larger than themselves. Furthermore, their self-sufficiency did not stall progress and adaptation to their surroundings. Their willingness to give up some of this self-sufficiency and reach outside their community, with more long-term financial plans and humanitarian goals, required interaction and co-operation with non-Mormons, and enabled them to take another step towards integration into Canadian society.

Before they accepted their permanency in Canada, the LDS remained tied to the ways of their homeland in the 19th century. They settled communities following the farm village plan and developed businesses with community benefits in mind. The Mormon Farm Village and co-operative interests, such as sugar beets and the large, corporate Cochrane Ranch, were products of strategies, intentional or not, that kept the LDS isolated and self-reliant.

Political participation signaled at least some desire to contribute to their new home and other people. Latter-day Saints successfully entered politics at all levels: municipal, provincial and federal. Their introduction to Canadian politics, however, did not change the responsibilities given to them by the Church. Lay leadership in the LDS Church and the numerous roles for almost all adult members not only kept participation high, but also meant that their spiritual leader might also be their doctor, or electoral representative. Unsurprisingly, I found numerous examples of overlap between LDS who were politicians and held Church leadership roles, such

as bishop or counselor, in their ward or stake.²⁹³ Even if they did not hold a specific religious title, politicians still publicly spoke at weekly Church meetings.

The ideologies central to three significant political parties in Alberta from the early 20th century to the end of the 1940s demonstrated how Canadian LDS, as they integrated into Canadian society, created barriers between themselves and their American brethren. As they became more involved in Canadian politics, many LDS joined organizations in Alberta such as the United Farmers of Alberta, the Social Credit Party, and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. These distinctly Canadian associations promoted platforms that criticized capitalism and justified co-operation, foreshadowing Canada's trend towards both Keynesian liberalism and neo-liberalism.

3.2 Otherness: Farm Villages and Co-operative Interests

a. The Mormon Farm Village

Latter-day Saints physically left behind their homes in Utah when they migrated to southern Alberta and established a new homeland by constructing houses, farms, businesses, and communities. They brought with them the designs of their former homeland to transform their new land into something familiar. This style of settlement, the Mormom Village or Farm Village, was one way the LDS established visible boundaries between themselves and non-Mormons. This pattern of occupying land, argued sociologist Lowry Nelson, contributed to their achievement as community builders. He continued, "The manner in which rural people arrange their habitations upon the land constitutes one of the important factors determining the nature of the social organization."²⁹⁴

²⁹³ In the LDS Church, a Counselor is an adult male selected by the Bishop to assist him in all Church programs of the ward.

²⁹⁴ Nelson, *The Mormon Village*, 3.

The Mormon farm village settlement plan consisted of keeping family homes separate from the farms. They established homes in villages or towns with wide streets and yards large enough for smaller livestock, chicken coops, pig pens, and vegetable gardens.²⁹⁵ Planners designed the wide streets following a cardinaly oriented grid system and today sights of past small farming activity within the settlement centre and large lots occupied by a single dwelling are all evidence of this settlement plan.²⁹⁶ Farmers were expected to travel to their homestead and raise crops or livestock while their families, merchants, and businessmen stayed within the village, having the conveniences of nearby school, butcher, market, and church. Open field landscape surrounded the Mormon farm village as land for farming.

The creation of the “Mormon village,” or “farm village,” came from the creation of the Plat of the City of Zion, “an invention of the Mormons... resulting from the ideologies of millennialism, communism, and nationalism which they derived from the social environment of the early nineteenth century, and the Old and New Testaments.”²⁹⁷ There was an urgency motivating the preparation of a dwelling for Jesus Christ at the Second Coming. Canadian geographer John C. Lehr wrote, “[T]he origins of the Mormon village lie rooted in the millennialist eschatology of Mormonism, its perpetuation was solely pragmatic.”²⁹⁸ The Plat of the City of Zion required that all people lived in the city, the city was a mile square, blocks contained ten acres cut into half-acre lots to allow 20 houses per block, the middle tier of blocks was 50% wider than the others so it could be used for schools, churches, and public buildings, all

²⁹⁵ Nelson, *The Mormon Village*, 25.

²⁹⁶ Lehr, “The Mormon Cultural Landscape in Alberta,” 29.

²⁹⁷ Nelson, *The Mormon Village*, 38.

²⁹⁸ Lehr, “Mormon Settlement Morphology,” 12.

houses set back 25 feet from the street, farm lands outside the city.²⁹⁹ Examples from early Mormonism are Kirtland, Ohio (1834), and Nauvoo, Illinois (1837).

Plans for the town of Cardston came from various sources. Nelson claimed that Charles Ora Card designated 16 blocks to the quarter section, each block (containing four lots of equal size) was to be 34 rods square (0.2125 acres) with streets 99 feet wide intersecting at right angles.³⁰⁰ Rosenvall wrote that the grid pattern for Cardston contained square blocks 8.4 acres each to be subdivided into eight equal lots.³⁰¹ But the town plan evolved with time. First, they surveyed and laid out 12 city blocks for the town site with four lots on each block, 17 rods square (4,628 square foot, or 0.10625 acres) with streets 99 feet wide laid at right angles. Later, the LDS expanded the town to 16 blocks to the quarter section, 34 rods square, as described by Nelson (Figure 19).

Not all Mormon settlements in Alberta followed this exact plan. Between 1887 and 1910, 13 settlements out of 19 were farm villages with only a “superficial resemblance to the Plat of Zion.”³⁰² One of these towns resembling the Plat of Zion was Magrath, which was designed with blocks of ten acres each subdivided into 8 lots with streets 100 feet wide (Figure 20). In total, they planned 92 blocks with four business blocks in the middle, west of main street, laid off in 30x150 foot lots.³⁰³ The Village of Stirling, over thirty kilometres east of Magrath, also followed the farm village strategy when settled by Latter-day Saints in 1899 (Figure 21).

²⁹⁹ Nelson, *The Mormon Village*, 38.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 224.

³⁰¹ Lynn A. Rosenvall, “The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Alberta: A Historical and Geographical Perspective,” in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Western Canada*, ed. Wright et al. (Provo, UT: Dept. of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 2000), 5.

³⁰² Lehr, “Mormon Settlement Morphology,” 10.

³⁰³ Helen Greenland, biographical sketch, 1986, “Magrath, Alberta, Canada,” photocopy of typescript, Miller, Peterson, Bolander, and Wells Family Biographies, Church History Library.

The town was made up on one square mile, 640 acres. It was then divided into lots of 10 acres. Each 10 acres had a surveyed road around the entire area with a lane running north and south dividing it into two parcels. These were again divided, east and west, making four lots, 2½ acres each. This would give the residents room to build their homes, barns and shelters for their animals and leave room for a large garden.³⁰⁴

Whether or not the Alberta settlements followed every detail of the Plat of Zion is unimportant. The significance of the settlement plan can be explained by Joseph Smith's goal when devising the Plat of Zion. His goal was "to design communities that enhanced the co-operation and religious unity envisioned in the revelation about Zion."³⁰⁵ The key here is the enhancement of co-operation and religious unity. The success of these communities in southern Alberta can be attributed in part to the use of the farm village plan. Rather than having women and children isolated on the homesteads, the plan had them gathered together in the village or town. This allowed full participation in church and auxiliary activities, less inaccessible to those living miles outside of town.³⁰⁶ In the late 19th century and early 20th century, the LDS way of life required various commitments that occurred on different days of the week. For example, priesthood meetings occurred on Saturdays and sacrament meetings on Sundays.³⁰⁷

b. Co-operative Interests

The phase in LDS economic history labelled "the co-operative movement" lasted, according to LDS Church Historian (1972-1982) Leonard J. Arrington, from 1868 to 1884.³⁰⁸ However, his description of the Mormon colonies in Alberta and Mexico (Sonora and Chihuahua) presented situations typical of the supposedly dead movement. Arrington wrote,

³⁰⁴ Stirling Sunset Society, *Stirling*, 6.

³⁰⁵ Richard H. Jackson, "City Planning" in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 283.

³⁰⁶ Rosenvall, "The Transfer of Mormon Culture to Alberta," 58.

³⁰⁷ 31 May 1890; 28 January 1893; 2 February 1895; 2 November 1895; 8 February 1896, MSS 1543, LTPSC. "Sacrament Meeting" is the main worship service held on the Sabbath for the entire ward membership.

³⁰⁸ Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 293.

Each of the new settlements was designated as a gathering place, and nearly all were founded in the same spirit, and with the same type of organization and institutions, as those founded in the 1850's and '60's. Colonizing companies moved as a group, with church approval; the village form of settlement prevailed; canals were built by co-operative labor; and the small holdings of farm land and village lots were parceled out in community drawings.³⁰⁹

Furthermore, ecclesiastical corporations in the 1880s held church property, mercantile and industrial co-operatives became incorporated as joint-stock concerns.³¹⁰ One of these corporations was the Alberta Land and Colonization Company, incorporated in 1896.

As those first Latter-day Saints remembered it, there was no practice of the United Order (a co-operative and communal economic plan) in Cardston, but, as William L. Woolf (1890-1982) explained in an interview, "the people were very co-operative."³¹¹ They were so co-operative that they formed a "joint-stock corporation, organized under the sponsorship of the church, with a broad basis of public ownership and support...motivated principally by welfare rather than profit; patronage was an act of religious loyalty."³¹² Arrington further explained,

Cooperation was deliberately promoted by the church as a solution to its problems, both spiritual and material. Cooperation, it was believed, would increase production, cut down costs, and make possible a superior organization of resources. It was also calculated to heighten the spirit of unity and "temporal oneness" of the Saints and promote the kind of brotherhood without which the Kingdom would not be built.³¹³

Before the co-operative efforts in southern Alberta, the LDS Church in Utah faced many financial challenges, including the panic and financial depression of 1873 that initiated the extension of "the co-operative principle to every form of labor and investment, and to cut the ties

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 354.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 383.

³¹¹ William L. Woolf, oral history, interviewed by Maureen Ursebach Beecher, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1972, transcript, Church History Library.

³¹² Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 293

³¹³ Ibid., 315.

which bound them to the outside world."³¹⁴ That year the United Order Movement began and the Church asked each member of the community to donate his property to "the Order" and receive in return the equivalent capital stock.³¹⁵ Some united orders required members to share the net income of the enterprise rather than work for fixed wages, others required members to donate all their property and share everything equally, or the united order functioned like a joint-stock company with the aim of helping already existing co-operatives (no one was required to give up their property).³¹⁶ LDS communities established about 200 united orders, but this ended around 1877, according to Arrington, and 1893, according to the Encyclopedia of Mormonism.³¹⁷ In Alberta, the third type of united order existed where

Such orders did not require consecration of all one's property and labor but operated much like a profit-sharing capitalist enterprise, issuing dividends on stock and hiring labor...Brigham Young believed that pooling capital and labor would not only promote unity and self-sufficiency but would also provide increased production, investment, and consumption through specialization, division of labor, and economies of scale.³¹⁸

By their second summer in the district of Alberta, the LDS considered implementing a united order. At the Card residence, Zina Y. Card (1850-1931) told the Cardston Relief Society that they should prepare "to live in the United Order."³¹⁹ That winter, Charles Ora Card opened the first general store and began as the sole owner.³²⁰ However, less than a year later, the LDS in

³¹⁴ Ibid., 324.

³¹⁵ Ibid., 328.

³¹⁶ L. Dwight Israelsen, "United Orders," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1493-1495.

³¹⁷ Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 341. Israelsen, "United Orders," 1494.

³¹⁸ Israelsen, "United Orders," 1494.

³¹⁹ Relief Society minutes, 11 June 1888, Cardston Ward Relief Society Minutes, 1887-1911, Church History Library.

³²⁰ Willard and Bernice Brooks, "Cardston - Historic Firsts," in *Chief Mountain Country: A History of Cardston and District*, ed. Beryl Bectell, vol. 2 (Cardston: Cardston and District Historical Society), 2.

Cardston hoped “to incorporate for rearing stock, Co-operative Stores, Dairy, Saw mill and Grist mill purposes” and so Card met with a lawyer named Haultain to begin the paperwork.³²¹ At a Priesthood meeting in May of 1890, Card “spoke to them upon the necessity of unity among [the LDS] in all things temporal and spiritual. [He] Advised cooperation in our business operations. Advised the brethren to herd out stock and save our grain. Advised the brethren to take the Oath of Allegiance to the Canadian Government. Also to pay their tithes and offerings.”³²² Card wanted to accomplish two goals: group cooperation among Latter-day Saints themselves and at least the appearance of loyalty to the Canadian government. Latter-day Saints must work together to prosper, but, at the same time, they must not alienate themselves from help that might come from government officials.

As the LDS united in matters of secular and sacred natures, non-Mormons petitioned against the incorporation of the Cardston Company Limited. Citizens of nearby Macleod worried about the incorporation of a joint stock company, fearing it will “become a very powerful association, wielding an enormous influence.” An editor of the *Lethbridge News* advised readers to “take steps to avert the danger that threatens this district--namely, that of becoming a Mormon country.” Furthermore, “The principles of Mormonism--namely a blind submission to the revelations of their prophets--make them a great source of danger to a country where the Christian population is small. Mormonism soon becomes a great political machine in which all the component parts act as one man for furthering by their votes and otherwise the objects of their religion, or the orders of their prophets as expressed in revelations.”³²³ Previously, those opposed to Mormonism in the United States feared Mormon political power because of the

³²¹ 27 June 1889, MSS 1543, LTPSC. Also see 15 July 1889, MSS 1543, LTPSC. In Calgary, Card “looked about the Business houses for information that would be of benefit to our Co-operative Store at Cardston.”

³²² 31 May 1890, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³²³ “The Mormon Question,” *Lethbridge News*, July 23, 1890.

perception that LDS leaders held limitless influence over the Church's membership. David T. Smith summarized, "the early persecution of Mormons in the United States occurred mainly because of the political challenge of their charismatic and theocratic leadership... Opponents of Mormonism always constructed this threat in terms of the control they exercised over their followers."³²⁴

Despite these public protests, Charles Ora Card, John Anthony Woolf, Neils Hansen, Simeon Franklin Allen, and Ephriam Harker applied for the incorporation of a body corporate under the name "The Cardston Company, Limited" with the goals of milling, manufacturing, dairying, farming, stock-raising, ranching, and general merchandising.³²⁵ The official petition to refuse this request said "We believe that concentrated and corporate wealth acquires an influence and wields a power over civil affairs that is a menace to the civil power and becomes dangerous to the liberty of the people and to the peace and good order of Society."³²⁶ The *Moose Jaw Herald Times* reported that "There is in it [the Cardston Company, Ltd.] the element of religion, which destroys individualism and compels men to engage in enterprises as a duty to a human leader."³²⁷ The newspaper further predicted that "By uniting as a religious community, they have seriously injured the labor market of Southern Alberta... The whole of the trade in Southern

³²⁴ David T. Smith, *Religious Persecution and Political Order in the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 62.

³²⁵ Sessional Papers, Third Session, First Legislature of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, Session 1890, *Journals of the First Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories* (Regina: R. B. Gordon, 1891), 48-49. In June, Card met again with Haultain and "placed the matter of incorporation of "The Cardston Company Lmt'd" in his hand [and] aided him in forming a prospectus." See 19 June 1890, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³²⁶ Session Papers, 49-51. Also mentioned polygamy and problems in United States with Utah

³²⁷ "The Mormon Cardston Company," *Moose Jaw Herald Times*, November 7, 1890, 2. Speaking of the Zion Co-Operative Store in Utah: "It has aided Mormonism, as a religious system, and become a strong factor financially and politically. Were it a company organized for the purpose of engaging in a single industry, and no influences of a religious character were brought to bear upon Mormons to join it, there were no cause for grievance, but here is a company composed solely of religious persons, uniting for the purpose of trade, who are bound by oaths and customs alien to the laws of our Dominion."

Alberta will be controlled by the Cardston Company if it is incorporated."³²⁸ But rather than control all of southern Alberta, the LDS began with their first co-operative irrigation project and diverted water from Lee's Creek to run a grist mill and irrigate gardens.³²⁹

Board meetings and preparations for a co-operative store began in the first months of 1891.³³⁰ The LDS, operating as the Cardston Company, built a cheese factory to be run by Robert Ibey (1874-1943), and a saw mill.³³¹ The Cardston Company received incorporation the following year.³³² Superintendent Steele reported that "The Mormons have purchased about 700,000 acres of land between Lee's Creek, St. Mary's River and Pot Hole Creek: 116,000 acres of this was purchased by the Cardston Co. (Limited) and since transferred to individuals...About 25 new buildings have been erected in the village of Cardston this year, including a large general store and post office."³³³ The first directors on the board for Cardston Co. Ltd. were Charles Ora Card, John Anthony Woolf (1843-1928), Samuel Matkin (1850-1905), Oliver L. Robinson, Neils Hanson (1832-1902), and Heber S. Allen as Secretary.³³⁴ The board elected Card as the first director and then president. In his diary, Card wrote,

[President] the same position I have held for the last 4 years although we have only organized fully as a charter Co[mpany] for 9 months but in order to lead the people in cooperation I have managed their means over my private name previously and our institution has grown from \$700.00 to \$7000.00 during that time & we have managed our business successfully

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Brooks and Brooks, "Cardston - Historic Firsts," 2-3.

³³⁰ Card "attended a meeting of the Board of our Co-operative store." See 26 January 1891, MSS 1543, LTPSC. Also see 29 January 1891. Card met with E.G. Galt (Manager of AB Coal and Ry Co) "who promised to aid our settlement in getting a charter to Incorporate a Co-operative Co. for Cardston for the purpose of merchandising and manufacturing."

³³¹ Brooks and Brooks, "Cardston - Historic Firsts," 2.

³³² J. Royal, Lieutenant Governor, N.W.T., Report Concerning the Administration of the North-West Territories for the Year 1892, *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1892* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1893).

³³³ Samuel B. Steele, Superintendent, Commanding Macleod District, Annual Report of Superintendent S. B. Steele, Commanding Macleod District, 1892, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada: Volume 9, Third Session of the Seventh Parliament, Session 1893* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1893): 15-40.

³³⁴ 6 February 1891, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

under the blessings of the Lord and these last 2 years had a Dairy added and run without loss & made about 90,000 lbs. of first class cheese, 53,000 of it made the last season and for all of my labor I have received less than \$500.00 but left part of my reward for the great hereafter.³³⁵

Several weeks later, Card equated the saints of Cardston with the co-operative Cardston Company Limited, feeling he had accomplished enough for their future welfare.³³⁶ This feeling lasted less than a year when two of Card's own people left the co-operative to start their own business, perhaps inspired by the free market capitalism of their non-Mormon neighbours.³³⁷

In his diary on 30 January 1894, Card noted that Simeon F. Allen (1839-1901) and Heber S. Allen, father and son team, opened their own store in direct competition with the Cardston Company. They did this "without advice or council" claimed Card.³³⁸ The *Lethbridge News* reported that "Mr. H. S. Allen has resigned as sec'y and treasurer of the Cardstone [sic] Co. Limited. We understand another firm will soon make its appearance with Mr. Allen as its head."³³⁹ Perhaps the Allen father and son duo saw merit in the mixed economic approaches of their non-LDS neighbours.³⁴⁰ Before Heber went into business with his father, he managed the Cardston Co., but gave his notice in June 1893.³⁴¹ "He had saved \$1800 and borrowed \$1000 from his father, who had been farming in the Mountain View area...The Allens built a store room in the end of their house, and opened for business in August. The new business prospered from the start."³⁴² In 1894, Heber attended Brigham Young Academy in Provo, Utah while his father and Robert Ibey managed the store in his absence. By the time of his return to Cardston,

³³⁵ 6 February 1893, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³³⁶ 20 February 1893, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³³⁷ 30 January 1894, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³³⁸ 30 January 1894, MSS 1543, LTPSC. Also see Shaw, *Chief Mountain Country*, 7.

³³⁹ "Cullings From Cardston," *Lethbridge News*, July 13, 1893, 2.

³⁴⁰ Henry C. Klassen, *Eye on the Future: Business People in Calgary and the Bow Valley, 1870-1900* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2002), xxxv-xxxvi.

³⁴¹ Shaw, *Chief Mountain Country*, 226.

³⁴² *Ibid.*

Simeon and Robert built a larger store on the corner east of their first store and by 1898 Heber became sole owner and doubled the floor space of his store. Heber Allen replaced Card as stake president in 1902 and after a year the church transferred him to the new Taylor Stake as president. In Raymond, Allen purchased a controlling interest in the Raymond Mercantile Co. and let his business in Cardston continue under the name of H. S. Allen and Co. until he sold to W. H. Steed in 1911.

Meanwhile, in 1894, the board of the Cardston Company consisted of Card as president, John A. Woolf as vice president, Sterling Williams (1870-1965) as secretary, and Samuel Matkin, Oliver L. Robinson, and Neils Hansen as directors.³⁴³ This year, according to “A. Hinman,” who was probably Andrew Hinman (1879-1964), was the year they formed the United Order.³⁴⁴ It is unclear why Hinman associated 1894 with the beginning of a United Order movement in Alberta because the LDS incorporated the Cardston Company years before and opened numerous businesses since then. However, the following August businessmen of Cardston organized the first Chamber of Commerce, made up of men from Mormon colonies, with one representative from Cardston, one from Aetna, one from Mountain View, and one from each of the stores. Ephraim Harker (1854-1932) represented Cardston, Richard Pilling (1833-1906) for Aetna, Samuel J. Layton (1855-1944) for Mountain View, Heber S. Allen for Allen & Co. and Samuel Matkin for the Co-operative.³⁴⁵ Eighteen-ninety-five was also the year that the LDS Church established the Alberta Stake and appointed Charles O. Card president. Hinman might have associated a type of united order with the organization of the Chamber of Commerce

³⁴³ 3 February 1894, MSS 1543, LTPSC. Andrew Archibald soon replaced Hansen on the board. See, 5 February 1894.

³⁴⁴ Joseph Y. Card et al., reminiscence, ca. 1951, microfilm, Reminiscences of Early Settlers of Cardston, Canada, ca. 1951, Church History Library.

³⁴⁵ 25 August 1895 and 26 August 1895, MSS 1543, LTPSC. Also see 4 February 1895, MSS 1543, LTPSC. At a stockholders meeting in 1895, members elected Card president once again, a position he had already held for five years.

and the creation of the Alberta Stake since there was great overlap between business and spiritual leaders.

According to the Superintendent of the Macleod District, in 1895, Cardston, with a population approaching 1,000, had 752,150 acres under cultivation that harvested 33,000 bushels of oats, 17,000 of wheat, and 6,000 of barley. Steele reported that the village had 1508 horses, 4,060 cattle, and 3,550 sheep. He counted the construction of twelve new buildings that year and the private school (still without government assistance) had fifty pupils. The Cardston cheese factory outputted 48,659 pounds of product, most of which they shipped to the Pacific coast, the grist mill ran six months of the year at a capacity of 180 bushels per diem, and the saw mill produced 187,560 feet of lumber and 39,000 shingles.³⁴⁶ It was the aftermath of this prosperity when Card issued Scrip to the citizens of Cardston to use at the co-operative store or cheese factory. In his diary, Card wrote, "I signed my name to 700 Pieces of scrip or mdse [merchandise] Orders for the Cardston Co. Ltd our co-operative store & cheese factory. This is our first Issue of Printed issues of which we have \$500.00 printed. I signed up \$890.00 being 100 pieces each denomination 5, 10, 25 & 50 cents, 100 each of \$1.00, \$2.00 & \$5.00."³⁴⁷ But, by February 1896, three years into the depression of 1893-1897, the high number of people failing to pay their accounts placed the Cardston Company in trouble and Card spent the month of March looking to borrow \$4,000 to aid the business.³⁴⁸ In his diary at the end of the year, Card summarized his job as "supervising all points of business of the Cardston Co[mpan]y Ltd which

³⁴⁶ Samuel. B. Steele, Annual Report of Superintendent S. B. Steele, Commanding Macleod District, 1895, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada : Volume 11, Sixth Session of the Seventh Parliament, Session 1896* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1896).

³⁴⁷ 14 January 1896, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³⁴⁸ 1 February 1896, 16 March 1896, and 21 March 1896, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

is our co-operative store company which includes the cheese factory & the Hog industry of our Company.”³⁴⁹

In June of 1896, the Alberta Land and Stock Company filed articles of incorporation in Utah. “The stock is represented in a contract with the Alberta Railway and Coal company for the transferring of 16,145 acres of land in the Northwest territory, Canada, and which will be used for stock raising purposes.”³⁵⁰ Polygamist Charles McCarty (1850-1926) spearheaded the company’s incorporation, investing \$300, 20,000 sheep, and 300 head of cattle.³⁵¹ In addition to McCarty, other Utahns that supported the company were Homer Manley Brown (1854-1936), Samuel W. Woolley (1840-1908), William J. Robinson (1860-1941), William Andrew Larsen (1860-1943), M. Peter Madsen (1856-1917), Hans C. Bonneru (1849-1926), and Hugh Russel Sloan (1856-1920).

Eighteen-ninety-seven was a significant year for the LDS in Canada. The population of Cardston reached 1,000, the Alberta Stake of Zion received incorporation in the NWT, Chauncy E. Snow (1870-1940) established a private bank, and the government appointed the first Mormon Justice of the Peace, Henry L. Hinman (1837-1921).³⁵² But many were still unable to pay their debt to the co-operative store. On 14 April, Card reached out to Simeon F. Allen at his home in Hyrum, Utah, and asked him to join the Cardston Company. “And making it a strong firm to carry on business for [on] behalf of our people to give greater stability to our settlement there.

³⁴⁹ 31 December 1896, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³⁵⁰ “Incorporated: The Alberta Land and Stock Company File Articles,” *Salt Lake Herald*, June 17, 1896, 6.

³⁵¹ John Blue, *Alberta Past and Present: Historical and Biographical Volume 3* (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing, 1924), 111-112.

³⁵² Samuel B. Steele, Annual Report of Superintendent S. B. Steele, Commanding D Division, etc., *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada: Volume 11, Second Session of the Eighth Parliament, Session 1897* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1897). C. H. Mackintosh Lieutenant Governor, N.W.T., Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1893, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada: Volume 10, Fourth Session of the Seventh Parliament, Session 1894* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1894). Shaw, *Chief Mountain Country*, 7.

Talked over matters and gave him my mind freely in for that we might maintain things temporally and spirituality and be able to use our talents to better advantage in preaching the gospel to the strangers in that land and not weakening our foothold.”³⁵³ Card’s attempt to eliminate the competition failed and Allen & Co. continued operation until 1911, even after Heber moved to Raymond.

The next year the board once again elected Card director, manager, and president of the Cardston Company Limited. He recorded in his diary that he had “managed the business for 10 y[ea]rs & it ha[d] grown from \$700 capitol put in at first 5 or 600 Later to at Least \$15000 capitol.”³⁵⁴ He “advise[d] the brethren to not go out side of our organizations to settle for we have abundance of land near at hand.”³⁵⁵ Snow started the first Cardston newspaper that year and called it the *Cardston Record*.

With new business contracts and more colonists from Utah, some Latter-day Saints moved east and established the hamlets of Magrath and Stirling. By 1899 the population of Magrath was 270 and Stirling was 230.³⁵⁶ Levi Harker (1865-1939) and Jasper J. Head (1861-1924) opened the Magrath Mercantile Company in 1899, which became Harker-Head Company Store in 1900. The same year Cardston became a village and Josiah A. Hammer (1855-1922) elected Overseer. Cardston also witnessed the construction of the Cardston Roller Mills (later called Cardston Milling Company), a company destined to merge with Ellison Milling.³⁵⁷ H. S.

³⁵³ 14 April 1897, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³⁵⁴ 8 March 1898, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³⁵⁵ 8 May 1898, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³⁵⁶ R. Burton Deane, Annual Report of Superintendent R. B. Deane, Commanding Macleod District, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada: Volume 12, Fifth Session of the Eighth Parliament, Session 1900* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1900).

³⁵⁷ John Blue, *Alberta Past and Present: Historical and Biographical Volume 2* (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing, 1924), 160.

Allen & Company became more focused on the promotion of agricultural interests.³⁵⁸ Finally, by the end of that year, the Cardston Company decided to lessen all credit and any new credit required the approval of the manager James P. Low (1860-1918) or assistant manager Robert Ibey.³⁵⁹

At a meeting in February 1900, the board elected Card, John A. Woolf, Josiah A. Hammer, Robert Ibey, and Walter Needham (1864-1915) as directors.³⁶⁰ The next day the board established the Cardston Implement Company and chose Thomas Duce (a polygamist) as president and acting manager. They selected Card as vice president, James P. Low as secretary and treasurer, Josiah A. Hammer and John A. Woolf as directors.³⁶¹ In March, at the stockholders meeting, they voted to increase the stock of \$15,000 to \$25,000.³⁶² The same group of men shared responsibilities for the Cardston Company, co-operative store and businesses, Cardston Implement Company, and the Alberta Stake. The overlapping of business and religion continued.

The year 1901 saw the incorporation of the Town of Cardston. Citizens elected Charles O. Card mayor and Martin Woolf (1858-1928) secretary. To recap, Charles O. Card served simultaneously as the political leader (Mayor of Cardston), spiritual leader (Alberta Stake President), and business leader (President of the Cardston Company).³⁶³ By the end of January, Card expressed his exhaustion by writing: “Set[t]ling Biz of the Cardston Co Ltd, Cardston Implement Co Ltd & private matters etc. Am always very busy. Spend over ½ my time with

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 161.

³⁵⁹ 20 November 1899, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³⁶⁰ 12 February 1900, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³⁶¹ 13 February 1900, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³⁶² 19 March 1900, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³⁶³ The board elected Card 1st Director and appointed President of the Cardston Company Ltd. on February 4, 1901.

Brethren in church matters, have many callers every day of the week which requires much of my time without remuneration.”³⁶⁴ To relieve some of the stress, Card sought out new ownership for the business and, in October, Sterling Williams, Robert Ibey, Edward J. Wood, and John W. Woolf (1869-1950) entered an agreement to purchase all the interests of the Cardston Company Limited.³⁶⁵ (Sterling Williams was Card’s step-son and John W. Woolf was John A. Woolf’s son). Directors of the Cardston Company met on 24 October 1901 and agreed to the sale of the company, the four buyers taking one quarter each equally.³⁶⁶

In 1902, Cardston earned the spot of a territorial electoral district of the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories.³⁶⁷ Over in Raymond, Thomas O. King, Jr. (1869-1946) and Louis D. King (1871-1969) opened the King Brothers Store. But none of these events compared with the changes to come. In September of 1902, the LDS Church released Charles Ora Card as Stake President, ordained him to the office of Patriarch, and allowed him to return home to Utah.³⁶⁸ In a letter to his people of Cardston before he returned to Utah, Card wrote,

I would like to say a word to those who may feel disheartened and discouraged with their lot and surroundings in Alberta. The Canadian Government has done everything to make it easy and comfortable for the new settler. They have arranged for cheap rates and transportation in every way and treat their immigrants as dutiful parent her child. But oh, how different when we get on the other side of the fence in that land where the boasted “stars and stripes” waves over the “land of the free and the home of the brave.”³⁶⁹

³⁶⁴ 21-26 January 1901, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³⁶⁵ 10 October 1901, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³⁶⁶ 24 October 1901, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³⁶⁷ Brooks and Brooks, "Cardston - Historic Firsts," 4. Also see "Local Topics," *Lethbridge News*, February 27, 1902, 8.

³⁶⁸ 4 September 1902, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³⁶⁹ "Words of Advice By C. O. Card," *Lethbridge News*, December 16, 1903, 5.

Card alludes to a significant difference between Canada and the United States. In Canada, the LDS received great support from the government in terms of settlement assistance (see chapter on Marriage and Family). The US, on the other hand, put the same men in prison for cohabitation and polygamy. Before prosecution, the LDS fled several states due to violence and discrimination against their Church and members until establishing a safe haven in the territory of Utah. Thus, Card tried to stress the benefits of staying in Alberta; even with challenging climate and economic hardships, it was still better than the United States in many ways.

Polygamist Edward J. Wood became the new president of the newly divided Alberta Stake. The Church called Heber S. Allen to preside over the new Taylor Stake, which contained the Raymond, Stirling, and Magrath wards. With his move to Raymond, Allen purchased the Raymond Mercantile from Charles McCarty. Despite this reorganization, evidence of a united order appeared in various locations. For example, in 1903, the Magrath Ward Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association listened to Doctrine and Covenants lessons throughout the year that included the topic of the United Order.³⁷⁰ Many years later in 1916, the First Quorum of Elders for the Magrath Ward discussed the United Order along with the concept of mutual support.³⁷¹ Latter-day Saint Sarah Mercer Taylor (1894-1969) visited her mother on 3 August 1924 and recorded in her diary, "I am worrying and I want to get away from this impossible United Order anyway but my Hyde [farmer Hyrum/Hyde Taylor (1891-1971)] needs me and I don't know what to do."³⁷² Over in Leavitt, the ward's Relief Society received a lesson on the United Order and its

³⁷⁰ Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association (hereafter YWMIA) minutes, 1903, Magrath 1st Ward YWMIA Minutes and Records, 1899-1973, Church History Library.

³⁷¹ Melchizedek Priesthood minutes, 1916, Raymond Alberta Canada Stake Melchizedek Priesthood Minutes and Records, 1900-1973, Church History Library.

³⁷² Sarah Mercer Taylor notebooks, 3 August 1924, Irene M. Anderson Collection, 1884-1978. Church History Library.

establishment in the Alberta settlements.³⁷³ Although a detailed description of the type of united order present in Alberta is unavailable, the venture into sugar beets and the purchase of the Cochrane Ranch are two examples of the Latter-day Saints' co-operative efforts on Canadian soil.

i. Sugar Beets

On 13 July 1901, Charles Ora Card met with John W. Taylor, Charles McCarty, and Jesse Knight about their interest in building a sugar factory near the hamlet of Magrath.³⁷⁴ Like the canal construction projects, the establishment of a factory would create more jobs for more Latter-day Saints in the District of Alberta in the North-West Territories. In August, Church leaders dedicated a site for the sugar factory in Township 16 Section 21.³⁷⁵ Knight saw potential in the land of southern Alberta. He made an agreement with the North West Irrigation Company and the Alberta Railway and Coal Company (the companies that owned the land) to start a sugar beet factory.³⁷⁶ He purchased 256,000 acres and agreed to build and operate a sugar factory for at least 12 years.³⁷⁷ This was why the LDS founded the town of Raymond, named after Jesse's son Oscar Raymond Knight (1872-1947). The Knight Sugar Company Ltd. opened the factory and Jesse Knight acted as president and principle stockholder.³⁷⁸ The directors, all from Utah, were vice president and general manager E. P. Ellison (1850-1939), secretary George W. Green Jr. (1868-1945), treasurer J. William Knight (1874-1956), and James F. Smith, J. R. Winder, A. H. Lund, Raymond Knight, T. R. Cutler and David Eccles (1849-1912). Stockholders held their

³⁷³ Relief Society Minutes, 1946, Leavitt Ward Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1910-1973, Church History Library.

³⁷⁴ 13 July 1901, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³⁷⁵ 11 August 1901, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

³⁷⁶ Hicken, Redd, and Evans, *Raymond, 1901-1967*, 39.

³⁷⁷ *Golden Jubilee of the Town of Raymond, Alberta* (Raymond, AB: Chamber of Commerce, 1951), 43. "Sugar Beets in the South," *Edmonton Bulletin*, October 7, 1901, 5.

³⁷⁸ Hicken, Redd, and Evans, *Raymond, 1901-1967*, 40.

first meeting on 15 October 1901 in the home of William Knight in Raymond, Alberta.³⁷⁹ By 1903, 2,000 LDS immigrants arrived to help grow beets and build up the town.³⁸⁰ The factory employed about 130 people.³⁸¹ Ellison was still general manager; his factory superintendent and chemist was A. H. Williams, chief agriculturist T. J. O'Brien (1866-1938), and accountant J. W. Evans (1875-1945). 1903 also brought the creation of Ellison's flour mill called Raymond Flour Mill and Elevator.³⁸² In his essay William G. Hartley wrote, "The Raymond enterprise [of sugar beets] was an honorable twentieth-century successor to Mormonism's nineteenth-century legacy of communal efforts."³⁸³

The factory lasted until 1914.³⁸⁴ About ten years later, Raymond and Magrath Boards of Trade and the Irrigation District Boards started a movement to get another sugar factory for southern Alberta.³⁸⁵ James H. Walker, John F. Anderson, Charles McCarty, John F. Salmon, T. J. O'Brien, C. W. Lamb, J. W. Evans, Louis Brandley, Ernest Bennion, and Levi Harker convinced the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company to move to Raymond. The Canadian Sugar Factories Ltd. opened in 1925, harvesting 41,465 tons from 5,394 acres, which totalled 5,445 bags of sugar.³⁸⁶ B.C. Refining Company of Vancouver took ownership of the factory in 1931. Nineteen-thirty-four saw the processing of 175,066 tons of beets, which equalled 530,986 100-lb bags of sugar. This success led to the construction of a second factory in Picture Butte, Alberta.

³⁷⁹ William G. Hartley, "Mormon Sugar in Alberta: E. P. Ellison and the Knight Sugar Factory, 1901-1917," *Journal of Mormon History* 23, no. 2 (1997): 10-11.

³⁸⁰ *Golden Jubilee*, 43.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 44.

³⁸² Hartley, "Mormon Sugar in Alberta," 13.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁸⁴ Hicken, Redd, and Evans, *Raymond, 1901-1967*, 41. Also see "Raymond Loses the Sugar Factory," *Raymond Leader*, January 15, 1915, 1.

³⁸⁵ Hicken, Redd, and Evans, *Raymond, 1901-1967*, 268.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 269.

ii. Cochrane Ranch

In 1881, the Cochrane Ranch Company, under the leadership of Senator Matthew Cochrane (1823-1903) of Quebec, gained incorporation with \$500,000 capital.³⁸⁷ Two years later, directors of the Cochrane Ranch Company bought land southwest of Fort Macleod and sold the original land near Calgary to their new company operating as the British American Ranch Company.³⁸⁸ In *Cattle Kingdom: Early Ranching in Alberta*, journalist Edward Brado reported that, "The Cochrane Ranch now had about one hundred and seventy thousand acres of prime grazing land in the south, lying in a tract between Fort Macleod, the Peigan Reserve, and Waterton and Belly rivers."³⁸⁹ Brado continued, "By 1891 there were almost thirteen thousand head of cattle on the Cochrane lease along the Belly River."³⁹⁰ After Senator Cochrane died, the Corporation of the Alberta Stake of Zion purchased 67,000 acres of this lease at six dollars per acre [\$402,000 total] in 1905.³⁹¹ "The cattle on the ranch were not then sold, the Church giving permission for them to be kept another year on the land. But before that year had passed by, a considerable number of Mormon farmers were already on the range preparing it for the farms, which sprang up with miraculous rapidity, fenced, ploughed and seeded."³⁹² In 1906, President of the Alberta Stake Edward J. Wood and his family moved to the ranch land and founded a town site.³⁹³ Eventually the Church divided the land into three: land for homesteading, land for

³⁸⁷ *Orders in Council: Proclamations and Regulations Having Force of Law in the Dominion of Canada, Issued During the Years 1881 and 1882* (Ottawa: B. Chamberlin, 1882), cxxv. Also see, Warren M. Elofson, *Frontier Cattle Ranching in the Land and Times of Charlie Russell* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 18.

³⁸⁸ Isabelle Archibald Jensen, "The Cochrane Ranch" in *100 Years Between the Rivers: A History of Glenwood, Hartley & Standoff*, edited by May Archibald (Cardston: Golden Press, 1984), 22.

³⁸⁹ Edward Brado, *Cattle Kingdom: Early Ranching in Alberta* (Surrey: Heritage House, 2004), 67.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 68.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 72. Also see, Frank Yeigh, "The Greatness of Saskatchewan and Alberta," *Red Deer News*, July 3, 1907. And, "Mercantile Summary," *The Monetary Times: Trade Review and Insurance Chronicle*, March 17, 1905, 1265.

³⁹² Leroy Victor Kelly, *The Story of the Ranchers and Indians of Alberta* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 359.

³⁹³ Journal of Events, Cardston Alberta Stake General Minutes, 1894-1974, Church History Library.

farms and villages, and land for the Cochrane Ranch Company.³⁹⁴ By then, the LDS Church had instructed Wood to purchase the remaining herd of cows owned by the original Cochrane Ranch Company.³⁹⁵ The *Edmonton Bulletin*, demonstrating the continued suspicion of LDS business activity, called this acquisition a “further invasion of Mormons in the Canadian west.”³⁹⁶ Edward J. Wood oversaw this “invasion” and had charge of all the affairs related to the Cochrane Ranch.³⁹⁷ The purchase of the Cochrane Ranch was another way for Latter-day Saints to move to Canada and acquire cheap, fertile land. It was also another way that the LDS mixed church and business, as Wood was simultaneously responsible for the ranch and the Church in Canada as stake president.

Manager of the cattle on the ranch from 1907 to 1915 was James Slack Parker (1868-1936).³⁹⁸ Parker, his wife Ruthenia Parker (1870-1928), and their children moved to Mountain View in 1895. As a rancher, Parker was a logical choice to manage the cattle on the Cochrane Ranch. He became Bishop, a position he held until 1918, of the Mountain View Ward in 1908. During his time as ranch manager and bishop, Parker took a second wife, Melinda Helen Watson (1885-1972) and entered plural marriage in 1912 (eight years after the second Manifesto). On 10 December 1912, Parker wrote in his journal: "Met Melinda W. Seemed prepared...A day to be remembered. Took very important step. Very happy. Feel extra good over the affair. Know that

³⁹⁴ Archibald, *100 Years Between the Rivers*, 289.

³⁹⁵ Journal of Events, 19 September 1906, Cardston Alberta Stake General Minutes, 1894-1974, Church History Library.

³⁹⁶ "Cochrane Ranch Goes to Mormons," *Edmonton Bulletin*, January 29, 1907, 2.

³⁹⁷ "Local and General," *Magrath Pioneer*, June 5, 1907, 5.

³⁹⁸ Malinda Helen Watson Parker, "James Slack Parker," contributed by lkday on March 22, 2014, <https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/5992412>. Also see "Hundreds of Heads of Cattle Succumbed," *Edmonton Bulletin*, February 16, 1911, 2.

God sanctioned same."³⁹⁹ Another reference to his plural wife comes in August 1913: "Took Linnie up to house and helped her get house in order rest of day."⁴⁰⁰

Latter-day Saints moved onto the newly acquired land and settled a hamlet near the Cochrane Ranch, naming it for Edward J. Wood's son Glen, called Glenwoodville (name changed to Glenwood in 1979).⁴⁰¹ Benjamin James Wood (1883-1959) worked for his brother Edward J. Wood on the Cochrane Ranch and eventually mixed business and church when he also became first counselor to V. I. Stewart of the Glenwood Ward in 1910.⁴⁰²

The LDS formed another community about 15 km southwest of Glenwood.

In the summer of 1909 President Wood, President Duce, President Williams and members of the High Council met on the Cochrane Ranch, on the hill by the side of the spring, and dedicated the land to become a home for the members of the church and their children. The town site of Hill Spring was being surveyed by Seymour Smith assisted by Alex Leishman. The land at first, bought by the church, was sold only to church members. In the spring of 1910 on June 12th the ward was organized. President Wood and his assistants were present. At that time there was only one house on the town site, it was owned by Carl Tanner and at that meeting those present found seats on nail kegs and planks.⁴⁰³

Growth and progress did not keep the LDS Church immune from internal conflict and rivalries. A breakdown of internal cohesion and the appearance of criticizing the leadership appeared in the local newspaper. In 1914, the Raymond *Leader* published a some-what defamatory article about stake president Edward J. Wood. Writing about the 7,000 Latter-day Saints in Canada at

³⁹⁹ James Slack Parker, journal, 10 December 1912, typed by Norma Packer McKean (granddaughter), contributed by lkday on March 22, 2014, <https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/5992419>.

⁴⁰⁰ Parker, 21 August 1913.

⁴⁰¹ Aphrodite Karamitsanis, *Place Names of Alberta Volume II* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1992), 51. Archibald, *100 Years Between the Rivers*, 353.

⁴⁰² Benjamin James Wood, "Benjamin James Wood and Emma Fern Bigelow," contributed by Kathleen Kuuleilani Holyoak on September 8, 2013, <https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/2448377>.

⁴⁰³ Franklin Pierce Fisher, autobiography, "To My Children," Magrath Museum, Magrath, Alberta (hereafter cited as Magrath Museum). "Newsy Items of Local & General Interest," *Magrath Pioneer*, June 21, 1910, 5.

the time, the article claimed that “President Wood has entire control of this Mormon population in so far as their relation to the Church is concerned, and relation to the Mormon Church means business, social, and religious affiliation.”⁴⁰⁴ The article challenged Wood’s integrity related to the Cochrane Ranch business, stating that, “the Canadian president has had the selling of this tract in small parcels to Mormon people from Utah and other Mormon colonies... He sells to whom he pleases. No one in Canada asks where the money goes. No good Mormon dare doubt the integrity of President Wood.”⁴⁰⁵ The article mentioned polygamy and stated that Wood believed in the principle, but refuted claims he himself practiced it. However, according to oral history transcripts and other records, Edward J. Wood was a polygamist and did have two wives.⁴⁰⁶ From his son Vi Alfred Wood: “I don’t think I would really prefer to tell that to be honest with you. It is written up in the Church history. All I can say was that he was commanded to do so.”⁴⁰⁷ John Leonard Allen (1903-1986), son of Heber S. Allen, maintained the argument that Church leaders such as John W. Taylor commanded men to practice plural marriage, stating in his oral history interview that “[Taylor] practically commanded [his] father and E.J. Wood and others to take plural wives and keep one of them in Utah.”⁴⁰⁸ This late practice of plural

⁴⁰⁴ “Wood Heads Mormons,” *Raymond Leader*, March 27, 1914, 5. At this time, Latter-day Saint Samuel Grant Young (1887-1894) acted as editor and manager of the *Raymond Leader*. The writer of “Wood Heads Mormons” repeatedly used “Edwin” instead of “Edward” for Wood’s full name, suggesting either satire or rivalry, which existed between the Taylor and Alberta Stakes as they both vied to be the location of the new Canadian temple.

⁴⁰⁵ “Wood Heads Mormons,” 5.

⁴⁰⁶ Welburn Van Orman, oral history, interviewed by Stevan M. Hales, Provo, Utah, 1981, transcript, LDS Family Life Oral History Project, 1959-1984, LTPSC.

⁴⁰⁷ Vi Alfred Wood, oral history, interviewed by Jessie L. Embry, 26 July 1982, transcript, LDS Polygamy Oral History Project, LTPSC.

⁴⁰⁸ John Leonard Allen, oral history, interviewed by Charles Ursenbach, Cardston, Alberta, 24 April 1975, transcript, Church History Library.

marriage, according to some, prevented Wood from gaining a position in the Church higher than the stake level.⁴⁰⁹

Eventually, these Mormon-only endeavors ended, explained Arrington. “Secular government and secular industry have come to exert greater influence than the church on the development and regulation of the local Mormon economy.”⁴¹⁰ The 1930s brought the Great Depression and the LDS Church laid out assistance plans, such as welfare farms, to guide its members through the economic difficulties. However, by the 1940s, many feared that the United Order and Communism were one and the same, so the American LDS Church needed distance from its theocratic, co-operative origins.⁴¹¹ Canadians experienced a less severe fear of Communism and, as political participation and ideology will show below, actively contributed to a political ethos developing out of co-operation.

3.3 Integration: Political Participation

In his introduction to the Mardons’ book on the Mormon contribution to politics in Alberta, Brigham Y. Card (1914-2006) argued that “When a person stands for nomination for the Alberta Legislature or the House of Commons, it is a signal. First, that the person is a Canadian citizen, and second, that the person is willing to serve the local and larger good of the province and country.”⁴¹² Political participation symbolized another step of integration for Latter-day Saints in Canada. The following section examines provincial and federal levels of government and the roles of Latter-day Saints as they transitioned from outsiders to active citizens.

⁴⁰⁹ Hugh B. Brown, *An Abundant Life: The Memoirs of Hugh B. Brown*, ed. Edwin B. Firmage (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), 39.

⁴¹⁰ Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 410.

⁴¹¹ J. Reuben Clark, Jr., “Private Ownership...under the United Order,” *Conference Report* (October 1942): 54-59.

⁴¹² B. Y. Card, “Introduction,” x.

a. Provincial Government

In the District of Alberta in the North-West Territories, Cardston became an electoral district in the year 1902 (16 years after the LDS began settling the area). The constituents elected John W. Woolf (1869-1950), son of polygamist John A. Woolf, as a nonpartisan Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) of the North-West Territories.⁴¹³ Alberta became a province in 1905 and Woolf, this time running as a Liberal candidate, was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, where he remained until 1912. John's cousin, Martin Woolf (1858-1928), son of polygamist Absalom Woolf (1832-1910), was elected also as a Liberal to the Legislative Assembly. Martin moved to Alberta in 1898 and became secretary and treasurer of the town of Cardston from 1902, the year the town was incorporated, to 1909.⁴¹⁴ He worked as a Collector of Customs and a Land Titles Agent until 1912 when he entered politics under the Liberal party.⁴¹⁵ The Alberta Liberal Party embraced the ideology of classical liberalism, promoting individual liberty and free markets. From 1905 to 1921, Alberta's Liberal government established the provincial infrastructure (railroad expansion, telephone system, schools) and dealt with rapid population growth.⁴¹⁶ Immigrants favoured the Liberal Party because the federal Liberals handled the mass immigration to the west and farmers agreed with their policy of free trade, disapproving of high tariffs.⁴¹⁷ Voters re-elected Martin in 1913 and 1917, but the election of 1921 saw the rise of the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) as they replaced Martin.

⁴¹³ Mardon, Mardon, Mardon, and Dutchin, *The Mormon Contribution*, 7.

⁴¹⁴ Blue, *Volume 3*, 188. Mardon, Mardon, Mardon, and Dutchin, *The Mormon Contribution*, 51.

⁴¹⁵ Blue, *Volume 3*, 188-189.

⁴¹⁶ Edward Bell, *Social Classes and Social Credit in Alberta* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 10.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*

Another influential LDS politician, George Lewis Stringam (1876-1959) was a Democratic Senator in the Utah State Legislature before moving to a farm in Glenwood, Alberta in 1910.⁴¹⁸ As a UFA candidate, Stringam represented Cardston in the Legislative Assembly from 1921 to 1935. Director of the UFA Lawrence Peterson (1873-1951) won the Taber constituency also as a UFA candidate in 1921.⁴¹⁹

Social Credit defeated the UFA in the election of 1935. Latter-day Saint Nathan Eldon Tanner (1898-1982) became the Social Credit candidate for Cardston in 1935 and ended up serving 17 years in the Legislature.⁴²⁰ Tanner received his education from the Calgary Normal School and University of Alberta. He went on to work as principal of Hill Spring School (1919-1927) and Cardston High School for eleven years. In 1936, the premier named him Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and two years later he was appointed Minister of Lands and Mines, a position he held for 15 years.⁴²¹ Also prominent in provincial politics at this time was Latter-day Saint Solon Low (1900-1962), who was also a teacher by trade and graduate of the University of Alberta and the University of Southern California.⁴²² Low won the Warner seat in 1935 and received the appointment to the Cabinet as Provincial Treasurer until 1944, when he left provincial politics for federal politics.

Election returns for the Legislative Assembly demonstrated that the Cardston and Taber districts matched the provincial voting majority. Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) for these two electoral districts always matched the political party in power. For example,

⁴¹⁸ Mardon, Mardon, Mardon, and Dutchin, *The Mormon Contribution*, 45.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, 47. For specifics on what Tanner accomplished as member of the Alberta Legislature see G. Homer Durham, *N. Eldon Tanner: His Life and Service* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1982).

⁴²² Mardon, Mardon, Mardon, and Dutchin, *The Mormon Contribution*, 33.

between 1905 and 1921, both Cardston and Taber sent Liberal representatives (John Woolf, Martin Woolf, and Archibald J. McLean) and the Alberta Liberal Party dominated legislature. When the UFA took over in 1921, Cardston and Taber only elected UFA candidates George Stringam, Lawrence Peterson, and John MacLellan (1878-1955). With the Social Credit Party of Alberta earning the most seats in 1935, Cardston and Taber sent their Social Credit candidates to Edmonton and again in the 1940s. This suggested that many LDS and non-LDS voters in Alberta shared similar social, economic, and political concerns, implying that the LDS were integrating into Canadian society.

Even though the winning candidates were always aligned with the majority of the province, they always had competition, with both Latter-day Saints and non-members. In 1905, in the first general election in the province, John Parrish (1870-1957), a Conservative Party member, challenged Woolf (Lib.) for his seat. In 1909, Conservative candidate Levi Harker challenged Woolf. Both Latter-day Saints lost to Woolf. Conservative candidates continued to challenge the Liberal MLA and lost every election until the UFA entered politics. George Stringam (1876-1959) defeated Martin Woolf in 1921. In 1926, Stringam defeated both competing candidates Walter H. Caldwell (Lib.) and Joseph Y. Card (Cons.). Thus far, all candidates mentioned regarding the Cardston electoral district were Latter-day Saints. In the Alberta general election of 1930, Stringam faced his first non-LDS opponent Ryerson M. Christie (1888-1974), a Methodist and Liberal candidate, but, once again, Stringam won. N. Eldon Tanner for Social Credit defeated Stringam and the Liberal candidate D. O. Wight (1891-1953) in 1935. All three candidates were LDS. In 1940, Tanner defeated Independent candidate Seth Henry Nelson (1891-1975) and, in 1944, Tanner defeated Independent candidate and

Methodist William Matson (1896-1984) and Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) member and Latter-day Saint Edward Leavitt.

The Taber electoral district saw more diversity in its candidates for the Alberta Legislature. In 1917, Latter-day Saint and Conservative T.O. King challenged the incumbent Presbyterian, Liberal Archibald J. McLean (1860-1933), but faced defeat. Peterson, the UFA candidate, defeated McLean in 1921. The successful UFA candidate in 1930 was John MacLellan (1878-1955), a Roman Catholic, who defeated LDS Independent candidate J. E. Evanson (1883-1942). Social Credit party members and Latter-day Saints James Hansen (1884-1951) and Roy S. Lee (1887-1972) dominated the Taber district in the 1940s, having to defeat challenges by Independents and CCF candidates.

b. Federal Government

Two Latter-day Saints who held prominent roles in the early years of the Social Credit Party of Canada were John H. Blackmore (1890-1971) and Solon Low. Blackmore graduated from Calgary Normal School and the University of Alberta and went on to teach for many years. Eventually he received a promotion to principal and led Raymond High School from 1921 to 1935. Blackmore was a faithful and active Latter-day Saint before and during his time in federal politics, until his excommunication in the 1940s. At a sacrament meeting of the Cardston First Ward in July 1934, Blackmore spoke on the topic of genealogy and narrated stories about tests of faith in scripture.⁴²³ The following month he was the principal speaker at the Alberta Stake Priesthood meeting and presented on the theme “The Philosophy of Mormonism.”⁴²⁴ Blackmore’s visible role in the LDS Church mirrored his visible role in the community, as

⁴²³ Sacrament Meeting minutes, 24 July 1934, Ward Historical Record Book 1931-1937, Cardston 1st Ward General Minutes, 1914-1977, Church History Library.

⁴²⁴ “Here and There,” *Cardston News*, August 2, 1934, 3.

school principal, and, later, as politician. In 1935, Blackmore represented the Lethbridge riding as a Social Credit member, a position he maintained through the next five federal elections, sitting in Parliament for 22 years. In addition to gaining the majority of votes in the southern Alberta riding, Blackmore gained the confidence of his party, which made him the national party leader from 1935 to 1945.

Blackmore's church-related responsibilities did not cease, but they did change. Church leaders released him from his position as member of the Stake Sunday School Board, which he had sat on since 1928, a year after the 1935 election.⁴²⁵ This was unsurprising since his job as Member of Parliament required residence in Ottawa, Ontario and so his responsibilities transferred to this branch of the Church. His active role in the Ottawa Branch continued through the years.⁴²⁶ At sacrament meetings in 1937, he acted as one of the speakers in at least two meetings, one in February and one in March, speaking on Christ's Resurrection at the latter meeting.⁴²⁷ In the 1940s, Blackmore's church participation increased from just speaking. On 6 June 1942 at a Fast and Testimony Meeting in Albion Hall, Blackmore, along with his brother Harold, bore his testimony to his fellow Latter-day Saints.⁴²⁸ In September 1945, Blackmore sealed the anointing after Sacrament Services for the Ottawa branch; in May 1946 he blessed and named John Albert Parkinson and spoke about the necessity of baptism.⁴²⁹ In 1947, Blackmore's

⁴²⁵ Raymond Alberta Canada Stake Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1903-1975, Church History Library.

⁴²⁶ A Branch is the smallest type of organized congregation of the LDS Church (smaller than a ward) and lead by a branch president. Richard O. Cowan, "Branch, Branch President," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992): 219.

⁴²⁷ Ottawa Branch minutes, 7 February 1937 and 28 March 1937, Ottawa 1st Ward General Minutes, 1926-1973, Church History Library. For more evidence of Blackmore's activities see 22 January 1939 and 5 March 1939, Ottawa 1st Ward General Minutes, 1926-1973, Church History Library.

⁴²⁸ Ottawa Branch minutes, 6 June 1942, Ottawa 1st Ward General Minutes, 1926-1973, Church History Library.

⁴²⁹ Ottawa Branch minutes, 9 September 1945; 5 May 1946; 12 May 1946, Ottawa 1st Ward General Minutes, 1926-1973, Church History Library. Also that month, Blackmore gave a talk on "striving and attaining" at the Third Quarterly Conference. See 12 September 1945, Ottawa 1st Ward General Minutes, 1926-1973, Church History Library.

Church activities included speaking in meetings, blessing babies, administering the sacrament, and giving the invocation, until he was excommunicated at the end of the year for promoting plural marriage.

Solon E. Low replaced Blackmore as Social Credit Party leader in the House of Commons when he successfully represented Peace River, Alberta in the 1945 federal election.⁴³⁰ Like his fellow Social Credit member Blackmore, Low actively participated in the LDS Church. For example, Low spoke to the Cardston First and Second Wards at a joint meeting hosted by the Genealogical Committee.⁴³¹ During a visit to the Cardston Alberta Temple in May 1942, the newspaper reported that Low “conversed with several delegations while he was here on government matters.”⁴³² In July 1944, Low spoke at the Cardston First Ward Sacrament meeting and again at the Tabernacle to all Elders and their wives of that same ward.⁴³³ On a Sunday morning in July of 1945, Low spoke at the Elders quorum, once again in the Tabernacle.⁴³⁴ In addition to Presidents Wood, Smith, and Jensen, Low spoke to the Elders Quorum of the Cardston Second Ward at their annual barbeque in August.⁴³⁵ Low offered his home to young adults’ church groups, such as the Gleaners (girls over sixteen) and Scouts, for “fireside chats” (informal gatherings for prayer, music, and lessons) in 1946.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁰ Since Low replaced Blackmore as party leader in 1944, three years before Blackmore’s excommunication, we can conclude that Blackmore did not lose his political position due to his conflicts with the LDS Church.

⁴³¹ “News Notes,” *Raymond Recorder*, May 29, 1942, 1.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴³³ “News Notes,” *Raymond Recorder*, July 28, 1944, 4. Also see, *Cardston News*, July 5, 1945, 1.

⁴³⁴ *Cardston News*, July 12, 1945, 6.

⁴³⁵ “Elders Party,” *Cardston News*, August 16, 1945, 6.

⁴³⁶ “Fireside Chat,” *Cardston News*, January 10, 1946, 1. Also see, “Fireside Chat,” *Cardston News*, November 28, 1946, 1.

3.4 Difference from Canadians: Lay Leadership

As the examples of Blackmore and Low demonstrated, there was often overlap between church and state for Latter-day Saints in Canada, and they could end up with an electoral representative that also acted as the bishop of their ward. A significant feature of the LDS Church is their reliance on lay participation and leadership. An implication of this is that LDS spiritual leaders also have full-time jobs, occupations, and external commitments that can conflict with each other. Leadership in the Church requires no formal training and, instead, depends on experience they might have learned during their life as a member. Blackmore and Low were active Latter-day Saints, but the case of Nathan Eldon Tanner shows a more extreme example of this situation.

Tanner, like Blackmore and Low, began his career as a school teacher. He became a counselor (ranking just below the bishop) of the Cardston First Ward in 1918 until he became bishop in 1933 until 1935. That was the year he entered provincial politics as a Social Credit candidate. After successfully winning a seat in the Legislature, the new legislative assembly selected him as Speaker of the Alberta Legislative Assembly. Tanner transitioned from moderating the meetinghouse to moderating the legislative assembly until the year 1937. Premier William Aberhart appointed him to the Cabinet of Alberta as Minister of Lands and Mines at the beginning of 1937, a position he held until 1952.

Canadians reacted to a Latter-day Saint political representative very differently than the Americans. In 1903, when Apostle Reed Smoot won a seat on the U.S. Senate, the strong negative reaction initiated an investigation and formal trial into both Smoot and the LDS Church that lasted until 1907. Although the outcome was positive for Smoot, he took his seat on the Senate and served a long career in politics, the LDS Church came under severe scrutiny during

the years of the trial, Church leaders received subpoenas, and had to answer intrusive questions regarding past and present polygamous relationships. The non-LDS public feared both plural marriage and the loyalty of a Latter-day Saint, especially a high-ranking one such as Reed Smoot, would always fall to the Church over the laws of the land. In Canada, outsiders remained relatively quiet on their politicians' religious views. When Aberhart made Tanner Minister of Lands and Mines, *The Globe and Mail* reported the bare facts that “[Tanner’s] parents were Mormons and he is a Bishop in that church, a position corresponding roughly to that of a congregational minister in the Presbyterian or United Church.”⁴³⁷ Here we have a neutral comparison to mainstream Protestant churches in Canada. That this placement of an LDS in a position of prominence occurred over thirty years after the Reed Smoot hearings was not the only difference between the Canadian and American cases. At the time that the Social Credit Party welcomed several Latter-day Saints to the inner circle, the political party’s elected members included fourteen different religious traditions, making the Latter-day Saints only one of many diverse religious opinions.⁴³⁸

Two years after his move into the Cabinet, the LDS Church selected Tanner as president of the Edmonton Branch of the Church (a position equivalent to a bishop, but a branch is smaller than a ward). And so a major player in Alberta politics and the Social Credit circle also led an active life in his Church. During his time in Edmonton, Tanner witnessed how “many new avenues were opened up for church development, old prejudices were broken down and

⁴³⁷ “Alberta Mines Minister is Mormon Bishop,” *The Globe and Mail*, January 6, 1937, 1. Another neutral expression of LDS politicians and their faith is in “Mormon Gets Cabinet Post,” *The Globe and Mail*, February 2, 1937, 15.

⁴³⁸ C. Syd Matthews, “14 Religious Sects Have Representation In Alberta House,” *The Globe and Mail*, February 25, 1937, 7.

opportunities increased. Amid [his] responsibilities as public servant [he] found time to serve in the church.”⁴³⁹

The Municipal level of government provides additional examples of the overlap of church and politics in LDS communities in Alberta. When Charles O. Card became the first mayor of Cardston he was also President of the Alberta Stake. Card is an example of the economic, political, and spiritual overlap in these LDS settlements. The second mayor of Cardston, John A. Woolf, entered the office while still serving as First Counselor in the Alberta Stake. Josiah Hammer (1855-1922) ended his term as Bishop of the Cardston ward in 1908, four years before the community elected him the third mayor of the town. Other Latter-day Saints that balanced leadership roles in their Church with political responsibilities were James T. Brown (1863-1942), Walter E. Pitcher (1871-1946), and Charles W. Burt (1877-1954). The residents of Cardston elected Brown in 1909 and he served as mayor for one term. Perhaps thinking his political career had ended, Brown accepted the role as bishop of Cardston First Ward in 1911, which he kept until 1918. Two years into his time as spiritual leader for the Cardston First Ward, Brown re-entered local politics and once again became mayor until 1916.

Another example of his overlap is Walter E. Pitcher, who journeyed for one month in 1895 to reach the growing community of Cardston.⁴⁴⁰ He started life in the North-West Territories by homesteading 160 acres then became vice president of the Cardston Creamery Company, and later organized the Cardston Farming Company, which owned 1800 acres for sowing wheat.⁴⁴¹ Pitcher’s leadership roles in the LDS Church included Second Counselor in the

⁴³⁹ Tagg, *Mormon Church in Canada*, 222.

⁴⁴⁰ Blue, *Volume 2*, 318

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Cardston Second Ward (1914-1918), First Counselor in the same ward (1918-1924), and Bishop (1924-1932). Besides all these spiritual responsibilities, Pitcher also served three terms as mayor of Cardston from 1917 to 1920.⁴⁴² In another case, the LDS Church called Charles W. Burt, originally from St. George, Utah and son of a polygamist, to the role of counselor in the Cardston First Ward in 1910. He transitioned to bishop of that ward in 1918 and remained as such until 1928 when he moved to the Alberta Stake High Council. The people of Cardston elected Burt as their mayor in 1929 and he remained in office until 1934.

Cardston was not an anomaly. If we turn towards Magrath and Raymond, similar patterns appear. Heber S. Allen, merchant, polygamist, and President of the Taylor Stake, sat on the Raymond Town Council throughout his 33 years as leader of the stake. Levi Harker, brother and son of polygamists, arrived in Cardston in 1892 and moved to Magrath in 1899. The Church appointed him bishop of the new Magrath Ward and he remained in that position of leadership until 1931, during which time the town elected him the first mayor of Magrath in 1907 and he ran for provincial office in the Cardston riding as an Independent Conservative in 1909.⁴⁴³ Local politician, ward bishop, sheep farmer, merchant, and irrigator were all roles adopted by Harker in the newly developing town of Magrath.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 319.

⁴⁴³ Blue, *Volume 3*, 90. Other examples from Magrath see Blue, *Volume 3*, 102 and *Volume 2*, 425. James B. Ririe (1858-1933) who moved to Magrath in 1899, raised sheep, horses, and cattle, and elected mayor of Magrath for several terms. Christian Jensen (1868-1958) came to Magrath in 1903, became a member of the Conservative Party then UFA member. Mayor of Magrath around 1909 and Bishop of Aetna 1934 to 1946. Examples from Raymond include John W. Evans (1875-1945) who was Mayor of Raymond from 1912 to 1914, Bishop of Raymond 2nd Ward 1912 to 1924, and 2nd Counselor for the Taylor Stake 1924 to 1936. T.J. O'Brien was simultaneously Mayor and Counselor for Raymond 1st Ward from 1915 to 1919. Orrin H. Snow (1869-1948) was 2nd Counselor of Taylor Stake from 1911 to 1924, Mayor of Raymond 1923 to 1926, and 1st Counselor of the Taylor Stake 1924 to 1936. William Jensen (1898-1985) was Mayor 1945 to 1952 and Bishop of the Raymond 2nd Ward 1947 to 1955.

The example of David Horton Elton (1877-1963) made an interesting case of overlapping church and state as well as political participation in a non-LDS majority city. Elton, originally from England, edited the *Alberta Star*, one of Cardston's earliest newspapers, and helped organize the Alberta and Eastern British Columbia Press Association.⁴⁴⁴ He studied law under W. C. Ives in Lethbridge and was admitted to the bar in 1913. During his legal studies, the Church called Elton to serve as counselor to the Lethbridge Branch president Robert J. Gordon, and Arthur N. Green, whose family moved to the city in 1911, remembered Elton as a leader in the Lethbridge branch of the Church.⁴⁴⁵ Professionally, Elton worked for the city of Lethbridge as police magistrate for six years.⁴⁴⁶ The LDS Church grew in Lethbridge, became a ward, and Elton served as counselor for the bishop George W. Green starting in 1914. At this time of prosperity, they entered a period of building their own meetinghouse in Lethbridge at corner of Seventh Avenue and Twelfth Street South. At the first meeting on 18 October 1914 in the new building's basement Elton gave the special prayer.⁴⁴⁷ Around 1917, Elton delivered a lecture on the sociology of Mormonism in Calgary as remembered by Maydell Palmer.⁴⁴⁸ In the 1920s, he graduated from law school at the University of Alberta, spoke at the Mutual Improvement Association (MIA) conjoint meeting in Raymond, won an election to the Lethbridge City Council as alderman, lectured on the subject of the First Principles of the Gospel in Magrath, and on the topic of success to the Raymond First Ward one Sunday evening.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁴ Blue, *Volume 2*, 120. Mardon, Mardon, Mardon, and Dutchin, *The Mormon Contribution*, 22.

⁴⁴⁵ Thomas W. Pratt, oral history, interviewed by Charles Ursenbach, Lethbridge, Alberta, 9-10 March 1974, transcript, Church History Library. Tagg, *Mormon Church in Canada*, 129. Arthur N. Green, oral history, interviewed by Charles Ursenbach, Lethbridge, Alberta, 1973, transcript, Church History Library.

⁴⁴⁶ Blue, *Volume 2*, 123.

⁴⁴⁷ Tagg, *Mormon Church in Canada*, 131.

⁴⁴⁸ Maydell Cazier Palmer, autobiography, 1980, Autobiography of Maydell Cazier Palmer, Church History Library.

⁴⁴⁹ *Raymond Recorder*, June 11, 1926, 1. Ernest Mardon and Austin Mardon, *Lethbridge Politicians: Federal, Provincial & Civic* (Edmonton: Golden Meteorite Press, 2008), 79. "D. H. Elton, K. C. Addresses M. I. A.'s of Both Wards," *Cardston News*, December 6, 1928, 6. "Splendid Program For Sunday at The 1st Ward," *Raymond Recorder*, February 1, 1929, 1.

In the 1930s, Elton aimed higher than alderman and entered the race for the office of mayor. The city's residents elected him in 1935 and he remained in office until 1943. During his tenure as mayor, Elton remained active in his church, speaking at the Glenwood Ward Sunday School on the existence of the spirit life, giving a lecture on a Sunday evening to the Raymond Second Ward, and addressing the Priesthood Meeting of the Alberta Stake in the Cardston Tabernacle.⁴⁵⁰ Elton worked as leader of his city as well as a leader of his religious community.

3.5 Difference from American LDS: Political Ideology

In the introduction to the section on economics and government, editors of *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, claimed,

Although Alberta Mormons have not been innovators of economic or political ideas, they have regularly adapted ideas that appear to offer solutions to the problems facing a hinterland economy. Mormons in Alberta have in the past been able to reconcile their religious beliefs with political ideas ranging from the moderate left to the extreme right.⁴⁵¹

An examination of the various political parties in Alberta and the involvement of Latter-day Saints provides insight into the growing distance from the American membership.

a. United Farmers of Alberta

Political scientist Clark Banack explained the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) as “an extensive network of highly participatory ‘locals,’ community-level groupings of farmers that sought to protect their economic interests by lobbying government and by pooling both their purchasing power and their agricultural produce in an effort to leverage their way to better financial outcomes.”⁴⁵² Before the farmers of Alberta turned their lobby group into a political

⁴⁵⁰ “D. H. Elton “Cheers” Glenwood Audiences,” *Cardston News*, October 30, 1930, 5. “Mayor Elton At Second Ward,” *Raymond Recorder*, 6 May 1938, 1. “Special Thanksgiving Services,” *Cardston News*, October 4, 1938, 1. *Cardston News*, December 13, 1938, 1.

⁴⁵¹ “Mormons in the Economy & In Government,” in *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, ed. B.Y. Card et al. (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1990), 232.

⁴⁵² Banack, *God's Province*, 63. According to Banack, the UFA emerged out of the conflicts surrounding the American liberal and postmillennial evangelical Protestant tradition, higher criticism, and the adoption of the

party, they evolved from a larger North American agrarian movement where farmers tried to protect themselves against the impact of the growing commercial-capitalist economy. Farmers developed “a sense of opposition to corporations that denied them their land’s wealth, which prompted them to establish the early farm associations for protection.”⁴⁵³ Although “American Populism” never officially gained a foothold in Canada, it influenced the Alberta farmers movement with the promotion of farmer co-operation, establishment of agrarian ideals in farm culture, advancement of equal rights, producerism, and anti-monopolism. Mix these ideals with British co-operative, labour, and socialist thought and you have the situation in the province of Alberta motivating the organization of farmers.

Struggling against the dominance of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and the abuse from grain companies, farmers formed the Territorial Grain Growers’ Association (TGGA) in 1902. In 1905, when Alberta became a province, the Alberta branch of the TGGA became the Alberta Farmers’ Association (AFA). The AFA aimed to forward the interests of grain and live stock, to encourage superior production and breeding, to obtain by united effort profitable and equitable prices for farm produce, to watch legislation relating to the farmers’ interests (particularly that affecting the marketing and transportation of farm produce).⁴⁵⁴ LDS communities with branches of the AFA included Cardston, Raymond, Magrath, and Stirling.⁴⁵⁵

Darwin-inspired “evolution-friendly conception of social change driven largely by human action in accordance with the moral teachings of Christ.”

⁴⁵³ Bradford James Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy: The United Farmers and Farm Women of Alberta, 1909-1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 35.

⁴⁵⁴ “The Farmers’ Association,” *Saturday News*, December 30, 1905, 6.

⁴⁵⁵ Alberta Farmers’ Association minute book, 1906-1907, United Farmers of Alberta fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta. Secretaries of the branches were as follows: Cardston – Edward Neale Barker; Raymond – James Francis Johnson (1879-1941); Magrath – George A. Hacking (1876-1955); Stirling – Frederick Zaugg (1869-1956). Prominent members of the Raymond branch were Thomas J. O’Brien (1866-1938), Francis B. Rolfson (1872-1941).

Named “one of the most progressive and enterprising farmers of Southern Alberta,” Latter-day Saint Thomas H. Woolford (1856-1944) joined the AFA and served as President of the Cardston AFA branch.⁴⁵⁶ Woolford moved to Canada from Utah in April of 1899 and settled on land that is now known as Woolford Provincial Park. In 1903, Woolford reported threshing a sum total of 7,700 bushels of grain (oats, barley, and wheat).⁴⁵⁷ In 1907, he joined the Executive Committee of the AFA as Vice-President.

Another prominent Latter-day Saint farmer was Richard W. Bradshaw (1868-1948) of the settlement called Magrath. Bradshaw moved his family from Lehi to Alberta in 1901 and eventually acquired Rosedale Farms, initially producing fine cattle and award-winning wheat, and later expanding into the importing and breeding of Percheron draft horses.⁴⁵⁸ In 1909, Bradshaw reported bumper wheat yields over his large acreage of winter wheat, averaging fifty bushels to the acre.⁴⁵⁹

That same year, the Alberta Farmers’ Association merged with the Canadian Society of Equity to create the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA).⁴⁶⁰ The UFA started as a non-partisan organization/lobby group to promote the interests of farmers in the province. According to Rennie, “At the heart of this movement culture were feelings of community; a sense of class opposition; assumptions about gender roles and traits; commitment to organization, co-operation,

⁴⁵⁶ “Consider Farmers’ Interests,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, August 1, 1908, 6.

⁴⁵⁷ “Local and General,” *Alberta Star*, November 26, 1903, 8. In 1906, Woolford reported to the *Cardston Star* that his oats went 115 bushels to the acre without irrigation. “Local Topics,” *Lethbridge News*, October 30, 1906, 4.

⁴⁵⁸ Vilate Bradshaw, “Biography of Richard William Bradshaw,” contributed by richardcarlylebradshaw1 on March 9, 2015, accessed February 25, 2018, <https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/14085384>.

⁴⁵⁹ “Bore for Gas at Lethbridge,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, September 22, 1909, 1.

⁴⁶⁰ The Society of Equity, sharing similar goals of the AFA, tried to obtain profitable prices for all products of the farm garden or orchard, to build and control storage of produce, to secure equitable rates of transportation, to educate, to prevent the adulteration of food and marketing of same, to establish an equitable banking system, and to improve the highways. See Society of Equity constitution and bylaws, ca. 1906-1908, United Farmers of Alberta fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta.

democracy, citizenship, and education; a social ethic; religious convictions; agrarian ideology; and collective self-confidence.”⁴⁶¹ Collective and local projects created a sense of community, which, in addition to experience with state and business powers, fostered a sense of solidarity and class opposition to corporate economic and political control. Male farmers wanted to defend their families, class, and country. Rural women protected the home, worked for equal rights, and contributed to farm work. The root of this ideology stemmed from the UFA’s most influential leader Henry Wise Wood (1860-1941) and his American progressive evangelical Protestantism.⁴⁶²

Because of his experience within the Disciples of Christ and at Christian University in Missouri, Henry Wise Wood developed a particular social and political theory directly tied to his faith. Wood believed that humans are natural social beings who are destined to construct a proper social system within which they can flourish. For Wood, history progresses in a linear fashion, characterized by a cosmic struggle between two opposing forces, co-operation and competition. At the end of this evolutionary process would be the creation of the morally perfect individual within a perfectly moral society. The kingdom of heaven on earth, according to Wood, would come about from individual and social regeneration. Individual regeneration involved repentance and following natural social laws, the moral laws of Christ. Social regeneration would be initiated by those who have accepted the teachings of Christ and desire to build a social system founded upon the call for social co-operation issued by Christ through a gradual, evolutionary process. “Wood adhered to a clear evangelical postmillennial Christian interpretation wherein humanity was to bring about a perfect social system, which he equated to

⁴⁶¹ Rennie, *Agrarian Democracy*, 7

⁴⁶² Banack, *God’s Province*, 65.

God's kingdom on earth, by way of personal, and eventual social, devotion to the co-operative message of Christ."⁴⁶³ The agrarians of rural Alberta would handle the practical details of this process.

Wood promoted a rural social gospel movement that would establish the kingdom of God on earth by "large-scale voluntary individual regeneration" and "co-operation of those regenerated individuals within voluntary organizations," but not by government regulation.⁴⁶⁴ While emphasizing democratic participation and individual responsibility, Wood rejected increased state ownership and socialism, instead believing that rebirth through Christ would cause the regenerated people to accept the co-operative spirit, issued by Christ, and they would work at the local level to secure policy decisions and economic well-being.⁴⁶⁵ After World War I and the challenges that followed, "southern Alberta farmers hoped that the UFA could organize a wheat pool and force governments to lower producers' costs and assist with irrigation."⁴⁶⁶ Farmers were dissatisfied with numerous issues such as the government's handling of prohibition, health policy, debt, the farm mortgage crisis, the lack of credit assistance, and the province's irrigation policies. In 1921, the movement officially politicized and Albertan farmers launched "what would be the most resilient agrarian political crusade in North American history."⁴⁶⁷ Although some LDS in southern Alberta joined the Canadian Liberal or Conservative parties, the UFA drew many of these Saints into their organization.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 78.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 85.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., 91-95.

⁴⁶⁶ Rennie, *Agrarian Democracy*, 180.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 206.

Lawrence Peterson (1873-1951) moved from Provo, Utah to Raymond, Alberta in 1902 and eventually settled in Barnwell near Taber. According to the Barnwell Relief Society, the first UFA meeting was held in March 1913 and the twenty-six members selected Peterson as their first president.⁴⁶⁸ Other Latter-day Saints that took an active interest in the UFA were William F. LeBaron (1884-1968), A. M. Peterson, N. J. Anderson (1884-1958), and A. Anderson since they accompanied Peterson to the annual convention in 1915 and 1916. “Mormon” UFA groups, or locals, were Magrath, Raymond, Leavitt, Stirling, Barnwell, Spring Coulee, Cardston, Taber, and Mountain View.⁴⁶⁹

In 1919, UFA members elected Peterson as the Director of the entire constituency of Lethbridge.⁴⁷⁰ Another active UFA member and Latter-day Saint was Frank Leavitt (1870-1959) who Peterson acknowledged as offering him great assistance in the year 1919.⁴⁷¹ In his report for the year 1919, Peterson said that the “Cardston Local and those surrounding [ex. Aetna, Leavitt] have carried on a very successful co-operative trading company.”⁴⁷² And in 1921 he reported on the progress again: “Raymond and Magrath have also obtained a good deal of success along co-operative lines...Through the elections the farmers have learned the power they have when working together...I believe that if every U.F.A. member will take his proper place in this great work by helping wherever he finds an opportunity, we shall be able to put Democracy in actions,

⁴⁶⁸ Barnwell Relief Society, *Barnwell History* (Ann Arbor: Edwards Bros., 1952), 70. The Church appointed Peterson bishop of the Barnwell Ward in 1915 and he kept that position until 1925. See Barnwell Relief Society, *Barnwell History*, 145.

⁴⁶⁹ Lethbridge Constituency, *The United Farmers of Alberta (Inc.) Annual Report and Year Book Containing Reports of Officers and Committees For the Year 1918 Together with Official Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Convention*, 41

⁴⁷⁰ “Directors Are Chosen For The United Farmers,” *The Edmonton Bulletin*, January 25, 1919, 1.

⁴⁷¹ Lawrence Peterson, “Lethbridge,” *The United Farmers of Alberta (Inc.) Annual Report and Year Book Containing Reports of Officers and Committees For the Year 1919 Together with Official Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Convention*, 18.

⁴⁷² Lawrence Peterson, “Lethbridge,” *Year 1919*, 18.

in the truest sense of the word.”⁴⁷³ Active “Mormon” Locals in 1921 were the same as 1918 with the additions of Kimball, Taylorville³, Spring Coulee, and Aetna.⁴⁷⁴

In 1921, the UFA won 38 seats out of the 61 ridings in the provincial election, taking a majority government, and pushed the Liberals out of power. Latter-day Saints George L. Stringam (1876-1959) and Lawrence Peterson won two of these seats; Stringam for the Cardston Riding and Lawrence Peterson (1873-1951) for the Taber Riding. Cattle rancher George L. Stringam was born and raised in Utah and moved to Alberta in 1910 after purchasing half a section of land north of Glenwood.⁴⁷⁵ He participated in politics at the municipal level until 1921 when he entered the race for MLA as a UFA candidate, earning 1,343 votes while Woolf (Liberal) earned 651. Peterson ran in Taber district of the provincial election as a UFA candidate against the Liberal incumbent Archibald J. McLean and won with 2,309 votes over 1,991 for McLean.⁴⁷⁶ He won again in 1926 against the Liberal and Conservative candidates for the Taber electoral district.⁴⁷⁷

Co-operation remained a consistent platform of the United Farmers of Alberta. This aspect might have drawn the attention of Latter-day Saints and been a reason for their participation in the movement and political party. An example of co-operation put into practice

⁴⁷³ Lawrence Peterson, “Lethbridge,” 14 December 1921, Barnwell, in *The United Farmers of Alberta (Inc.) Annual Report and Year Book Containing Reports of Officers and Committees For the Year 1921 Together with Official Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention*, 25.

⁴⁷⁴ Lethbridge Constituency, *The United Farmers of Alberta (Inc.) Annual Report and Year Book Containing Reports of Officers and Committees For the Year 1921 Together with Official Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention*, 66.

⁴⁷⁵ “George L. Stringam, M. L. A. U. F. A. Candidate for Cardston Riding,” *Cardston News*, June 12, 1930, 1. Also see George Owen Stringham, oral history, interviewed by Charles Ursenbach, Cardston, Alberta, 7 March 1974, transcript, Church History Library.

⁴⁷⁶ Austin A. Mardon and Ernest G. Mardon, *Alberta’s Political Pioneers: A Biographical Account of the United Farmers of Alberta 1921-1935*, ed. Justin Selner, Spencer Dunn, and Emerson Csorba (Edmonton: Golden Meteorite Press, 2010), 140.

⁴⁷⁷ Mardon and Mardon, *Alberta’s Political Pioneers*, 140. Peterson: 1,929 votes; J. J. Horrigan: 709; James Harper Prowse: 551.

was the Alberta Wheat Pool. A year before the UFA won the provincial election, the Canadian Council of Agriculture passed a resolution providing for the appointment of a Wheat Pool Committee to be composed of representatives from the four provincial farmers' organizations and the farmers' companies.⁴⁷⁸ Establishing a national pool became too difficult to accomplish, but the UFA continued at the provincial level and passed a resolution asking for direct selling of commodities through a means whereby speculation could be eliminated.⁴⁷⁹ In 1923, *The U.F.A.* newspaper reported that, "U. F. A. Locals in the Cardston, Claresholm, Granum and Macleod districts are making efforts to organize a local wheat pool."⁴⁸⁰ Henry Wise Wood's presidential address also acknowledged that, "the idea of co-operative selling of wheat has been crystalizing in the minds of the Alberta wheat producers for four years."⁴⁸¹ The wheat pool committee organized under the association called Alberta Co-operative Wheat Producers, Limited, which acted as the agent and attorney for the contracting wheat growers. The main features of the Alberta Wheat Pool were that "The association would be a co-operative, non-profit organization, without capital stock. All surpluses, after defraying operating expenses and providing for adequate reserves, would be returned to the members in proportion to the wheat shipped."⁴⁸² "It is now up to the individual members of the U.F.A. to put into practice those principles of co-operation which have been so long preached."⁴⁸³ Grain growers signed a contract that stated,

the undersigned Grower desires to cooperate with others concerned in the production of wheat in the province of Alberta and in the marketing of same, hereinafter referred to as Growers for the purpose of promoting,

⁴⁷⁸ Henry Wise Wood, speech, January 1924, U. F. A. President's Address, Official Reports of the UFA Annual Convention, 1. United Farmers of Alberta fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta (hereafter cited as UFA fonds).

⁴⁷⁹ Wood, President's Address, 2.

⁴⁸⁰ "Southern Farmers Forming Local Wheat Pool," *The U.F.A.*, July 16, 1923, 14.

⁴⁸¹ Wood, President's Address, 2-3.

⁴⁸² W. J. Jackman, "A Wheat Pool for Alberta," *The U.F.A.*, July 16, 1923, 1.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, 10.

fostering and encouraging the business of growing and marketing wheat co-operatively and for eliminating speculation in wheat and for stabilizing the wheat market, for co-operatively and collectively handling the problems of Growers for improving in every legitimate way.⁴⁸⁴

Christian Jensen (1868-1958), another Latter-day Saint, worked both in his Church and Local UFA. In the 1920s, he acted as the Director for the Lethbridge Constituency.⁴⁸⁵ And he was a main player in the birth of the Alberta Wheat Pool. Jensen sat as a trustee on the board of the Alberta Co-operative Wheat Producers, Ltd., the central selling agency located in Calgary, from its inception in 1923 and as a director for the Lethbridge district of the pool until 1945.⁴⁸⁶ In addition to these roles, Jensen served as president of the Canadian Co-operative Wool Growers association from 1937 to 1949 and first president of the Alberta Federation of Agriculture.⁴⁸⁷ The co-operative movement in Alberta stemmed from the tradition in England called the Rochdale Plan when an organization of textile workers united and decided that “Dividends, instead of being paid on the basis of capital invested, were paid on a basis of volume of business done, capital being borrowed at a fixed rate of interest. After provision for reserve and educational funds and necessary overhead, all surplus profit was divided among the purchasers in proportion to the volume of their buying.”⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁴ “The Wheat Pool Contract,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, August 18, 1923, 14.

⁴⁸⁵ The United Farmers of Alberta Inc., Directors for 1922, *Annual Report and Year Book Containing Reports of Officers and Committees For the Year 1921 Together with Official Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention*, 87. Also see, The United Farmers of Alberta Inc., convention minutes, 1924, scanned microfilm, UFA fonds. The United Farmers of Alberta Inc., convention minutes, 1935, scanned microfilm, UFA fonds.

⁴⁸⁶ “Elect Trustees For Alberta Wheat Pool,” *Redcliff Review*, August 23, 1923, 1. Also see *Raymond Recorder*, December 6, 1945, 1.

⁴⁸⁷ “Canadian Churchman Dies,” *The Church News*, February 1, 1958, 1. “A Valued Citizen,” *Lethbridge Herald*, January 23, 1958, 4. Also see Lalovee R. Jensen, “History of Christian Jensen Jr.,” contributed by RS Ririe on May 27, 2013, <https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/1156890>.

⁴⁸⁸ “Co-operation in Alberta: Annual Meeting of Alberta Co-operative League,” *Red Deer News*, June 11, 1924, 2.

Co-operation and economic goals were never far from UFA meetings. At a meeting for Cardston and Magrath Locals in 1925, politician William Irvine (1885-1962) said, “the hope of civilization was to be found in the co-operative idea.”⁴⁸⁹ In 1926, Henry Wise Wood lectured to an audience in Cardston on the economic and political goals of the UFA. Wood explained, “What the U.F.A. aims at is to have all classes cease exploitation of each other, but rather increase their efficiency for the benefit of all.”⁴⁹⁰ On the topic of the UFA movement, an article in the *Cardston News* elaborated that, “It is a great socializing and educational factor in the lives of thousands...It enters into their daily activities as no other organization, except the [LDS] Church, has ever done...It is true that some sections of the country were not so much in need of the U.F.A. as a social factor, as particularly the Cardston District, where the Church supplies this need to a very great extent.”⁴⁹¹ Then why would Latter-day Saints join the UFA? They joined because most of the LDS in southern Alberta were farmers, ranchers, or otherwise involved in agriculture. Furthermore, they might have believed that “The U.F.A. is the most powerful agency in Canada to-day for the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth.”⁴⁹² This may not have been the same as the LDS version of the Kingdom of God, but they at least shared the concept of co-operation. During a successful resolution regarding co-operative marketing at the 1926 UFA convention, the report stated that

the past few years considerable emphasis has been laid upon co-operative marketing of farm projects...the fruits of the efforts are no being realized notably in the case of the Wheat Pool, and the Southern Alberta Co-operative...there are still large numbers of farmers, who because of special circumstances or because of indifference, or because of their inability to see

⁴⁸⁹ “Campaign Launched in Lethbridge Districts in Preparation for the Annual Convention, *The U.F.A.*, December 15, 1925, 18.

⁴⁹⁰ “H. W. Wood Explains,” *Cardston News*, February 4, 1926, 2. “President Wood At Cardston,” *The U.F.A.*, February 15, 1926, 15.

⁴⁹¹ “The Aims of the U. F. A.,” *Cardston News*, February 4, 1926, 2.

⁴⁹² “U.F.A. Sunday,” *Western Independent*, May 12, 1920, 1.

the interests of their class, are still outside of these movements; Be it therefore resolved, that this Convention call upon all farmers in the Province to give their support to these movements and thus assure the ultimate victory of the farming industry.⁴⁹³

For success of the farming industry equalled, in the minds of UFA members, success for the entire province, no matter what class you were.

In the 1926 election, Stringam returned to the Legislature with over 1,300 votes defeating Conservative candidate Joseph Y. Card and Liberal candidate Walter H. Caldwell (both men also LDS). However, in the town of Cardston itself, Caldwell received 298 votes, Card 200, and Stringam only 193.⁴⁹⁴ The smaller, more rural villages voted overwhelmingly in favour of Stringam. He received approximately 96% of the vote in Glenwood, 94% in Leavitt, 59% in Aetna, 56% in Magrath, and 69% in Hill Spring.⁴⁹⁵ That year, the UFA maintained its majority government and earned 43 seats.

Caldwell's father David Henry Caldwell (1828-1904) was born in Upper Canada, joined the LDS Church in 1843, moved to Nauvoo, Illinois, and completed the trek to Utah in 1853. David, a farmer, moved his family to Cardston in the summer of 1898. Walter Caldwell also farmed, but, by the 1920s, worked as a butcher. He left Alberta some time before 1930 and moved to Utah. In the 1926 election, Liberal candidate Caldwell advocated for a reduction in taxation and the payment of the provincial debt.⁴⁹⁶ Conservative candidate Card worked as a real estate and investment broker, and served as President of the Cardston Board of Trade. Joseph was age two when his father Charles Ora Card started the migration to southern Alberta, but he

⁴⁹³ The United Farmers of Alberta Inc., convention minutes, 1926, scanned microfilm, UFA fonds.

⁴⁹⁴ "How Cardston Constituency Voted," *Cardston News*, July 1, 1926, 1.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁶ "Liberal Rally at Owendale," *Cardston News*, June 24, 1926, 6.

frequently travelled between the U.S. and Canada, and attended Brigham Young College in Logan, Utah. Walter and Joseph descended from important LDS men and their lives were not restricted to farming, which might explain their attraction to political parties other than the United Farmers.

In his speech at the 1930 UFA Political Nominating Convention, Stringam stated, “My Policy is that whatever is best for the Province as a Whole is best for this constituency.”⁴⁹⁷

Stringam’s concept did not drastically differ from the organization of the LDS Church.

Sociologist Thomas O’Dea explained the hierarchical structure in *The Mormons*: “[T]he original relationship between the prophet and his disciples evolved into a relationship between the prophet and an oligarchy of leading elders, which merged into and exercised ascendancy over the rank and file of the membership.”⁴⁹⁸ Responsibility moved from the bottom up while authority came from the top down as a “Living Prophet” remains the highest role in the Church.⁴⁹⁹

b. Social Credit Movement

The Great Depression engulfed the 1930s and “opened the way for a change in government and ideological direction, in that Social Credit had no interest in the UFA’s notion of co-operative “group government” and was based on a leader-oriented type of democracy.”⁵⁰⁰

Social Credit Theory “blamed the current economic conditions [the Great Depression] on a lack of purchasing power possessed by regular citizens, who were beholden to large financial institutions that controlled credit...the economy was slowed to a halt because self-interested

⁴⁹⁷ “George L. Stringam Wins Farmers’ Convention Nomination,” *Cardston News*, May 29, 1930, 1.

⁴⁹⁸ O’Dea, *The Mormons*, 160.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 185.

⁵⁰⁰ Nelson Wiseman, *In Search of Canadian Political Culture* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 242.

bankers refused to lend at reasonable rates.”⁵⁰¹ Following this theory, the solution was the “state was to take control of credit away from greedy financiers...and provide its citizens with a share or “dividend” of this “social credit” to allow them to buy goods.”⁵⁰² But this is what Charles Ora Card had attempted years ago in Cardston. He issued hundreds of scrips to community members to use at the co-operative businesses, but people were unable to pay him back, which compromised the Cardston Co-operative Company. Social scientist S. D. Clark confirmed,

The close relationship between sectarian techniques of religious control and monetary techniques of economic and political control has been most evident, of course, in the Social Credit experiment in Alberta; here the Mormon members of the government in particular had a perfectly good historic example in the use of scrip and the carrying-on of banking operations by the Mormons in Utah.⁵⁰³

William Aberhart, founder of the Alberta Social Credit Party, motivated by a fundamentalist, pre-millennial religious-based political thought, rejected the idea of a Kingdom of Heaven on earth, and emphasized individual freedom while vilifying socialism.⁵⁰⁴ Social Credit appealed to politicians such as Aberhart because it provided a way to fulfil the general Christian duty toward others by guaranteeing an end to the suffering associated with the economic hard-times, and it protected individual freedoms vital to personal spiritual growth, which, in their opinion, socialist plans did not.⁵⁰⁵ For Aberhart and other premillennialist thinkers, the coming of the kingdom of God existed outside the realm of human agency so Christians should focus on assisting others in their spiritual rebirth before the Rapture.⁵⁰⁶ Although Latter-day Saint millennial expectations were not as pessimistic as Aberhart-type

⁵⁰¹ Banack, *God's Province*, 123.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 124.

⁵⁰³ S. D. Clark, “The Religious Sect in Canadian Politics,” *American Journal of Sociology* 51, no. 3 (1945): 210.

⁵⁰⁴ Banack, *God's Province*, 27.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 214.

premillennialist theories, they did agree on sharing the Christian message with others and individual liberty, and they could also get on board with placing trust in a leader. Clark observed, “the religious-political experiment in Alberta resembled very closely that tried much earlier in Utah; in both cases, religious separatism sought support in political separatism, and encroachments of the federal authority were viewed as encroachments of the worldly society.”⁵⁰⁷

“The UFA pursued giving life and form to direct democracy in government, but Social Credit’s democracy was more plebiscitary. In its view, governmental policy making, a matter of technical skill and special qualification, was best left to experts.”⁵⁰⁸ Professor of religious studies Earle Waugh noted a list of reasons why Mormons in southern Alberta consistently supported Social Credit in his essay for *The New Provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905-1980*. First, Aberhart’s eschatological teachings matched their idea of building Zion in the American west and, in addition, appreciated the labor of the ordinary worker.⁵⁰⁹ Aberhart’s political leadership style would have reminded the LDS of their religious leaders because Aberhart “ruled Alberta from an authoritarian position, and he dealt directly with citizens through his radio broadcast and his frequent public meetings...all important decisions were left to his personal discretion.”⁵¹⁰ Third, the mix of politics and religion was familiar to the LDS since most came from the formerly theocratic Utah. Also, the notion of a creative work ethic attracted Latter-day Saints to Social Credit because the LDS believed “that individual initiative and activism had transcendent

⁵⁰⁷ S.D. Clark, *The Developing Canadian Community*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 134-135. As cited in Wiseman, *In Search of Canadian Political Culture*, 246.

⁵⁰⁸ Wiseman, *In Search of Canadian Political Culture*, 248.

⁵⁰⁹ Earle Waugh, “The Almighty Has Not God This Far Yet: Religious Models in Alberta’s and Saskatchewan’s History,” in *The New Provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905-1980*, eds. Howard Palmer and Donald Smith (Vancouver: Tantalus Research Limited, 1973), 206.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 207.

import [and] underlined the necessity of providing the opportunity for sanctified labour.”⁵¹¹

Lastly, Aberhart and Latter-day Saints shared a unique eschatology where they were ideologically pre-millennialist, but practiced a post-millennial enthusiasm.⁵¹² They believed Jesus Christ would usher in the Millennium, but they did not adopt a pessimistic view of their current situation, the Depression, and instead saw temporal and spiritual advantages to improving their circumstances.

While some Church members climbed on to the Social Credit wagon, the Church itself shifted its own ideology concerning economic well-being. The United Order became a concept to save for implementation when Jesus redeems Zion during the Millennium. In the 1930s,

Stake presidents in urban areas contacted nearby farmers who faced prices so low that it was not profitable to harvest their crops. Arrangements were made so that idle urban members could harvest the crops in return for a share thereof. The produce thus obtained was stored in Church-controlled warehouse facilities and distributed according to need. Drawing upon this experience, Welfare farms were soon established under Church ownership in areas surrounding Mormon-populated cities.⁵¹³

In Cardston, Mark A. Coombs (1868-1944) reported that the Alberta Stake Welfare Committee began “preparing to assist those who may be in needy circumstances this winter... preparing to begin work at once on a cellar to store produce expected to be received from the various wards of the stake.”⁵¹⁴ Bishops of the surrounding wards reported that “excellent co-operation is being given by all the wards of the stake in welfare work, and that canning of fruits and vegetables, and raising of wheat are being carried out as community projects.”⁵¹⁵ That

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² Ibid.

⁵¹³ Garth L. Mangum, “Welfare Services,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1555.

⁵¹⁴ “1700 Hear Conference Speakers,” *Cardston News*, July 12, 1938, 1.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

August the Alberta Stake began construction of a large storage cellar near the old Bishop's Storehouse and tithing barn.⁵¹⁶ James Forest Wood (1903-1995), son of Alberta Stake President at the time Edward J. Wood, remembered garden and canning as welfare projects instead of accepting government assistance.⁵¹⁷ Similarly, John O. Hicken (1905-1987) recalled a welfare centre in the 1930s with a canning factory and storehouse.⁵¹⁸

At the Quarterly Conference for the Taylor Stake in July 1938, Elder Stringam L. Stevens of the Church Welfare Committee educated the audience on the Church's welfare plans: "It was not a dole but it was a project of collecting from the surplus of those who had and transferring it to the districts of those who had not. Then, by means of a works program to give these needy people a chance to earn what they needed."⁵¹⁹ The Church Presidency later advised members to rely on the Welfare Plan from the Church and not from their government. They stated that "Such an approval would run contrary to all that has been said over the years since the Welfare Plan was set up [in 1936]...these isms [Socialism and Communism] will... destroy the free agency which God gave to us."⁵²⁰ Myrtle Passey (1893-1983) was President of the Taylor Stake Relief Society from 1939 to 1947 when the main objective was welfare in every phase, both temporal and spiritual, and the plan was "We will take care of our own" and not accept government aid.⁵²¹ Assistant Church Historian Andrew Jensen recorded the purchase of six acres of irrigated land in

⁵¹⁶ *Raymond Recorder*, August 19, 1938, 4.

⁵¹⁷ James Forest Wood, oral history, interviewed by Charles Ursenbach, Cardston, Alberta, 1974, transcript, Church History Library.

⁵¹⁸ John O. Hicken, oral history, interviewed by Charles Ursenbach, Raymond, Alberta, 1974, transcript, Church History Library.

⁵¹⁹ "Quarterly Conference," *Raymond Recorder*, July 15, 1938, 1.

⁵²⁰ First Presidency letter to Willard L. Smith, February 5, 1947, Raymond Alberta Canada Stake Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1903-1975, Church History Library. Also in MSS 3116, Octave W. Ursenbach papers, LTPSC (hereafter MSS 3116, LTPSC).

⁵²¹ Myrtle N. Passey, "Myrtle N. Passey, 1939-1947," Taylor Stake Relief Society History, 1962, Church History Library.

1940 by the Magrath First Ward for the purpose of ward welfare work.⁵²² Over in Aetna, the Aetna Welfare Committee entered the cattle business and “Every family in the ward are asked to contribute one calf or its equivalent, to be delivered to the committee on the 6th day of May.”⁵²³

At the forefront of the Church Welfare Plan in Canada was soil chemist and dry land farming specialist Asael E. Palmer (1888-1984). Minutes from a meeting of the Canadian Regional Welfare Committee, which Palmer was Regional Chairman, reveal similar plans involving canning projects spread through all LDS stakes in Alberta. By the summer of 1939, the Alberta Stake had seven small units to process vegetables and meat. The Taylor Stake operated one unit and the Lethbridge Stake had five units with a daily output of 1000 cans.⁵²⁴

c. Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

Not all Albertan Latter-day Saints stayed with the Social Credit Party and some were enticed by the ideology of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

As Aberhart was introducing Social Credit into his weekly radio sermons, a meeting in Calgary in 1932 began the formation of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). The CCF Manifesto, proclaimed in the following year, called for the nationalization of banks and reform of credit institutions, but it went much further and incorporated the ideas of European socialism and organized labour...The results in the 1935 election, and in many subsequent elections, would show that some 90% of UFA members would transfer their allegiance not to the CCF but to Social Credit.⁵²⁵

However, some LDS UFA members did switch to CCF. The CCF emerged during the Great Depression and some members of both Labour and Farm organizations saw the only

⁵²² Magrath 1st Ward Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1899-1984, Church History Library.

⁵²³ “Aetna,” *Cardston News*, February 21, 1939, 2.

⁵²⁴ MSS 6084, Asael E. Palmer papers, 20th Century Western and Mormon Manuscripts, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University (hereafter cited as MSS 6084, LTPSC).

⁵²⁵ Franklin L. Foster, “John E. Brownlee, 1925-1934,” in *Alberta Premiers of the Twentieth Century*, ed. Bradford James Rennie (Regina: Canada Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 2004), 97.

solution was drastic economic reform. “The C.C.F.’s ideological background had clear socialist elements; and it sprang from the urban labour movement, from the social gospel of the churches, and from radical intellectuals, as well as from the soil of the wheat belt.”⁵²⁶

Peter Johansen (1827-1895) and Ane Christensen (1836-1899) met on their journey from Denmark to Utah in 1858 first upon the ship John Bright from Liverpool to New York and then during their overland travels in the Russell K. Homer Company.⁵²⁷ Peter took a plural wife, Larsena Jacobsen (1846-1923) in 1869, eight years before the birth of his son John Albert Johansen (1877-1957). John and his wife Anna moved to Raymond in 1904 and lived there for two years before moving out near Woolford.⁵²⁸ As an active member of the LDS Church, Johansen was immediately appointed to the Taylor Stake Sunday School Board and, after his move to Woolford, given charge of the Woolford Sunday School as Superintendent until 1913. He became Second Counselor to Bishop of the Woolford Ward Leo Harris and First Counselor in 1915 to Bishop W. T. Ainscough Sr. until 1924 when he took over as Bishop for five years.⁵²⁹ Johansen farmed two sections of land near Woolford, served on the Woolford district school board for nine years, and was central to the organization of the Cardston Municipal Hospital.⁵³⁰ In August of 1935, Johansen received the nomination as UFA-CCF (later just CCF) candidate for the Lethbridge federal constituency. In his acceptance speech, Johansen promised to raise the

⁵²⁶ Kenneth McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J. S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 255.

⁵²⁷ “Russell K. Homer Company (1858),” Mormon Pioneer Overland Travel, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, accessed January 19, 2017, <https://history.lds.org/overlandtravel/companies/154/russell-k-homer-company>.

⁵²⁸ Government of Canada, Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, 1916, Library and Archives Canada, accessed January 19, 2017, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1916/Pages/item.aspx?itemid=260384>.

⁵²⁹ Mable Johansen Palmer, “History of John Albert Johansen,” contributed by bethanykariannteerlink1 on January 1, 2014, <https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/4217035>. Johansen was called to the Alberta Stake High Council in 1929 until 1942.

⁵³⁰ “J. A. Johansen Nominated As Federal U. F. A. – C. C. F. Candidate,” *Cardston News*, August 13, 1935, 6.

standard of living by ensuring that “The natural resources...must belong to the people with every individual getting the benefit of what he produced by the application of real work and human effort.”⁵³¹ That October community members gathered at a meeting in the Cardston School gymnasium gathered community members in support of the CCF and Johansen. Among the crowd were prominent Latter-day Saints James Walker (1885-1954) and Melvin King (1891-1974).⁵³² Speaking to the room of supporters, Johansen lectured, “as for “Competition being the Life of Trade” he refuted this completely by his arguments that “The Co-operative movement is the spear head of a new day.”⁵³³

That federal election placed Liberal leader William Lyon McKenzie King (1874-1950) in power in Ottawa, but Alberta, once again, was mostly Social Credit. As reported by the *Cardston News* on 15 October 1935, Johansen earned 700 votes, the Reconstruction candidate Gladstone Virtue earned 424, Lyn E. Fairbairn (Liberal) earned 2,104, J. S. Stewart (Conservative) earned 2,910, and John H. Blackmore (Social Credit) earned 6,473.⁵³⁴

In the 1944 Provincial election, the CCF candidate for Cardston was Edward Leavitt (1875-1958) of Glenwood.⁵³⁵ At a CCF meeting in the Cardston school gym (still in the gym and not the tabernacle or meetinghouse), Leavitt spoke on the “Policy of Nationalizing Banks” and promised that “If C.C.F. went into power they would not have to nationalize banks; they would

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵³² “C. C. F. Program Explained At Gym Meeting,” *Cardston News*, October 8, 1935, 1.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵³⁴ “Alberta Remains Social Credit,” *Cardston News*, October 15, 1935, 1.

⁵³⁵ “C.C.F. Rally,” *Cardston News*, March 30, 1944, 1. Leavitt was patriarch of the Alberta Stake, he served a mission in Manitoba, he was bishop of the Glenwood ward for 14 years, he was trustee and secretary of the first school board in Glenwood for 4 years, council man on the board of the Municipal District of Cochrane for 18 years, 8 years as Reeve, member of the United Irrigation District for 13 years (chairman for 3), and from 1939 to 1945 he was chairman of the board and manager of the UID cheese factory. See obituary, 1958, contributed by Dave Olsen on August 5, 2014, <https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/9095194>.

only have to set up branches instead of using the nine chartered banks throughout Canada now in operation. As the finance is now managed the profits are only in the hands of a few instead of benefitting the people of Canada.”⁵³⁶ Part of the CCF platform included free health insurance and other social services, as well as people’s ownership and control of natural resources.⁵³⁷

3.6 Conclusion

The story of the LDS in southern Alberta began with their exceptional building strategies and town planning based on the Mormon Farm Village. By keeping the family homes close together with the conveniences of town life, community members attended regular Church and social meetings. LDS areas achieved close knit communities and prevented isolation sometimes experienced on far away homesteads. The LDS transcribed the values of co-operation and unity once taught in Utah to their new homes in Alberta. Expressions of communal economics were the sugar beet productions and the Cochrane Ranch. Welfare, not simply profit, weighed heavily on the minds of the LDS and they wanted all community members to not only survive but also thrive in Alberta.

Political participation at all levels of government demonstrated the LDS’ acceptance of their permanency in Canada and their willingness to contribute to issues outside these concerning their immediate communities. Even as they joined their non-LDS neighbours at the polls and in the town halls or legislature, they kept some boundaries to identify themselves as Latter-day Saints. For example, the excessive overlap of religious, political, and economic leaders was a characteristic of Mormon communities because lay leadership meant that spiritual life occupied

⁵³⁶ “C.C.F. Rally,” *Cardston News*, March 30, 1944, 1.

⁵³⁷ “Take a Step Forward with the C. C. F.,” *Cardston News*, August 3, 1944, 1.

only one aspect of their lives. They had to support their families and fill their time in other ways, such as politics.

LDS in southern Alberta also achieved distinction from their American counterparts by involving themselves in three distinctly Canadian and Albertan political parties: the UFA, Social Credit Party, and CCF. Participation in these three parties made room for a greater expression of co-operative economics at a higher level. It was one way LDS shared in common something critical to their faith (co-operation and unity) with outsiders who agreed on the importance of such qualities. The Wheat Pool, for example, like a Mormon co-operative company, required the pooling together of resources and finances, along with the trust and cooperation of the parties involved who relied on the “profit” for survival or to support their family.

The theme of business and politics showed the various layers of integration into Canadian society. The Latter-day Saints kept the traditions and practices of the homeland (farm village and communal economics), causing an initial status as “Other” to non-LDS. Business and politics, like the other themes of this dissertation, also demonstrated the challenges of integration with the examples of how the minority group negotiated its identity. In this case, lay leadership, an important characteristic of the LDS Church, meant their political leaders were often also their spiritual advisors and Church organizers. The person in charge of the spiritual and financial health of the ward or stake might also oversee the town’s budget. LDS in southern Alberta also found themselves creating some distance between themselves and their American brethren in terms of political ideology. Integration into Canadian society did not mean sacrificing one’s entire identity. It meant managing a balance between fitting in (e.g. through political participation) and maintaining boundaries (e.g. through lay participation) that reminded them of their distinctiveness as Latter-day Saints.

The process also made them different than the American Church because of Canadian culture and context. In the United States, explained Yorgason,

“The major turn-of-the-century change was not that Mormons suddenly became capitalists. Many church members had already successfully embraced such principles. Rather, the key transformation was further acceptance of capitalist cultural logic... Less discussion remained of people sharing responsibility for one another’s welfare on a community scale. Moral strictures by 1920 centered on a person’s (a man’s) responsibility to provide for his family.”⁵³⁸

The LDS in Utah reinterpreted their history, focusing more on socially conservative aspects rather than radical ones, and “by merging its destiny with America’s destiny and starting to behave like other churches, insulated itself from critiques of power relations between leaders and members.”⁵³⁹

In Alberta, however, the Latter-day Saints aligned with fellow Albertans rather than Canadians in the east. “By the 1920s, the [American] Mormon culture region’s dominant moral order suggested that to question the nation’s power and norms was to unleash the forces of anarchy, religious struggle, and unwelcome authoritarianism.”⁵⁴⁰ In Alberta, to question the nation’s power (Ottawa’s power), as done by the UFA and Social Credit members, was the norm.

⁵³⁸ Yorgason, *Mormon Culture Region*, 127-128.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, 170.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

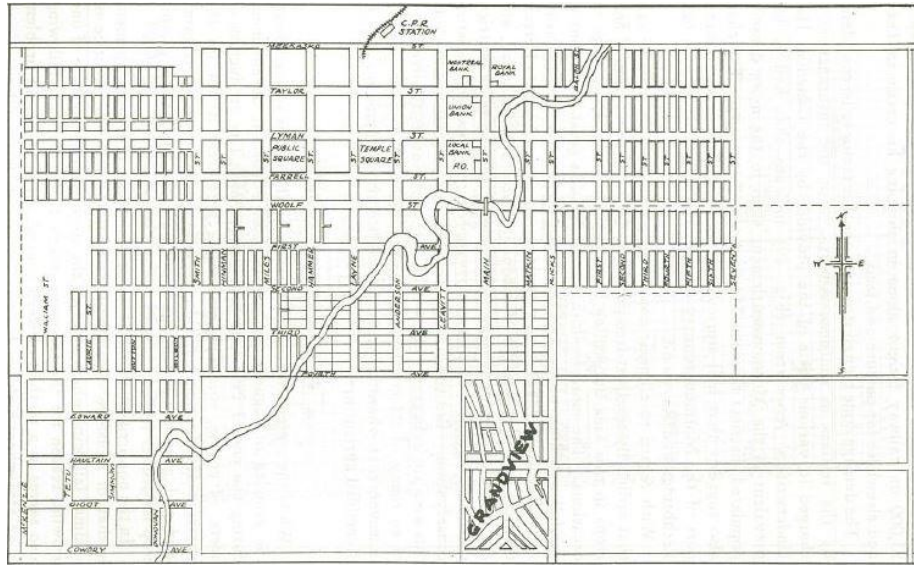


Figure 19 Plan of Cardston



Figure 20 Magrath, from a survey in 1900

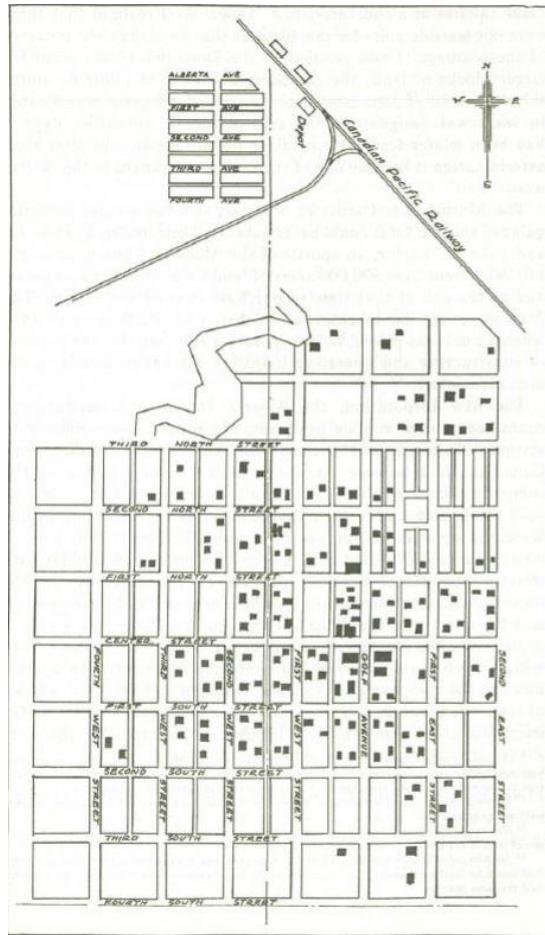


Figure 21 Map of Stirling

Chapter 4: From Diverse Duties to Gendered Roles

4.1 Introduction

In the LDS Church the “separate but equal” principle differentiated between women’s roles within the “sphere” of Motherhood from men’s authority within the Priesthood. In this chapter, I complicate and challenge the metaphor of separate spheres by showing how the ever-evolving “spheres” in which Canadian LDS women operated from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century evolved. Analyzing the thesis of anthropologist Michelle Rosaldo (1944-1981), historian Estelle Freedman (1947-) summarized, “[T]he greater the social distance between women in the home and men in the public sphere, the greater the devaluation of women... Thus to achieve an egalitarian future, with less separation of female and male, we should strive not only for the entrance of women into the male-dominated public sphere, but also for men’s entry into the female-dominated domestic world.”⁵⁴¹ For the LDS in Canada, sometimes this overlapping of spheres occurred organically and other times men and women remained in their “complementary” roles as dictated by Church authorities. It is the argument of this chapter that, while LDS Church authorities removed significant duties from its female members, the same female members (re)created roles within both the private and public spheres that affected their interactions with the larger Canadian society.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴¹ Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," *Feminist Studies* 5, no. 3 (Autumn 1979): 512. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, "Woman, Culture, and Society: Theoretical Overview," in *Woman, Culture and Society*, eds. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Lousie Lamphere (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 17-42.

⁵⁴² “If public and published documents are few and macro studies difficult, then we must investigate personal and private sources with greater seriousness.” This is important for this entire dissertation and comes from Margaret Conrad, ““Sundays Always Make Me Think of Home”: Time and Place in Canadian Women’s History,” in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women’s History*, ed. Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1986), 69.

Nineteenth-century LDS women believed their religion and the practice of plural marriage provided greater opportunities for personal improvement, social development, and community involvement. One example of these opportunities was their successful efforts to secure woman suffrage in Utah in 1870.⁵⁴³ In *Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region*, Ethan Y. Yorgason explained that until the 1890s, “Mormon feminists questioned the authority women held in America compared with that held by men. They argued that the ideal of romantic love and the dominance of monogamous marital relations left women too emotionally and socially dependent on (usually unreliable) men.”⁵⁴⁴ Nevertheless, with the relocation of non-LDS to Utah, the secularization of the territory, and the loss of plural marriage, “Mormon women throughout this period consistently maintained that women’s greatest influence resided in the home” and LDS men reasserted their privilege, retreated to Victorian ideals of love, and codified family gender roles.⁵⁴⁵

At the same time,

[W]omen in colonial, preindustrial Canada were the mainstay of the domestic production that sustained the family economy, at a time when the labour of all family members was crucial to survival... As industrial capitalism advanced in the closing quarter of the nineteenth century, the work of men became increasingly identified with wage labour outside the home, while that of women with the domestic sphere and the unpaid “women’s work” within. The home became increasingly a haven and source of nurture rather than a production, at least for those urban middle-class families that could in some measure embrace the Victorian “cult of domesticity” that depicted women as “angels of the hearth.”⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴³ However, the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887s disfranchised all Utah women. Utah suffragists regained the vote in 1896 when Utah became the third state to have equal suffrage. See Carol Cornwall Madsen, “Woman Suffrage,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. David H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1572-1573.

⁵⁴⁴ Yorgason, *Mormon Culture Region*, 74.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁵⁴⁶ Cynthia R. Comacchio, “Introduction to Part Two,” in *Framing Our Past: Constructing Canadian Women’s History in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sharon Anne Cook, Lorna R. McLean, and Kate O’Rourke (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 75. Also, “Borders appear to have the biggest impact on a woman’s experiences when she occupies an additional category (be it racial or ethnic or religious or sexual) that is

The contemporary LDS Church argued that women belonged in the home undertaking the most important role as nurturing mothers and supportive wives while men shouldered the responsibilities of the priesthood.⁵⁴⁷ However, the categories of motherhood and priesthood are problematic because priesthood corresponds to priestess and motherhood to fatherhood. By matching motherhood to priesthood, the LDS Church neglected the roles of men within the home under the category of fatherhood and removed women from religious authority as priestesses. Considering the work of traditional LDS Church theologians justifying the “separate but equal” doctrine, Mary Farrell Bednarowski clarified that Mormons believed that God determined these “ontological categories of parallel function,” that both roles are complementary, and during the stage of pre-existence women selected the role of mothers instead of priests.⁵⁴⁸

During the first half of the twentieth century, Latter-day Saints shared with most Canadians the belief that “Maternalism” was central to women’s lives. “The devastation wrought by war gave women-as-mothers a key role in the hoped-for-social reconstruction that would see the dawning of a just and equitable New Jerusalem for all Canadians...The “angel of the hearth” would become more “efficient” and “scientific” under the guidance of new family experts...Women were to aspire to manage home and family just as their husbands managed business affairs.”⁵⁴⁹ The Great Depression and Second World War only enhanced society’s expectations on women’s duties inside and outside the family home. By the 1940s, most LDS

already marginalized by the nation state in which she resides or to which she is trying to gain entry.” Sheila McManus, “Unsettled Pasts, Unsettling Borders: Women, Wests, Nations,” in *One Step Over the Line: Toward a History of Women in the North American Wests*, ed. Elizabeth Jameson and Sheila McManus (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2008), 41.

⁵⁴⁷ See chapter on “Gender and Sexual Orientation” in Claudia L. Bushman, *Contemporary Mormonism: Latter-day Saints in Modern America* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006).

⁵⁴⁸ Mary Farrell Bednarowski, “Widening the Banks of the Mainstream: Women Constructing Theologies,” in *Women’s Leadership in Marginal Religions: Explorations Outside the Mainstream*, ed. Catherine Wessinger (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 213.

⁵⁴⁹ Comacchio, “Introduction,” 77.

women no longer publicly prophesied, or spoke in tongues, or healed by anointing. While they maintained membership in Relief Society, their increasingly gendered roles took them more inside the family home as wives and mothers. However, they remained concerned about the welfare of their communities, healthcare, education, and other social issues, which led them to join non-LDS organizations such as the Alberta Women’s Institute and the United Farm Women of Alberta. They refused to stay within the specific “sphere” as designated by their church.

4.2 Diverse Duties Before 1940s and Otherness: Spiritual Advocates and Activists

a. Spiritual Advocates

LDS women were spiritual advocates during a very difficult time of diaspora. Through their supernatural experiences, they offered encouragement and reassurance to their husbands, families, and fellow Latter-day Saints. Through the manifestations of spiritual gifts, Mormon women provided confidence regarding their purpose in Canada. As most of them were in polygamous relationships or products of polygamous unions, they maintained support for the doctrine of plural marriage during persecution and conflict with outsiders.

In his letter to the new converts at Corinth around 54 C.E., the Apostle Paul wrote, “Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit,” a verse we now read in First Corinthians Chapter 12. Similarly, the last Nephite prophet Moroni wrote about spiritual gifts in the conclusion of the Book of Mormon: “ye deny not the gifts of God, for there are many; and they come from the same God.”⁵⁵⁰ In Kirtland, Ohio, Joseph Smith received a revelation that is now recorded in *The Doctrine and Covenants*: “for there are many gifts, and to every man is given a gift by the Spirit of God.”⁵⁵¹ In 1842, Smith composed the Articles of Faith and included the

⁵⁵⁰ Moroni 10:8.

⁵⁵¹ Doctrine and Covenants 46:11.

statement “We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, and so forth.”⁵⁵² The gift of tongues is the ability to speak languages by inspiration; prophecy is the ability to foretell future events; healing is healing the sick by laying on of hands or with prayer; interpretation of tongues is the ability to render foreign languages readily and properly into their own.

The temporary nature of the “Canadian Mission” ended in May 1895 when the First Presidency decided to organize an Alberta Stake and named Charles Ora Card as its president. Card delivered the news to the LDS in Alberta and began organizing the new stake in June. At “a very spirited meeting” on 6 June, recorded Card, a “Sister L. Hinman” spoke in tongues and Zina Card interpreted the message: “The angels are watching over us. Some of you think you are exiled from the Church, not so. You are part of the church... The Lord is watching over us.”⁵⁵³ The organization of a stake and the transformation of branches to wards changed the lives of those in Alberta who were one day living in a temporary mission, planning to return to Utah, and the next day living in a permanent stake of Zion.⁵⁵⁴ This change might have been a catalyst as I found the most occurrences of spiritual gifts between 1895 and 1903. As research historian

⁵⁵² The Articles of Faith 1:7. “Through the end of the nineteenth century, when Mormons gathered in priesthood quorums or in Relief Society...they regularly participated in speaking in tongues, inspired prophecy, weeping, impromptu laying on of hands...But in the early twentieth century leaders in the church began to discourage such practices through public letters and instructions to local leaders.” See Bowman, *The Mormon People*, 173.

⁵⁵³ 6 June 1895, MSS 1543, LTPSC. At Neils Hansen’s ranch, “Sister Hammer and Sarah Hinman enjoyed the gift of tongues and my wife Zina and Nellie Hinman [soon to be Pitcher] had the gift of interpretation of tongues. Many blessings were pronounced upon those present. Sister Nellie Taylor spoke in an inspired way on the gifts and blessings of the Gospel and we had a very spiritual meeting and a spiritual feast to the satisfaction of the Sts present...by request I dedicated Bro Neils Hanson’s house and land by prayer.” See 15 August 1895, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁵⁵⁴ Church members’ referred to the Alberta settlements as “the Northern Mission” or “the Canadian Mission.” Zina Y. Card related a dream from a sister in Salt Lake City who believed the “Northern Mission...was dictated by the Spirit of the Lord.” See Relief Society minutes, 8 December 1887, Cardston Ward Relief Society Minutes, 1887-1911, Church History Library. In 1889, Card called the LDS settlements “the mission in Canada.” See 28 October 1889, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

Maureen Beecher explained, “On the outskirts of Mormondom, there seemed to be a need for a more potent expression of God’s approval, and the women created the circumstances that would foster it.”⁵⁵⁵ On 20 November 1895, Sarah Hyde (1857-1946) approached merchant and future stake president Heber S. Allen (1864-1944) and counselor in the stake presidency Sterling Williams (1870-1965) stating, “They had a great work to perform.”⁵⁵⁶ She ended with Card, telling him he “should be better known in the future than in the past” and blessed him.⁵⁵⁷

Depicting the testimony meeting of 6 February 1896, Card recalled Elizabeth Hammer’s (1857-1919) expression of the Spirit and wrote,

[Hammer] arose to her feet & began to talk as she proceeded she warmed up all at once she threw off her Shawl & hat & burst out in tongues which was accompanied by the spirit of prophecy blessed all about her especially the leading Priesthood. She blessed & said I was the right man in the right place & was doing all for the people I could & the saints should cease fault finding. I should be blessed & yet behold the face of my redeemer. She especially blessed Sterling Williams & our Patriarch Bro. H.L. Hinman.

Afterwards, noted Card, “Nellie Pitcher wife of Walter Pitcher Burst out & prophesied Blessed her uncle & added comforting words to Bro. [Samuel] Matkin [1850-1905], Self & others & rebuked those that Spoke evil against others.”⁵⁵⁸ Two days later, at Samuel Matkin’s house, once again Elizabeth Hammer experienced “the gift of tongues & interpretation of tongues accompanied by prophecy.”⁵⁵⁹ Hammer prophesied that Matkin would feel better if he visited

⁵⁵⁵ Beecher, “Mormon Women in Southern Alberta,” 226. Claudia Bushman wrote “The women of the early Church were as involved in spiritual experiences as men. The spirit did not come through priesthood leaders alone...women tended to be more receptive to the spirit. They were particularly blessed in the ‘woman’s sphere’: their children were healed, their husbands blessed, their families provided for.” See Bushman, “Mystics and Healers,” 2.

⁵⁵⁶ 20 November 1895, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ 6 February 1896, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁵⁵⁹ 8 February 1896, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

Utah, returned to Canada, and his children turned to the Lord.⁵⁶⁰ Hammer moved on to Sena Matkin (1860-1914) and blessed her as “one of the choice Handmaidens of the Lord.” Card, also a recipient of Hammer’s gifts, documented his blessing in his diary: “[She] said to me lift up my heart & rejoice for the Lord had respect unto my works & pronounced many blessings upon me for I should have every righteous desire of my heart.”⁵⁶¹

In November at a fast meeting, Sarah Hinman (1871-1969) spoke in tongues and approached Card, putting her hands on his head she stated that he “was a servant of God and had his spirit and said even [his] youngest children would rise up and call [him] blessed.” Hinman continued to tell Card he “had been a father to the people.” Afterwards, she put her hands on Bishop Farrell’s head and said, “Many of the people of his ward had been contrary but he should have power over them and that his wayward children should turn to the faith of truth.” According to Card, “She also blessed the brethren recently called on missions...& those that should be gathered here & their children should rise up & bless them. She also sang in tongues & praised the Lord.”⁵⁶² Card “felt [he] had received a greater blessing from the Lord through this humble widow.”⁵⁶³

On 28 May 1897, speaking in tongues, Elizabeth Hammer blessed her husband, the bishop of the ward, Josiah Hammer (1855-1922) “that he should recover & not to fret about his [other] wife & infant son God had taken them & they would come up in the morn of the resurrection.”⁵⁶⁴ Sarah Hyde addressed those who “were fretting about schools & going away,”

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² 5 November 1896, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁴ 28 May 1897, MSS 1543, LTPSC. One of Josiah’s plural wives Emily died earlier that year on 9 January. Their son Frank (born October 25, 1896) died on March 21, 1897.

promising they “would have good schools & [their] sons would be taught in the things of God & take the Gospel to this nation for there were many honest souls here & [members] should be humble & respect the local priesthood men.”⁵⁶⁵

In June of 1898, Rachel Archibald (1876-1936) spoke in tongues and instructed the brethren “to be faithful [and] also plow and sow & raise wheat for the time would come that we would have to raise grain for the United States would need wheat for bread.”⁵⁶⁶ On 7 May the following year, Archibald spoke in tongues at a fast meeting and Zina Y. Card provided the interpretation that the LDS must remain faithful because “the angels are watching over [them] and [they] should be grateful for this goodly land.”⁵⁶⁷

Visiting the Caldwell Alberta ward in August, Hammer spoke in tongues and blessed Father Caldwell and his family.⁵⁶⁸ Next, the visitors attended the meeting in Leavitt where Hammer blessed Apostle John W. Taylor (1858-1916), vowing “he should enjoy greater wisdom than formerly & be known in future as a great prophet.”⁵⁶⁹

The LDS Church leadership did not uniformly appreciate the gift of tongues. For example, at General Conference in April 1900, warning Church members of the dangers of sign seeking, second counselor in the First Presidency Joseph F. Smith (1838-1918) stated, “The devil himself can appear like an angel of light. False prophets and false teachers have arisen in the world. There is perhaps no gift of the spirit of God more easily imitated by the devil than the gift of tongues... I do not ask you to be very hungry for the gift of tongues, for if you are not careful

⁵⁶⁵ 28 May 1897, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁵⁶⁶ 5 June 1898, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁵⁶⁷ 7 May 1899, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁵⁶⁸ 31 August 1899, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

the devil will deceive you in it.”⁵⁷⁰ However, during the next several decades, women in Alberta continued to claim to be receiving gifts of prophecy, tongues, and interpretation.⁵⁷¹ The last two accounts, according to my data, of Canadian Mormon women speaking in tongues occurred in 1917 and the 1930s. In her autobiography Mary Ann Anderson (1862-1943) recalled a meeting of the Cardston Alberta Stake Relief Society in 1917 where Hammer gave her a blessing in tongues. Nellie Pitcher (1877-1950), wrote Anderson, interpreted the tongues and said, “I would be able to get the genealogy of my father and mother and that the dead would speak to me and give me information that would be needed in my labor for them in the temple... The departed dead were looking to me to receive their blessings so they could progress behind the veil.”⁵⁷² At an August conference of the Taylor Stake Relief Society, a “Sister Hardy” spoke in tongues and a fellow member provided the interpretation. In her history of Julia Ririe (1874-1959), Alvira Bridge noted, “The spirit of the Lord was there in abundance.”⁵⁷³ These last two expressions of the Holy Spirit differed from earlier incidents: first, they were not witnessed in a sacrament, testimony, or fast meeting, and second, the recipients of the gifts did not reveal prophecies affecting the leading priesthood (LDS Church leaders).

Unlike earlier records that depicted women exercising spiritual gifts independently of priesthood bearers, a diary entry from Joseph Y. Card (1885-1956) revealed a different

⁵⁷⁰ Joseph F. Smith, speech, 7 April 1900, *Seventieth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1900), 41. The same year Smith recommended to Church President Lorenzo Snow to separate the healing liturgy and allow only men to seal anointing. See Jonathan A. Stapley, ““The Last of the Old School”: Joseph F. Smith and Latter-day Saint Liturgy,” in *Joseph F. Smith: Reflections on the Man and His Times*, ed. Craig K. Manscill, Brian D. Reeves, Guy L. Dorius, and J. B. Haws (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2013), 233-247.

⁵⁷¹ Relief Society minutes, June 1902, Stirling Ward Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1899-1970, Church History Library. Also see 3 June 1902 and 6 June 1902, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁵⁷² Mary Ann Ross Anderson, autobiographical sketch, “The Story of My Life Mary Ann Ross Anderson,” typescript, Low Family Histories, circa 1960, 2006, Church History Library.

⁵⁷³ Alvira D. Bridge, biography, “Julia E. Hawkes Ririe, 1930-1933,” photocopy, Taylor Stake Relief Society History, 1962, Church History Library.

perspective. Recalling the events of the Cardston Second Ward meeting on 12 April 1921, Joseph wrote that Nellie Pitcher prophesied that “the 10 scribes shall come down to us from the North. That the people were not ready to go into the Temple.”⁵⁷⁴ After, Bishop Thomas Duce (1871-1947) “rejoiced that Sister Nellie Hinman Pitcher was blessed by Patriarch Hinman in [his] presence with the Spirit of Prophecy.”⁵⁷⁵ Joseph’s wording indicated that the presence of Patriarch Hinman facilitated the gift of prophecy, and that Pitcher would not have received the spiritual gift without the presence of the priesthood. Women went from independently performing these gifts in their own right to needing prominent priesthood holders’ attendance to enable or legitimize such gifts.

b. Activists for Plural Marriage

The women of the LDS Church helped change the negative perception of their position and religion. In Salt Lake City, at General Conference in April of 1897, Cardston resident Mary Woolf told the audience, “I am living a long way from here but possibly it seems farther off to you than it does to me. I am glad we have been called to this land in the north, there will be a good chance for our sons to make a start and understand the Gospel in its true light. Our children will go on and carry on this work, it must be so.”⁵⁷⁶ In 1898 Charles Ora Card said goodbye to his wife Zina as she left for a trip to the eastern states on a mission that he wrote was to “allay prejudice.”⁵⁷⁷ The Church sent a delegation to the Triennial National Council of Women in

⁵⁷⁴ MSS 1522, Joseph Y. Card diaries, 12 April 1921, 19th Century Western & Mormon Manuscripts, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University (hereafter cited as MSS 1522, LTPSC).

⁵⁷⁵ 12 April 1921, MSS 1522, LTPSC. “As the society in which the Latter-day Saints lived became increasingly pluralistic, if not secular, the Mormon community no longer created its own internal regulatory mechanism...rational organization and fixed rules replaced a sense of community as the means of establishing norms which the Saints were expected to observe.” See Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 94.

⁵⁷⁶ E. B. Wells, “General Conference, Relief Society,” *The Woman’s Exponent* 25, no. 20 (April 1897): 134.

⁵⁷⁷ 14 September 1898, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

Washington and Zina represented the Relief Society.⁵⁷⁸ Zina addressed a large audience at the Council on the topic of “The Mother and the Child.” The report stated, “She referred to the tender solicitude felt by all classes of women for noble Miss [Susan B.] Anthony, and she felt that the work done by this heroine was due to the deep womanliness of her character.”⁵⁷⁹ Later, members of the Council debated the Edmunds Bill, arguing whether or not a person should be allowed to hold a place in any law-making body who is not a law-abiding citizen. During the discussion of monogamy and polygamy, “there were so many good and glorious words said in our behalf,” and women’s rights activist Susan B. Anthony said that Congress was full of men who violate laws of monogamous marriage so there was no need to go to Utah to punish the men there.⁵⁸⁰

Latter-day Saints hoped Canada would provide a safe haven for polygamous Mormons, or at least a temporary refuge until the United States allowed plural marriage. Although some Members of Parliament voiced their support for the Mormon settlers, no one supported the practice of polygamy and, in 1890, the Canadian government amended Canadian Criminal Law and repealed Chapter 161 of the Revised Statutes related to the laws of marriage. They reworded the section regarding bigamy and, for the first time, inserted a section on polygamy.⁵⁸¹ Sub-section (c) addressed the so-called “Mormon problem” by criminalizing, “What among the persons commonly called Mormons is known as spiritual or plural marriage.”⁵⁸² The

⁵⁷⁸ “The Recent Triennial in Washington,” *The Young Woman's Journal* 10, no. 5 (May 1899): 195.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 201.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 206.

⁵⁸¹ “An Act further to amend the Criminal Law,” 53 Victoria, ch. 37, sec. 10 (Revised Statutes of Canada (R.S.C.), ch. 161, sec. 4). Bigamy: Every one who, being married, marries any other person during the life of the former husband or wife, whether the second marriage takes place in Canada or elsewhere, and every male person who, in Canada, simultaneously, or on the same day, marries more than one woman, is guilty of felony, and liable to seven years’ imprisonment.

⁵⁸² “An Act further to amend the Criminal Law,” 53 Victoria, ch. 37, sec. 11 (R.S.C., ch. 161, sec. 5). Laws prohibiting bigamy and polygamy remained when the Parliament of Canada passed an act regarding criminal law,

criminalization of polygamy in Canada and the announcement of the First Manifesto deemphasizing plural marriage changed the lives of the LDS living in southern Alberta.

In the December 1890 issue of *The Woman's Exponent*, a couple months after the First Manifesto, writing about Canada, Zina Card wrote,

What Jerusalem is to the Jew,--so is Utah to the hearts of her mountain boys and girls, yet I would not, *could* not live there now. Why? Because the holy priesthood has said my place was here. So my wings are folded, content in my nest, I sing, no I mean chirp to my little brood, try to be content with all the changes that find me, some unprepared and some otherwise, amongst the former was the 'Manifesto,' it took my breath away, but it gradually narrowed down from what at first seemed a strange pill to the very draught that was needed in our present state, religiously and politically. It has caused some comment here from various stand points, but we feel our true position is known and appreciated now as it could not be before the issuing of the Manifesto, and the saints here as a whole all feel our leaders are carrying on Christ's work to victory and are *one* with the saints in the land of Zion.⁵⁸³

The first message emphasized by Zina was one of obedience: "Because the holy priesthood has said my place was here." However, her bird metaphor, stating her "wings are folded" suggested that the LDS Church had not clipped her wings, she chose to fold them and be content with her life and situation. Regarding the Manifesto, Zina admitted it shocked her and, at first, seemed wrong and difficult. Despite these initial reactions, she believed the Church needed the Manifesto to remain healthy, or return to full health: "the very draught that was needed." Obviously, the announcement that the Church ended plural marriage would cause "some comment here from

The Criminal Code, in 1892. Every one who practices, or, by the rites, ceremonies, forms, rules or customs of any denomination, sect or society, religious or secular, or by any form of contract, or by mere mutual consent, or by any other method whatsoever, and whether in a manner recognized by law as a binding form of marriage or not, agrees or consents to practise or enter into— (a.) Any form of polygamy ; or (b.) Any kind of conjugal union with more than one person at the same time ; or (c.) What among the persons commonly called Mormons is known as spiritual or plural marriage...

⁵⁸³ Zina Y. Card, "The Sisters in Canada," *The Woman's Exponent* 19, no. 13 (December 1890): 101.

various stand points” because many families first moved to Alberta so their men could escape the charges against them for having more than one wife. Zina confuses the contemporary reader when she says “we feel our true position is known and appreciated now as it could not be before the issuing of the Manifesto.” This raised the question of how strongly Mormons in Canada supported plural marriage? Were they actually pleased with the Manifesto because now they could be true instead of promoting or defending a doctrine they disapproved of? Zina states that the Albertan LDS “are one with the saints in the land of Zion,” which makes one wonder if they felt alienated before 1890. Were the Latter-day Saints feeling close to the brethren in Utah because they had plural families there, or because they supported discontinuing the practice of plural marriage?

Earlier that year, when their husbands left Canada to visit their other spouses and families, reassuring her Relief Society, Zina said, “We may miss their company [the Brethren] but there are others to whom their society is as dear and we must consider them as well as ourself.”⁵⁸⁴ Following this, Amy Allen (1865-1936) spoke about plural marriage and vowed that she “knew it was true.”⁵⁸⁵

Before the Manifesto, Relief Society members proudly supported the doctrine of plural marriage. In a meeting on 5 April 1888, Annie Layne testified of “the truth of plural marriage [and] knew it was of the Lord.”⁵⁸⁶ At a meeting of the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association (YLMIA) in Cardston, a “Brother William” voiced support for plural marriage and instructed others to study the subject, especially younger members who “did not realize the

⁵⁸⁴ Relief Society minutes, 18 January 1890, Cardston Ward Relief Society Minutes, 1887-1911, Church History Library.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁶ Relief Society minutes, 5 April 1888, Cardston Ward Relief Society Minutes, 1887-1911, Church History Library.

pressure that would come upon them” from outsiders discouraging the practice.⁵⁸⁷ The next year in February Zina Card declared her thankfulness that Church leaders guided them to live in plural marriage.⁵⁸⁸ Once again, Layne “bore her testimony to the truth of plural marriage and desired to raise her children to honor the same” and warned the women to be careful “not to instill unto our children a hatred towards the principle of plural marriage.”⁵⁸⁹

After the First Manifesto, neither the topic nor the practice of plural marriage disappeared. In 1902, at a special officers meeting of the Magrath First Ward YLMIA, Zina Card asked how many in the audience believed in plural marriage and, according to the secretary, all present believed in the doctrine.⁵⁹⁰ In January of 1903, the Stirling Ward Relief Society listened to their president Hannah Russell (1858-1944) read from *Janet Dixon, The Plural Wife: A True Story of Mormon Polygamy*.⁵⁹¹ Mariah Thomas (1839-1907), wife of polygamist Preston Thomas Sr. (1814-1877), stood before the Cardston Ward Relief Society in 1905 and claimed she “had lived in polygamy 30 years [and] did not consider it a great trial but all must live it right.”⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁷ YWMIA minutes, 31 October 1888, Cardston Ward Young Women’s Mutual Improvement Association minutes and records, 1887-1917, Church History Library. The topic of “plurality of wives” was also discussed the following month on November 7.

⁵⁸⁸ Relief Society minutes, 7 February 1889, Cardston Ward Relief Society Minutes, 1887-1911, Church History Library.

⁵⁸⁹ Relief Society minutes, 7 February 1889, Cardston Ward Relief Society Minutes, 1887-1911, Church History Library.

⁵⁹⁰ YWMIA minutes, 3 March 1902, Magrath 1st Ward Young Women’s Mutual Improvement Association minutes and records, 1899-1973, Church History Library.

⁵⁹¹ Relief Society minutes, 8 January and 22 January 1903, Stirling Ward Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1899-1970, Church History Library.

⁵⁹² In 1922 the Calgary Normal School joined the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art and by 1945 it became the Calgary branch of the University of Alberta’s Faculty of Education. Stephanie White, *Unbuilt Calgary: A History of the City That Might Have Been* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2012), 109. Mark Kozub and Janice Kozub, *A Calgary Album: Glimpses of the Way We Were* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2001), 47. Also see Robert M. Stamp, *Becoming a Teacher in 20th Century Calgary: A History of the Calgary Normal School and the Faculty of Education, University of Calgary* (Calgary: Detselig, 2004).

4.3 Difference from Canadians: Healing Their Own

Latter-day Saints began their life in Alberta as exiles, always remaining connected to their homeland, Utah, but isolated from the conveniences of large cities. Comparatively, Utah seemed decades ahead of the District of Alberta in terms of urbanization and growth. Census data showed that Salt Lake City had a population of over 50,000 by 1900. Latter-day Saints moved from these heavily populated areas to the District of Alberta in the North-West Territories where the two closest towns, Fort Macleod and Lethbridge, each had under 4,000 residents. The success of the LDS in Alberta depended on their creative responses to the challenges of diaspora. One of these challenges was health care.

In 1886, seven medical practitioners registered in the entire North-West Territories.⁵⁹³ Two of the fourteen doctors registered by 1889 lived in Lethbridge, 41 miles away from Cardston, and another two lived 49 miles away in Macleod.⁵⁹⁴ Researchers estimated a rough ratio of one doctor per one thousand residents in the territories at this time.⁵⁹⁵ In 1899, ninety-five certified members of The College of Physicians and Surgeons, N.W.T. practiced in the North-West Territories.⁵⁹⁶ Even as the region became an official province of Canada, Alberta had under 150 physicians for a population of over 100,000.⁵⁹⁷ Latter-day Saints living in the south handled the absence of trained physicians with creativity and resourcefulness. “Much of the nursing, prior to the opening of the hospital, was done by the members of the Women’s

⁵⁹³ Heber Carss Jamieson, *Early Medicine in Alberta: The First Seventy-Five Years* (Edmonton: Canadian Medical Association Alberta division, 1947), 44.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁵⁹⁵ Robert Lampard, “Cardston Medical Contracts and Canadian Medicare,” *Alberta History* 54, no. 4 (2006): 6.

⁵⁹⁶ College of Physicians and Surgeons, *The North-West Territories medical register: Printed and published under the direction of the Council of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, N.W.T., in accordance with chapter 52 of the consolidated ordinances, North-West Territories, 1899, entitled an ordinance respecting the medical profession in force March 15, 1899* (Prince Albert, NWT: College of Physicians and Surgeons, N.W.T, 1899).

⁵⁹⁷ Lampard, “Cardston Medical Contracts,” 6.

Relief Society of the Mormon church.”⁵⁹⁸ Midwifery, practical nursing, herbal remedies, and faith healing was their medical care for one another.

On 9 February 1831, part of the revelation that Joseph Smith promised “embraced the law of the Church” stated, “And whosoever among you are sick, and have not faith to be healed, but believe, shall be nourished with all tenderness, with herbs and mild food, and that not by the hand of an enemy.”⁵⁹⁹ Historian Thomas Alexander noted that during the lives of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young many church members “shunned medical doctors and opted for priesthood healing, home remedies, or Thomsonian medicine (a democratic medical movement combining American Indian herbal and medical botanical lore). By the late nineteenth century, orthodox medicine was more widely accepted, but some antagonism still persisted.”⁶⁰⁰ In Smith’s journal, Willard Richards (1804-1854) recorded Joseph Smith’s praise for Thomsonian doctor Levi Richards (1799-1876) and wrote, “[P]eople will seldom die with disease provided we know it seasonably. & treat it mildly. patiently. & perseveringly. & do not use harsh means...we should persevere in the use of simple remedies.”⁶⁰¹ Preference for herbs and botanical cures continued after Smith’s death. Generally, before 1900, 80% of all medicines generally were from roots, barks and leaves.⁶⁰² The meeting minutes of the 1873 Co-operative Retrenchment Association (CRA) in Salt Lake City offered home recipes to battle yellow fever and dysentery. For

⁵⁹⁸ Edna Kells, “Story of the Cardston Hospital,” *Cardston News*, October 17, 1929, 3.

⁵⁹⁹ Doctrine and Covenants 42:43.

⁶⁰⁰ Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 195. George W. Cody and Heidi Hascall, “The History of Naturopathic Medicine: The Emergence and Evolution of an American School of Healing,” in *Textbook of Natural Medicine*, 4th ed., ed. Joseph E. Pizzorno and Michael T. Murray (St. Louis: Churchill Livingstone, 2013): 36.

⁶⁰¹ Joseph Smith, “President Joseph Smith’s Journal,” journal, 19 April 1843, Joseph Smith Collection, Church History Library. For further information on the relationship between Mormonism and Thomsonian medical ideology, see Thomas Wolfe, “Steaming Saints: Mormons and the Thomsonian Movement in Nineteenth-Century America,” in *Disease and Medical Care in the Mountain West: Essays on Region, History, and Practice*, ed. Martha L. Hildreth and Bruce T. Moran (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998): 16-28.

⁶⁰² Norman Lee Smith, “Herbal Remedies: God’s Medicine?” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12, no. 3 (1979): 47.

consumption they suggested one ounce of flax seed and one ounce of bone set boiled in one quart of water, strained, and added one pint of molasses and one quarter of a pound of sugar; to take one tablespoon three times a day.⁶⁰³ At the next CRA meeting, Amanda Smith (1809-1886) said, “She regretted that there was so much sickness among them, and that sending for doctors had become so prevalent. It was best to send for the elders first...washing and anointing, administration and simple medicines, such as the Lord will reveal to those who trust Him, are preferable to the treatment of doctors.”⁶⁰⁴ Women shared their remedies and many recipes appeared on the pages of *The Woman’s Exponent*. To treat burns and flesh wounds, one remedy instructed the homemaker to melt together 2 quarts of raw linseed oil, 3 pounds of good fresh resin, and 3 pounds of beeswax.⁶⁰⁵ In 1882, the publication recommended “In every house there should be a little nook in which a few simple remedies are kept. Among them should be extract of ginger, Dover’s powder, peppermint, chlorate of potash, bicarbonate of soda, sweet oil, paregoric, camphor, arnica, a bottle of pure whisky, cotton, old muslin for bandages, some sticking plaster, a box of ground muster and some ready-made plasters.”⁶⁰⁶ A common home treatment for colds and sore throats was a mustard plaster made from dry mustard mixed with lard and applied to the throat or chest, then covered with a piece of warmed flannel.⁶⁰⁷ Coughs could be treated with a syrup made from onions: “The onions were sliced, places in a pan, and covered with honey. They then were baked in an oven at 200 degrees until very clear. The mixture was then strained, with the onions being pushed against the strainer to remove any

⁶⁰³ M. M. Groo, “R.S. Reports,” *The Woman’s Exponent* 2, no. 4 (1873): 26.

⁶⁰⁴ Mrs. L. Green Richards, “R.S. Reports,” *The Woman’s Exponent* 2, no. 4 (1873): 27.

⁶⁰⁵ “Household Hints,” *The Woman’s Exponent* 2, no. 20 (1874): 158.

⁶⁰⁶ “The Family Doctor-Shop,” *The Woman’s Exponent* 10, no. 21 (1882): 168.

⁶⁰⁷ Marla Rawlings, *Favorite Utah Pioneer Recipes* (Bountiful, UT: Horizon Publishers, 2000), 124. An Alberta version of the mustard plaster: “Trim the crust from a thin slice of light bread then sprinkle it thickly with ground mustard. Spread a thin cloth over the mustard and dampen with vinegar or water,” see “Health Hints,” *Raymond Rustler*, January 7, 1910, 2.

leftover juices from the onion. The syrup was then placed in a bottle and taken as needed for coughs.”⁶⁰⁸

Folk medicine went hand-in-hand with settlers and pioneering. The LDS brought traditional medicine and herbalism with them from their homeland (Utah), but settlers already practiced herbalism in the North-West Territories.⁶⁰⁹ Alberta historian Anne Woywitka wrote, “In the first days of homesteading in Alberta, the settlers had no choice but to depend on themselves in tending their sick...Not only was there a lack of money to pay the doctor but distance and mode of travel often kept the sick at home.”⁶¹⁰ Sociologist Sandra Rollings-Magnusson agreed that “Self-help and home remedies that had been passed down in families from generation to generation were the sole, or at least the most important, aspects of medical care available.”⁶¹¹ The Cardston newspaper published home remedies for ringworms and irritable stomach in its 17 September 1898 edition. To cure an irritable stomach, the article suggested mixing a slightly sweetened, well-beaten egg white with a few drops of vanilla and serving to the patient.⁶¹²

Midwife Zina D.H. Young (1821-1901) most likely passed down her medicinal recipes to her daughter, Alberta resident Zina Card (1850-1931). For example, Young’s treatment for rheumatism was 1 ounce of each – ether, spirits turpentine, ammonia, and spirits camphor –

⁶⁰⁸ Rawlings, *Favorite Utah Pioneer Recipes*, 124. For a near identical recipe see, “Home Cures,” *Magrath Pioneer*, June 2, 1908, 7. A different home remedy, without onions, for cough was “One-half ounce of camphor, one-half ounce of lobelia, one ounce of paregoric. Dose. Fifteen drops three or four times a day,” see “Home Cures,” *Magrath Pioneer*, March 15, 1910, 3. In addition to onions, vinegar was another staple for home remedies. One tablespoon cured stomach ache, diarrhea, food poisoning and heartburn. Rubbed on the skin it soothed sore muscles, sunburns, insect bites, and hives. Rawlings, *Favorite Utah Pioneer Recipes*, 125.

⁶⁰⁹ Austin Fife, “Pioneer Mormon Remedies,” *Western Folklore* 16, no. 3 (1957): 153-161.

⁶¹⁰ Anne Woywitka, “Pioneers in Sickness and in Health,” *Alberta History* 49, no. 1 (2001): 16.

⁶¹¹ Sandra Rollings-Magnusson, “Flax Seed, Goose Grease, and Gun Power: Medical Practices by Women Homesteaders in Saskatchewan (1882-1914),” *Journal of Family History* 33, no. 4 (2008): 391.

⁶¹² “Simple Salve,” *Cardston Record*, September 17, 1898, 3.

blended with 4 ounces consecrated oil.⁶¹³ Mormon women in Alberta relied on similar, if not identical, recipes. "In the home the mother did most of the nursing, out of sheer necessity and used many home remedies such as wild peppermint tea, a salve made of a drop of carbolic acid in olive oil, egg membrane for covering scalds and burns, spice and bread poultices, pepper and mustard teas...they made special efforts to stock up on those delightful and delicious items, epsom salts, castor oil and good old cod liver oil extracted from over ripe cod livers."⁶¹⁴ Rojanea Bingham (1917-2011) remembered her mother Dora Jacobs (1880-1953) as "a wonderful nurse. In the summer months she would gather herbs from the banks of the creek and dry them in the sun. They were stored in cans, and when the need for them arose, she steeped them and we were given the natural herb tea, rather than a patent medicine from the drug store."⁶¹⁵

During a dinner party in the home of Zebulon Jacobs (1877-1945), Orson Rega Card (1891-1984) told the guests of the time he had worms as a child: "One medicine which was administered to me at the time that I had worms, and which by the way was very difficult to take, was one of hair and honey. My hair was clipped close to my head, cut in fine threads, and mixed with honey, and then I was told to eat it like a nice little man...the theory was that the hair was supposed to puncture the worms."⁶¹⁶ Rega's older brother Joseph Card (1885-1956) remembered an old antidote for whooping cough he administered to Rega one summer. Joseph dressed Rega in red flannels, felt shoes, and a wool night cap on a hot summer day and fed him maple syrup while he proceeded to sweat out the sickness.⁶¹⁷ At the same dinner party, Nellie Eva Taylor

⁶¹³ Zina D. Young, diary, November 1880 – July 1892, microfilm, Zina Card Brown family collection, 1806-1972, Church History Library.

⁶¹⁴ Magrath and District History Association, *Irrigation Builders*, 365.

⁶¹⁵ Rojanea Jacobs Bingham, family history, ca. 1970, photocopy of typescript, Rojanea J. Bingham History of Dora Hinman Jacobs, circa 1970, Church History Library.

⁶¹⁶ *Lethbridge Herald*, July 13, 1937.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*

(1869-1945) recalled the time her daughter Nellie Taylor (1891-1961) had pneumonia as a baby and received a cure from an Aboriginal woman who “steep[ed] some herbs on the stove...offered a prayer to the Great Spirit [and] left her instructions, with regards to the administering of the herbs.”⁶¹⁸ The following afternoon, Nellie’s health improved.

In a 1905 meeting, the Cardston Ward Relief Society secretary noted three herbalists in their community: Christina Nielsen (1868-1965), Mary Woolf (1877-1955), and Maria Thomas (1839-1907).⁶¹⁹ At the same meeting, Christina Nielsen spoke about the use of herbs in preference to patent medicine, and the common herbs, their values, use, and how to use them. One lesson Nielsen might have taught was the use of celery tops and roots to make tea for the treatment of nervousness, or the use of nutmeg combined with lard and spread over the lungs to treat cold on the lungs.⁶²⁰ A poultice of witch hazel, which could be used for chilblains, could also have been shared by one of the Relief Society members. They might have instructed “In a small saucepan put a square, folded flannel cloth. Pour over this enough witch hazel to thoroughly moisten it. Heat and place the flannel cloth over the pain. Cover with dry flannel, and pin a towel over it to keep it in place.”⁶²¹ Nielsen could also have recommended using red pepper to treat neuralgia by applying a wet cloth with red pepper over top to the area of pain.⁶²²

⁶¹⁸ Ibid.

⁶¹⁹ Relief Society minutes, 20 April 1905, Cardston Ward Relief Society Minutes, 1887-1911, Church History Library.

⁶²⁰ “The Home Doctor,” *Magrath Pioneer*, May 29, 1907, 2; “Home Cures,” *Magrath Pioneer*, May 26, 1908, 3. The 1907 article also suggested applying goose oil to loosen stiff joints; rubbing olive oil and quinine on the back and chest to prevent cold settling on lungs; and wetting a cold sore with camphor and covering it with powdered subnitrate of bismuth. An article in September 1908 explained a remedy for burns: “Saturate a wad of cotton with ammonia and pat the burn with it. Keep doing this until the fire is all drawn out, which will be in ten or fifteen minutes.” See “The Home Doctor,” *Magrath Pioneer*, September 15, 1908, 6.

⁶²¹ “The Home Doctor,” *Taber Free Press*, March 26, 1908, 2. A cure for detaching fishbones caught in the throat was to swallow a raw egg, see “Health and Beauty Hints,” *Taber Free Press*, April 23, 1908, 7. To treat a cavity in a tooth, one must “saturate a small piece of absorbent cotton in oil of cloves, tincture of myrrh or laudanum and place in the cavity,” see “Health and Beauty Hints,” *Taber Free Press*, April 23, 1908, 7.

⁶²² “Health Hints,” *Raymond Rustler*, March 19, 1909, 7.

At a meeting of the Cardston First Ward Relief Society in 1912, the secretary recorded natural cures for burns: “Olive oil, soda, raw onions...flour, lime, linseed oil, the skin of a cat.”⁶²³ Alternatively, one might have used the recipe for a parsley salve published in the *Magrath Pioneer* to treat a burn: “Put into a saucepan a cupful of lard and a great handful of chopped parsley. Let them simmer together until the parsley is thoroughly cooked—say for twenty-minutes after the simmer begins; strain through coarse cheesecloth and let it cool.”⁶²⁴

Latter-day Saints used home remedies for more than mild injuries and common colds. During the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919, Rachel Forsyth (1890-1986) remembered “Brother Harris” mixing ground onions and salt in a flour paste and wrapping it in gauze against the chest and back of the sufferer. In addition to this poultice, Harris made his patients drink water until they threw up and then repeated the process. Forsyth claimed no one died that followed this treatment.⁶²⁵ The Brother Harris that Forsyth mentioned was probably Thomas William Harris (1868-1941) who moved his family to Raymond in 1904 and moved to Taber between 1916 and 1921. In the history of Barnwell, Harris was remembered for his home remedies and famous onion poultices during the flu epidemic.⁶²⁶

In 1928, Minnie Van Orman (1870-1940), wife of Ransom Van Orman (1867-1933) the Chief of Police in Raymond, nursed Jolayne Hill (1920-2007) during a bout of pneumonia. Hill wrote, “I remember thinking that if they would just give me a blessing that I would be okay. Well, they did give me a blessing, but it took a long time to work, and I was sick for a really long

⁶²³ Relief Society minutes, 1 February 1912, Cardston 1st Ward Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1909-1973, Church History Library.

⁶²⁴ “The Mother’s Exchange,” *Magrath Pioneer*, January 25, 1911, 7.

⁶²⁵ Rachel Ackroyd Forsyth History, Magrath Museum.

⁶²⁶ Barnwell Relief Society, *Barnwell History*, 25.

time. They used flaxseed poultices and Thermafuge and mustard plasters."⁶²⁷ The medicine cabinet of the Latter-day Saint home-maker in the 1930s still contained many ingredients for home cures, such as Tincture of iodine (a disinfectant for cuts and wounds), Castor oil, Milk of Magnesia, Aromatic Cascara, Aromatic spirits of ammonia, syrup of ipecac, sweet spirits of Nitre, lime water, and olive oil (consecrated and intended for religious rites).⁶²⁸

Midwives combined their knowledge of women's health with natural remedies. Zina D. H. Young, mother of Zina Card and mother-in-law of Charles Ora Card, studied with the 1849 nursing class taught by Dr. Willard Richards.⁶²⁹ Her training as a nurse and midwife continued, and in the 1870s she studied obstetrics under Dr. Mary Barker, a physician visiting Utah. Zina D. H. Young recorded many of her home remedies and treatments, especially of women's health issues, in her personal notebooks. For example, regarding a miscarriage, Young wrote, "In case of abortion and the afterbirth cannot come, give injections of milk and water, or little sliperealm [slippery elm]. Remove the abstractions if possible. If so weak that faintness [, give] lobelin [lobeline]."⁶³⁰ In her notes, Young explained how to revive an unconscious newborn, how to stop excess bleeding, how to promote warm milk, and how to make various cures for typhoid, pneumonia, worms, and canker sores. Young and her daughter were very close so it would be surprising if Zina Card did not know at least a few of these remedies when she moved to Canada. According to Charles Ora Card, his wife delivered the first child born in their new colony on Lee's Creek to John and Mary Woolf on 17 December 1887.⁶³¹ Many women that moved to the

⁶²⁷ Jolayne Hill, 1928, "Nursed Back to Health," *A Planting of the Lord*, 391.

⁶²⁸ "Health and Home Nursing: Medicine Cabinet," *The Relief Society Magazine* 22, no. 1 (1935): 66-67.

⁶²⁹ "Ye Ancient and Honorable Order of Midwifery," *The Relief Society Magazine* 2, no. 8 (1915): 347.

⁶³⁰ Zina D. Young, diary, November 1880 – July 1892, microfilm, Zina Card Brown family collection, 1806-1972, Church History Library. She also recommended grated birthroot (a uterine stimulant) for miscarriage.

⁶³¹ 17 December 1887, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

North-West Territories were midwives and practical nurses who offered their services to neighbours and friends. "In the isolated Mormon settlements, the midwife was an obstetrician, surgeon, dentist and a homebrewed folk heroine."⁶³² Writer Chris Rigby-Arrington described Mormon midwifery as the "paradoxical milieu of mystical beliefs, folklore, natural remedies, and faith in divine intervention."⁶³³ Mormon women combined midwifery, folk medicine, and faith healing.

Writing for *Cardston News*, Vernon Shaw (1872-1960) remembered when the closest doctor lived in Macleod and one of Cardston's first midwives was Elizabeth Hammer (1857-1919) who handled all calls for medical assistance "with prompt response, with no thought of remuneration except the gratitude of those she helped."⁶³⁴ Hammer arrived in the District of Alberta with some of the earliest Mormon settlers in 1887, but she soon returned to Utah and completed an eight-month course in obstetrics.⁶³⁵ By the spring of 1888, Hammer was back in Cardston, a trained midwife. A similar chain of events occurred in the life of Ella Nelson (1859-1941). She came to Cardston in 1890, returned to Utah to study nursing in 1891, and practiced obstetrics in the District of Alberta from 1892. At her funeral, Nellie Pitcher (1877-1950) said, "President C. O. Card [called Ella] to go to Utah to study nursing under Dr. Shipp. At that time the nearest doctor was at Lethbridge, over 50 miles away, with no telegraphs or telephone, no automobiles and almost no roads...She learned the art of obstetrics and faithfully answered every call from 1892 to the time when the district was supplied with medical men, and after that time when there was more work than one doctor could do, she was often called to assist."⁶³⁶ For her

⁶³² Arrington, "Pioneer Midwives," 47.

⁶³³ Ibid.

⁶³⁴ Vernon Shaw, "Our Letter Box," *Cardston News*, May 18, 1937, 4.

⁶³⁵ Bectell, *Chief Mountain Country*, vol. 2, 12.

⁶³⁶ "Ella Elizabeth Nelson Laid to Rest," *Cardston News*, November 11, 1941, 5.

services, Nelson charged \$5.00 for a delivery and \$1.00 per day for nursing care, usually spending at least 10 days caring for the mother and baby.⁶³⁷ Daniel Greene (1858-1921) recorded in his diary that he spent over two hours searching for Nelson on 16 November 1898 to come assist his wife Adeline, and that night Nelson delivered his daughter Sarah Greene (1898-1973).⁶³⁸ In the story of Ella Nelson's life, Dorothy Merrill wrote, "She not only helped women who gave birth to babies, but she learned to cope with the various diseases; small pox, typhoid fever; and the diseases common to that time. She had a home remedy for everything."⁶³⁹ She claimed Nelson's only tools were a pair of scissors, a string cord, a bottle of Lysol or iodine, and a small bottle of chloroform.⁶⁴⁰ But Nelson herself admitted to another item she regularly relied on—faith. Nelson shared "many experiences of how she felt hands stronger than her own helping to turn babies and aiding her in difficult deliveries."⁶⁴¹ She said, "Whenever I had a difficult case beyond my skill I simply told the Lord I could do no more and he must help me and he never failed me, not once."⁶⁴²

Nearby in areas around Aetna and Kimball, doctors and nurses were even scarcer and people remembered "that health care consisted of home remedies, folk medicine, faith, prayer and Priesthood blessings."⁶⁴³ Observing the need for health care, Bishop Richard Pilling (1833-1906) asked midwife Eva Hansen (1869-1950) to train the Relief Society sisters in midwifery. One of these women was Annie Jensen (1873-1966) of Aetna. Later, Jensen went to Cardston

⁶³⁷ Dorothy Jean Merrill, "A History of Ella Elizabeth Thomas Nelson," contributed by Dorothy Jean Merrill on January 15, 2015, <https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/12705480>.

⁶³⁸ Daniel Kent Greene, diary, 16 November 1898, microfilm, Daniel K. Greene Collection, 1855-1981, Church History Library.

⁶³⁹ Merrill, "A History of Ella Elizabeth Thomas Nelson."

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid.

⁶⁴² Ibid.

⁶⁴³ Alice Ruth Hicken, "Health Care and Midwifery," in *Range 25 Country Aetna and Kimball Areas*, ed. Kelvin Jensen and Avon Jensen (2005), no page number.

and studied and worked with Elizabeth Hammer. She also trained under Dr. Brant, one of the first doctors to set up an office in Cardston. In "Health Care and Midwifery," Hicken wrote that Dr. Brant "would ask Annie to travel with him to administer to the sick, as she always brought a suitcase of supplies, such as fresh clean apron, bandages, towels, baby clothes, blankets, a nightgown for the mother and a kit of medical supplies." Jensen gained even more medical experience by assisting Dr. Mulloy, the doctor of Cardston, during the Influenza epidemic of 1918-1919.⁶⁴⁴

To the east of Cardston, in Magrath, some of the first midwives were Mary Edwards (1864-1943), Dora Dudley (1863-1937), and Eleanor Spencer (1869-1960).⁶⁴⁵ Similarly, Sarah Ella Milner (1857-1943) cared for the sick in the newly settled town of Raymond, which she and her family came to in 1903. At her funeral in 1943, President Heber F. Allen (1894-1968) said, "In the days when doctors were scarce and nurses fewer, the deceased spent much of her time ministering to the sick, where she displayed a rare skill and understanding in easing pain and distress."⁶⁴⁶ He continued,

As Florence Nightingale administered so tirelessly to the sick and needy in the Crimea, so Sister Milner has administered to the sick and needy of this community as many of the people in this audience can testify. She had a special gift in her Patriarchal Blessing which promised her that she would have power in the sick room. This gift was manifest to such an extent that a number of women in this town can testify that it was almost magical...Stories are told of how she and the doctor traveled in a raging blizzard over miles of prairie to some little hut...she enumerated about 65 babies at whose birth she had officiated and whom she had washed and

⁶⁴⁴ Alice Ruth Hicken, "Health Care and Midwifery." Also see Shaw, *Chief Mountain Country*, 355. Early midwives of the Magrath region were Mary Edwards, Mrs. Dora Dudley, and Mrs. Eleanor Spencer. See Walter E. Brown, "Magrath Hospitals," in *Irrigation Builders*, 363.

⁶⁴⁵ Walter E. Brown, "Magrath Hospitals," 363.

⁶⁴⁶ "Funeral Services For Mrs. Ella Milner," *Raymond Recorder*, June 4, 1943, 1.

dressed for the first time...And what was more still remarkable, she had the blessing of faith in connection with the healing of the sick.⁶⁴⁷

Hannah Gibb (1855-1941) was born in England, immigrated to the United States in the 1850s, married to polygamist John Lye Gibb (1848-1920), and settled in Raymond, Alberta. In her autobiography, Gibb stated,

I was both doctor and nurse until Dr. Rivers came, and then we were both busy. I have brought hundreds of babies into the world and nursed them and their mothers for ten days, \$5.00 a case. I never lost a case... When I moved to Hill Spring I was doctor and nurse there also. Later I went to Cardston to live. I have had sixty living grandchildren and was doctor and nurse for fifty seven of them.⁶⁴⁸

When we read Gibb's Patriarchal Blessing from John A. Woolf on 9 September 1902, it is clear that Gibb was destined to heal her friends and family: "Thou shalt have faith to heal the sick and to rebuke the adversary and to be a comfort and a blessing to thousands for your labors are great..."⁵⁷ But soon Gibb was no longer the sole health care provider for Raymond. Also originally from England, midwife Betsy Hall Dearden (1872- 1944) arrived in Raymond in 1910 with her daughters Ellen and Lizzie; there she earned the reputation of an "unselfish spirit in answering every distress call regardless of time, weather and other circumstances."⁶⁴⁹

After her husband died, Ellen Bryner (1872-1957) and her four children moved to Raymond where she opened the town's first maternity home around 1912. She had no medical

⁶⁴⁷ Archibald F. Bennett, Ella M. Bennett, and Barbara Bennett Roach, *Valiant in the Faith: Gardner and Sarah Snow and Their Family* (Murray, UT: Roylance Publishing, 1990), 195-196, Raymond Museum and Historical Society, Raymond, Alberta.

⁶⁴⁸ Hannah Simmons Gibb, *Poems & Autobiography of Hannah Simmons Gibb 1855-1941* (Ogden, UT: Family Printer Bruce & Clarabelle Gibb, 1982), 13, Raymond Museum and Historical Society, Raymond, Alberta. Also see, Norma Smith and Raymond & District Historical Society, *Our Town, Raymond's Firsts* (Raymond: Raymond & District Historical Society, 2001), 35.

⁶⁴⁹ Betsy Hall Deardon, Raymond Museum and Historical Society, Raymond, Alberta. Paul Hardison Redd, oral history, interviewed by Charles Ursenbach, Raymond, Alberta, 1974, transcript, Church History Library.

experience or training, but became persuaded to do “practical nursing” out of her home.⁶⁵⁰

Raymond did not have a hospital so Bryner’s home became not only a maternity ward but also a place for doctors to perform surgery. Bryner’s maternity home closed in the mid-1920s, but other midwives, such as Hannah Gibb and Matilda Boyson, opened new homes for expecting mothers.⁶⁵¹

In the 19th century and early 20th century, female Latter-day Saints performed an adaptation of the temple ordinance of washing and anointing on pregnant women prior to childbirth and in the privacy of the individual’s home. Unlike the temple ritual, the women emphasized body parts crucial to a successful delivery, such as the spinal column, hips, and breasts.⁶⁵² They also emphasized a safe delivery, healthy baby, and healthy mother. A Relief Society member of the Calgary ward summarized the ritual:

In this ordinance two sisters washed the parts of the body, pronouncing appropriate words or prayer and blessing, being advised to avoid similarity to expressions used in a temple ordinance, and at the conclusion put their hands on the head of the recipient and, in the name of the Lord pronounced a further blessing.⁶⁵³

Female Latter-day Saints were more than midwives and nurses, but their role as healer and the female presence in the domain of health care began to change. Joseph Y. Card recorded in his diary that he and President Wood administered to Sister S. Ibey May before childbirth, now performing the ritual previously reserved for women.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵⁰ John C. Bryner and Ulrich Bryner, “Ellen Redd Bryner,” Raymond Museum and Historical Society, Raymond, Alberta.

⁶⁵¹ John Orvin Hicken, *Raymond, 1910-1967* (Raymond: Raymond Chamber of Commerce, 1967), 183.

⁶⁵² Linda King Newell, “A Gift Given: A Gift Taken: Washing, Anointing, and Blessing the Sick Among Mormon Women,” *Sunstone* 22, 3-4 (June 1999): 37.

⁶⁵³ Lucile H. Ursenbach, statement, 14 August 1980, in possession of Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and quoted by Newell, “A Gift Given,” 38.

⁶⁵⁴ 26 April 1923, MSS 1522, LTPSC.

For the LDS at this time and in this place, health care almost always coincided with spiritual gifts. Mormons relied on faith healing – what they specifically referred to as laying-on of hands and administering to the sick. The contemporary church dictated that only Melchizedek Priesthood bearers exercised the gift of healing, but that was not always the case.⁶⁵⁵ Women cannot hold the Melchizedek Priesthood and therefore cannot technically administer to the sick in the same way as male Church members. However, according to historical records, both male and female members received gifts of healing.

Hannah Russell (1858-1944), a midwife called to Stirling, Canada with her husband Adam Russell in 1899, delivered many babies with both skill and faith. A typical birth for Russell was recorded in Millie Peterson’s (1878-1965) diary on 6 April 1912. Peterson wrote, “Reed was born today. Toney [her husband Antone] went to Taber for Mrs. Hannah Russell, the midwife, with old Babe, our work-horse, and buggy. He made the trip in one hour and twenty minutes.”⁶⁵⁶ Sharing a miracle of healing with her granddaughter Beth Russell Walker, Hannah wrote,

I remember one time your daddy took suddenly very sick. I was so worried. I asked him if he wanted to be administered to him. He was so sick he couldn’t raise his head. He just whispered, “yes.” I knelt down by his bed and prayed and asked Heavenly Father to help me that what I did might be the right thing that would make him better. Where there isn’t any Elders close, a woman may administer in the name of Jesus. I always kept a bottle of consecrated oil in my house and taught my children that it was the best medicine that could be given. So I got the oil and administered to him with

⁶⁵⁵ Nephi K. Kezerian, “Sick, Blessing the,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1308.

⁶⁵⁶ Millie Peterson, diary, 6 April 1912, Aunt Millie’s Diary (Clippings), *Barnwell History*, compiled by Barnwell Relief Society, 115.

all faith the Lord would make him better. I hardly had my hands from his head till he opened his eyes and wanted to get up.⁶⁵⁷

Russell always asked for guidance from her Heavenly Father before attending to the sick.⁶⁵⁸

According to historian Claudia Bushman, "The women of the early Church were as involved in spiritual experiences as men. The spirit did not come through priesthood leaders alone...women tended to be more receptive to the spirit. They were particularly blessed in the 'woman's sphere': their children were healed, their husbands blessed, their families provided for."⁶⁵⁹ First Counselor in the First Presidency to Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball (1801-1868) argued that women "might administer by the authority given to their husbands in as much as they were one with their husband."⁶⁶⁰ There are numerous accounts of both male and female Church members administering to the sick, all relied on faith when healing one of their community.

According to her granddaughter Dorothy Merrill, Ella Nelson "never delivered a child without having personal and special prayer with the family first... She had a home remedy for everything. The only antibiotic she had was a bottle of iodine but she was very wise in the things she would tell them to do. When she was asked what she attributed to her success she replied, "I was called by the Lord to do his work and when I had done all that I could I left the rest up to him and he never let me down."⁶⁶¹ Another LDS midwife in southern Alberta Sarah Kinsman (1857-1943) was reported to have "great faith in the healing of the sick...great faith in prayer

⁶⁵⁷ Hannah Marie Child Russell, letter to granddaughter Beth, 10 February 1934, in *Roots and Wings*, compiled by Luann De Hart Gray (Boise, ID: L.D.H. Gray, 2000), 206-207.

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 208.

⁶⁵⁹ Bushman, "Mystics and Healers," 2.

⁶⁶⁰ Mary Ellen Kimball, journal, 2 March 1856, Church History Library, as cited in Newell, "A Gift Given."

⁶⁶¹ Dorothy Jean Merrill, "A History of Ella Elizabeth Thomas Nelson," contributed by Dorothy Jean Merrill on January 15, 2015, <https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/12705480>.

and in the power of God to alleviate suffering and save lives of mothers and babes.”⁶⁶²

Summarizing her mother Annie Baker’s (1858-1933) gifts, Alice Kraft (1897-1990) wrote that Baker’s “healing hands were a gift of God and so she regarded them, ever praying for the physical stamina to meet the needs of the people she was called to serve.”⁶⁶³ Like his mother, Thomas Rowell Leavitt II (1862-1939) claimed he was blessed with the gift of healing – neighbours “called at all hours of the day and night to help administer to sick, and sit beside a sick bed where death hovered near...Through the power of the priesthood, the sick have been healed almost instantly.”⁶⁶⁴ Rojanea Bingham (1917-2011) remembered her mother Dora Jacob (1880-1953) “would rub the afflicted part with consecrated oil and pray that we would regain our wanted health and strength.”⁶⁶⁵ Similarly, Mary Emmerine Leavitt (1865-1932) claimed that she healed daughter Mable’s (1903-1997) toothache with a prayer.⁶⁶⁶ Around 1916, Allie Jensen’s (1871-1944) daughter Cleo (1904-1981) suffered from a goiter next to her jugular vein and doctors said it was too dangerous to operate, so the two women “prayed for healing power and Allie rubbed Cleo’s throat with consecrated olive oil many times the next few weeks. She was cured.”⁶⁶⁷

Not all healings occurred in the privacy of the home. On 10 June 1902, the Aetna Ward Relief Society gathered together to offer support and comfort to the Pilling family because

⁶⁶² Bennett, Bennett, and Road, *Valiant in the Faith*, 194.

⁶⁶³ Leavitt Family Organization, *The Life of Thomas Rowell Leavitt and His Descendants* (Lethbridge, Alberta: The Herald Printers, 1975), 51.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁶⁶⁵ Rojanea Jacobs Bingham, family history, ca. 1970, photocopy of typescript, Rojanea J. Bingham History of Dora Hinman Jacobs, circa 1970, Church History Library.

⁶⁶⁶ Leavitt Family Organization, *Thomas Rowell Leavitt*, 190.

⁶⁶⁷ Cleo Ririe, “My Mother, Allie Jensen – Nurse, Spiritual Advisor & Confident,” in *Stories of Allie Zittella Rogers* (Magrath, AB: s.n., 2005). Cleo’s father Christian Jensen (1868-1958) was alive and able to administer to her, but she only mentions her mother’s healing gift.

Richard Pilling (1833-1906) was unable to speak as a result of a stroke. In the minute book, the secretary recorded, “At the suggestion of Pres[ident] Eva Hansen all gathered around Bro[ther] P[illing] and she was mouth [the one who speaks] in blessing him.”⁶⁶⁸ Eva Hansen administered to the ailing patriarch in front of the entire congregation. Over in Raymond that July “Sister Alice Jones was administered to for her hearing. She was anointed by Coun[selor] Hicks. Elder G.H. Bud was mouth in sealing the anointing.”⁶⁶⁹

Similarly, in 1904, the Cardston Ward Relief Society blessed Mary Triplett’s (1867-1941) baby, most likely Agnes Triplett (1903-1904), to heal her of hoarseness and cough.⁶⁷⁰ Alternatively, they might have followed the home cure for hoarseness printed in *The Woman’s Exponent* that said to combine a beaten egg white, juice of one lemon, and sugar, and then take a teaspoonful.⁶⁷¹ At the 19 September 1916 meeting of the Beazer Ward Relief Society members fasted for the health of “Sister Prince,” probably Sarah Ellen Wright Prince (1872-1948), Fannie Peterson read a piece on healing, members gave their testimonies, and all agreed on the power of prayer in healing the sick.⁶⁷²

Even when orthodox medicine, clinics, hospitals, and physicians were available, faith healing continued in the Mormon communities, but with the obvious absence of women healers.

⁶⁶⁸ Relief Society minutes, 10 July 1902, Aetna Ward Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1901-1971, Church History Library.

⁶⁶⁹ Sacrament Meeting minutes, 6 July 1902, Raymond Ward General Minutes, 1901-1911, Church History Library.

⁶⁷⁰ Relief Society minutes, 22 April 1904, Cardston Ward Relief Society Minutes, 1887-1911, Church History Library.

⁶⁷¹ “Hygienic Notes,” *The Woman’s Exponent* 5, no. 2 (1876): 10.

⁶⁷² Relief Society minutes, 19 September 1916, Beazer Ward Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1901-1969, Church History Library. During this period, men also administered to the sick. “Papa administered to me so many times and he having a slight trembling in his hands giving a special feeling as he laid his hands on my head.” See Natrona Hall, “My Personal History,” Raymond Museum and Historical Society, Raymond, Alberta. Also see Leavitt Family Organization, *Thomas Rowell Leavitt*, 129 and 490. Fauntella Russell Peterson, oral history, interviewed by Margaret E. Young, Lethbridge, Alberta, 21 June 1983, transcript, Lethbridge Alberta East Stake oral history program, Church History Library. Blaine L. Hudson, oral history, interviewed by Charles Ursenbach, Alberta, 1973, transcript, Church History Library.

In her diary during the month of October in 1910, Cynthia Wight (1860-1943) recorded the illness of her two sons Charles Ora (1904-1978) and Francis (1899-1947) and demonstrated how the LDS relied on both medical doctors and church leaders -- "Next day the Elders administered to [Charles Ora] and for days thereafter. Dr. Lynn said he had bronchitis in one lung, pneumonia in the other... Francis took sick... tuberculosis, incurable... We depended wholly on the Lord. Pres. E.J. Wood asked the high priests to fast and pray for him, which they did, holding Prayer circle for him. They also gave me a blessing. Francis steadily improved."⁶⁷³ Remembering the passing of his father Joseph Wight (1844-1914), David Osborn Wight (1891-1965) said, "During all his sickness, he always relied entirely upon the Elders and their administrations. Many time I have seen immediate effects from these administrations, and never once but that he said he had been helped."⁶⁷⁴ Joseph died on 22 October 1914 and the Latter-day Saints must have known the risks with relying solely on administrations from priesthood holders. In the 1920s, five doctors at the Galt Hospital in Lethbridge told Ida Fossey (1898-1989) she would not live through the night, so her husband called Bishop Levi Harker and he administered to her and she lived many more years.⁶⁷⁵ Beth Johnson (1908-2002) remembered her time in the hospital when she suffered from back injuries and received a visit from John Green, who was known for his gift of healing. Thinking of this hospital stay in the 1930s, Johnson recalled, "He laid his hands upon my head and started to talk to the Lord. In a few seconds the pain was forgotten and I seemed to be off somewhere in space... I was quite without pain, and my mind was at rest... To me it was a

⁶⁷³ Cynthia Wight, diary, October 1910, Hans E. N. Wight fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta.

⁶⁷⁴ David Osborn, "An insert by David Osborn [1891-1965], Han's Brother, Written on October 24, 1914," Hans E. N. Wight fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

⁶⁷⁵ Charles W. Fossey, personal history, 4 May 1955, "Brief History," Magrath Museum.

manifestation of faith, the Power of the Priesthood and the goodness of the Lord.”⁶⁷⁶ In the 1940s, a young Blaine Hudson (1929-2014) came down with spinal meningitis and landed in the hospital. His father Eldred Hudson (1902-1975) and Smith Ackroyd (1887-1974) administered to him when he was in the hospital.⁶⁷⁷ When Marguritte Leavitt (1916-2006) became very ill after the birth of her son in 1941, her husband DeVere Leavitt (1913-2011) “used his Priesthood and called upon others to help to bless [Marguritte] many times, [her] health was restored.”⁶⁷⁸

World War I brought many crises to North America—one being the threat of “the new woman” and her challenges to “the family.” In the 1920s, argued historian Cynthia Comacchio,

Maternalism became the central strategy of a politics of regeneration that would uplift both family and nation. The connections between motherhood and a widely defined national 'health' were repeated, circulated, and politicized across the land, with important effects for developing social policy.⁶⁷⁹

Comacchio continued,

In the ideal modern family, fathers were ascribed very narrow role definitions that they themselves may well have found too limited... They remained the socially sanctioned heads of household and family, however, and were therefore not expected to comply with any infringement of their authority... While mothers were brought to the fore in the ideal modern family, and fathers were correspondingly relegated to accessory roles, a definite relocation of authority was taking place.⁶⁸⁰

Redefining male authority was one solution, and the LDS Church managed just that by removing rituals from the hands of its female members. Yorgason, investigating shifting moral orders

⁶⁷⁶ Beth Johnson, reminiscence, 1952, “Reminiscence,” Carol and Beth Johnson Fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta.

⁶⁷⁷ Hudson, oral history, Church History Library.

⁶⁷⁸ Leavitt Family Organization, *Thomas Rowell Leavitt*, 490.

⁶⁷⁹ Cynthia R. Comacchio, *The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 91.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 103-104.

relating to gender authority, explained, “Domestic self-sacrifice more completely dominated women’s roles. By 1920, LDS culture told women that motherhood and home duties not only should take top priority but also should, except for a few exceptional women, become virtually the only priority.”⁶⁸¹ Surprisingly, health care no longer qualified as a “home duty,” but, instead, became an institutionalized religious rite practiced only by men. While male Church leaders tried to define motherhood and home duties, LDS women in Canada stepped outside the family homes and organized together to better their communities.

4.4 Difference from Canadians: Separate Women’s Society

a. Relief Society Members

Adult women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are members of the Church’s auxiliary organization called Relief Society. Today the LDS Church defines the objective of this organization as follows: “Relief Society prepares women for the blessings of eternal life by helping them increase their faith and personal righteousness, strengthen families and homes, and help those in need. Relief Society accomplishes these purposes through Sunday gospel instruction, other Relief Society meetings, visiting teaching, and welfare and compassionate service.”⁶⁸² In the 19th century, at the time when some Church members moved into the North-West Territories, Relief Society members were responsible for the care of those suffering and needing assistance and the organization of economic self-sufficiency in the form of homemade products and grain storage.⁶⁸³ One of the first women to arrive on Lee’s Creek was Mary Woolf (1848-1915) and she became president of Lee’s Creek Relief Society in 1887.

⁶⁸¹ Yorgason, *Mormon Culture Region*, 71.

⁶⁸² “Relief Society,” Handbook 2: Administering the Church, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, accessed April 6, 2016, <https://www.lds.org/handbook/handbook-2-administering-the-church/relief-society?lang=eng>.

⁶⁸³ *Ibid.*

When the branch became the Alberta Mission, Woolf continued to serve as president and continued to lead when the Church organized the Alberta Stake in 1895. Some of the first members of this Canadian Relief Society were Zina Card (1850-1931), Sarah Layton (1859-1926), Rachel Gregson (1876-1936), Annie Layne (1849-1898), Dora Jacobs (1880-1953), and Annie Matkin (1883-1963). Latter-day Saints spread out from Cardston as more members arrived from Utah and established communities in the surrounding areas they called Mountain View, Beazer, Aetna, and Leavitt. All organized their own Relief Society that fell under the umbrella of the Alberta Stake.

In the first several years of settlement, Relief Society members repeatedly discussed motherhood, their children and husbands, and the challenges of their new home. At a Relief Society meeting in the home of Mary Woolf, Annie Layne “spoke of the necessity of Mothers controlling themselves and of the power Satan gained over us if we yield to our tempers and passions. [She] spoke of a dream she had on the way [to Cardston] of our blessings here, our freedom and how much better [it will be] for us and our husbands.”⁶⁸⁴ Another speaker at a Relief Society meeting in 1890 stated, “We as mothers have a responsible frontier to fill. We must guard against the evils that may creep in our midst.”⁶⁸⁵ These women looked to each other for ways to manage their families, especially the children, in this new environment. At the October Relief Society Conference in 1895, Sarah Daines (1841-1929) instructed the audience on rearing children and the necessity of teaching them strict obedience.⁶⁸⁶ The following year

⁶⁸⁴ Relief Society minutes, 2 February 1888, Cardston Ward Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1887-1911, Church History Library.

⁶⁸⁵ Relief Society minutes, 2 January 1890, Cardston Ward Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1887-1911, Church History Library.

⁶⁸⁶ Relief Society minutes, 5 October 1895, Cardston Alberta Stake Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1894-1973, Church History Library.

Sterling Williams asked Relief Society members “to look after their daughters, know where they are at night and with whom they associate.”⁶⁸⁷ LDS women decided the best defence against outside interference was patience with and education of their children, to raise pure, obedient Latter-day Saints.

The LDS in southern Alberta were geographically isolated, which helped them remain close-knit communities. On 4 August 1899 an Elder spoke to the Alberta Stake Relief Society and hoped that “this should be a select society separate from all the evils of the world, chaste, virtuous and holy.” The Elder asked the women to encourage the younger members to join Relief Society and not outside clubs because, he argued, “we cannot afford to lose our girls and these clubs will tend to draw them away.”⁶⁸⁸ The Alberta Relief Societies fulfilled this request for several decades and focused their efforts on their own people. One example of how LDS women cared for their fellow Church members was the practice of burial and funeral preparations. In her biographical sketch of her mother Mary Woolf, Jane Bates remembered that “Mothers,” or Relief Society members, were responsible for the preparation of bodies and sewing of clothing for burial.⁶⁸⁹ If the deceased was an endowed member, they were buried in temple clothing, but, if they were not endowed or the specific garments unavailable in Alberta, the women constructed white burial clothing. In the neighbouring Taylor Stake, the history of their Relief Society from 1902 to 1962 presented identical responsibilities. In the section about Sarah Mercer, who was president from 1912 to 1915, Sadie Taylor wrote that “if death came they made the clothes,

⁶⁸⁷ Relief Society minutes, 21 March 1896, Cardston Alberta Stake Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1894-1973, Church History Library.

⁶⁸⁸ Relief Society minutes, 4 August 1899, Cardston Alberta Stake Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1894-1973, Church History Library.

⁶⁸⁹ Jane E. Bates, biography, photocopy of typescript, “Biographical Sketch of Mary Lucretia Hyde Woolf,” Virginia F. Bates Layton Collection of Family Biographies, Church History Library.

trimmed the casket, laid out the dead and comforted the sorrowing.”⁶⁹⁰ Even by the 1920s, Relief Society women sat up all night, keeping ice water around the dead body to prevent decomposition before burial.⁶⁹¹ Tom Witbeck, contributor to a collection of stories about Raymond, Alberta, remembered his mother Dot Witbeck (1899-1989) making a casket for a stillborn baby out of a small wooden box that she had lined.⁶⁹² Nearby in Taber, Relief Society appointed a committee to complete the sewing and burial preparations. For example, in 1907 the Taber Relief Society called upon Sarah Layton (1859-1926), Sarah Lyons (1852-1928), and Lottie Stringham (1870-1917) to form this committee.⁶⁹³ Further north, in the town of Rosemary, Vera Wright (1905-1987), president of the Rosemary Relief Society, remembered that “one of the duties of the Relief Society was to take care of the dead. There was no mortuary closer than Calgary or Medicine Hat. It was our duty to dress the dead and get them ready for burial.”⁶⁹⁴ Ward histories and reports recorded the activities of each Relief Society. In 1930, the Taber Ward Relief Society of 87 members prepared nine bodies for burial that year.⁶⁹⁵ Six years later that society prepared five bodies.⁶⁹⁶ Even in larger city centres, such as Lethbridge, LDS Church Relief Societies assisted with burials and in 1922 the Lethbridge Ward prepared three bodies.⁶⁹⁷ Relief Society members helped during these times of mourning by not only preparing the body and sewing or acquiring appropriate garments, they also organized the funeral services and aided

⁶⁹⁰ “History of Taylor Stake Relief Society 1902-1962,” Taylor Stake Relief Society history, 1962, Church History Library.

⁶⁹¹ Ibid.

⁶⁹² Tom Witbeck, ca. 1950s, “A Tribute to My Mother,” *A Planting of the Lord*, 372.

⁶⁹³ 17 November 1907, Microfilm, “History of the [Taber] Relief Society up until the ward was divided,” Helen V. Orman Barton collection, circa 1906-1979, Church History Library. In the 1911 Canadian Census, Samuel Layton’s occupation was undertaker.

⁶⁹⁴ Lois Wright Alexander and Zelma Wright Romeril, *Our Wright Heritage: A Treasured Legacy* (Lethbridge, AB: Warwick Printing Co., 1996), 117.

⁶⁹⁵ 1930, Microfilm, “History of the [Taber] Relief Society up until the ward was divided,” Helen V. Orman Barton collection, circa 1906-1979, Church History Library.

⁶⁹⁶ 1936, Microfilm, “History of the [Taber] Relief Society up until the ward was divided,” Helen V. Orman Barton collection, circa 1906-1979, Church History Library.

⁶⁹⁷ MSS 3116, LTPSC.

the grieving family with household chores, meals, or childcare. The funeral service, celebrating the physical life and reminding members of the eternal spiritual life, occurred in the meetinghouse and a service in the cemetery followed to consecrate the grave.

Relief Society helped their fellow Latter-day Saints by fundraising and storing wheat. At an officers' meeting for the Stake in 1898, the women discussed the need for donations to the Relief Society Building fund in Salt Lake City. Relief Society President Mary Woolf urged them to subscribe to *The Woman's Exponent* and donate directly to the fund.⁶⁹⁸ In 1900, reporting at General Relief Society Conference in Salt Lake City, Zina Card instructed the sisters to build houses and granaries, if and when possible.⁶⁹⁹ Three years later, at the October Conference, Zina Card announced, "the sisters were doing the best they could in a new country; they had two granaries and are endeavoring to save some more grain this year."⁷⁰⁰ Beazer Ward Relief Society discussed storing wheat during a meeting on 4 February 1904.⁷⁰¹ Three years later, church leaders instructed the Mountain View ward Relief Society to store up grain too.⁷⁰² By this time the Relief Society in Taber was collecting funds to build a granary.⁷⁰³ In 1926, the same society contributed \$172.80 into the wheat fund at Church headquarters in Salt Lake City.⁷⁰⁴

⁶⁹⁸ 8 October 1898, Cardston Alberta Stake Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1894-1973, Church History Library.

⁶⁹⁹ Jane W. Bates, "Canada," *The Woman's Exponent* 29, no. 1 (June 1900): 5.

⁷⁰⁰ Annie Wells Cannon and E. B. Wells, "General Relief Society Conference," *The Woman's Exponent* 32, no. 5 (October 1903): 37.

⁷⁰¹ Relief Society minutes, 4 February 1904, Beazer Ward Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1901-1969, Church History Library.

⁷⁰² Relief Society minutes, 21 February 1907, Mountain View Ward Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1894-1973, Church History Library.

⁷⁰³ 1906, Microfilm, "History of the [Taber] Relief Society up until the ward was divided," Helen V. Orman Barton collection, circa 1906-1979, Church History Library.

⁷⁰⁴ 1926, Microfilm, "History of the [Taber] Relief Society up until the ward was divided," Helen V. Orman Barton collection, circa 1906-1979, Church History Library.

Membership in Relief Society remained a constant for LDS women, but, between 1908 and 1920, Joseph F. Smith implemented a reform that turned the Church's women's organizations into "auxiliaries" of the Priesthood.⁷⁰⁵ Communications expert Tina Hatch summarized, "In reaction to outside cultural forces that both demanded and gave women more authority and credibility, the LDS Church reacted by emphasizing men's authoritative role in both Church administration and home."⁷⁰⁶

b. Mothers and Wives

In *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*, historians Arrington and Bitton saw a "Renewed emphasis on the woman in the home [as] not only a restatement of a dominant American theme" but also the case for "worldwide applicability" of the Church.⁷⁰⁷ As Comacchio demonstrated, Canadians held a similar attitude and by the conclusion of the Second World War, Canadians "would reinstitute a version of the cult of domesticity that prevailed a century earlier, actually setting off a 'baby boom' in their renewed commitment to 'the family.'"⁷⁰⁸ Despite industrialization, world wars, and economic crisis, Canadians believed "that the best solution was adherence to a family model based on a gender-defined male-breadwinner ideal... the power relations governing the family dynamic remained essentially unchanged... Familial power relations – the internal subordination imposed by gender and age – likewise persisted."⁷⁰⁹ Cardston resident all her life Winnifred Newton Thomas (1911-2001) described her father, a general contractor and builder, Samuel Smith Newton (1858-1954) as "king of the

⁷⁰⁵ Tina Hatch, "Changing Times Bring Changing Conditions": Relief Society, 1960 to the Present," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 37, no. 3 (2004): 68.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁷⁰⁷ Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Knopf, 1979), 235.

⁷⁰⁸ Comacchio, *Infinite Bonds*, 148.

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 155.

castle. We loved and respected him.”⁷¹⁰ Her mother Amy Newton (1869-1963) “kept a good house, and she was always there. She never worked; she never went out of the home. We always knew that when we went home Mother was there.”⁷¹¹ J. Harris Walker (1912-1997), eldest child of Mary “Fannye” Walker (1887-1969), wrote, “Mom’s life centered around her family and helping Dad with his church jobs...Mom’s life was wrapped up with these positions.”⁷¹² The roles of mother and wife, like participation in Relief Society, remained a steady constant part of Church life. LDS women maintained some cultural authority by influencing their children and spouses with rituals of family prayer and family home evening.

Family prayer was not strictly a LDS ritual, nor was it a unique Canadian LDS practice, but kneeling at the table, the “family altar,” made it distinctly Mormon, and it was common for LDS families to engage in some sort of daily group prayer. Speaking to an audience at the annual conference in 1881, Joseph F. Smith said, “It [family prayer] is a duty, it is the word of the Lord to the Saints, that they should meet with their families morning and evening, and call upon God in His name...it is absolutely necessary that the Latter-day Saints should come together in the family capacity, and kneeling around the family altar, call upon God for His blessings morning and evening.”⁷¹³ According to Wilford Woodruff (1807-1898), Brigham Young confirmed that “the family altar was the same as an altar in the prayer circle. It is for parents and children to join hands over the altar and pray.”⁷¹⁴ However, to keep temple rituals well-defined and separated

⁷¹⁰ Winnifred Newton Thomas, oral history, interviewed by Jessie L. Embry, Cardston, Alberta, 22 and 23 July 1982, transcript, LDS Polygamy Oral History Project, LTPSC.

⁷¹¹ Ibid.

⁷¹² J. Harris Walker, biography, “Life History of Fannye Harris Walker,” contributed by LWolsey on April 13, 2017, <https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/35712448>.

⁷¹³ Joseph F. Smith, Discourse delivered at Logan, February 6, 1881, Reported by George F. Gibbs, “The Persecutions of the Ancient Saints—The Organization of the Church in Our Day—Necessity of Obedience to the Laws of the Gospel, Etc.,” *Journal of Discourse Volume 22* (Liverpool: Albert Carrington, 1882): 47.

⁷¹⁴ Wilford Woodruff, 25 April 1858, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal* (Salt Lake City: Kraut’s Pioneer Press, 1982), accessed February 16, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/WoodruffWilfordJournalSelections>.

from day-to-day activities, the family altar became more symbolic of rather than similar to the altars in the temple. Therefore, families gathered around other objects such as the dining table, coffee table, or kitchen table, which they happened to keep in the women's "sphere."

Reviewing family histories, many LDS associated prayer and faith in the family home with their mothers. Ralph Leavitt (1902-1989), whose family immigrated to Alberta in 1890, claimed "The first thing I can remember was kneeling with my mother [Mary Alice Leavitt (1866-1929)] night and morning for family prayer."⁷¹⁵ Similarly, in his autobiography, Cardston resident Frank H. Pitcher (1903-1989) offered a sentimental description of his mother: "[S]he [Nellie Hinman Pitcher (1877-1950)] always looked so well in a housedress, she prepared such good meals, she brought spirituality into our home. It was upon her suggestion that at breakfast the chairs were always turned around at the table and we knelt in family prayer before eating."⁷¹⁶ The Paxman family moved to Taber, Alberta, in 1903 and one of the sons Ezra Paxman (1893-1959) remembered,

My mother [plural wife of William Paxman (1835-1897) named Katherine Ann Love (1860-1931)] had unbounded faith in the Lord. Her missionary and pioneer experiences had taught her to pray often and with great faith. I remember the prayers we had together as a little group in our humble farm home, Mother would talk to the Lord so plain and natural like that I felt like looking up to see if He was there in the room.⁷¹⁷

⁷¹⁵ Leavitt Family Organization, *Thomas Rowell Leavitt*, 179

⁷¹⁶ Frank H. Pitcher, autobiography, ca. 1978, photocopy of manuscript, Frank H. Pitcher autobiography, circa 1978, Church History Library.

⁷¹⁷ Ezra Love Paxman, autobiographical account, ca. 1959, "The Life Story of Ezra Paxman," Ezra Love Paxman fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta.

Willard M. Brooks (1903-2005), whose family moved to Alberta in 1913, named his mother Hattie the “spiritual force in our family.”⁷¹⁸

Church authorities back in Salt Lake City announced an innovative practice that would help maintain “their heritage as a truly distinctive people with a unique message.”⁷¹⁹ On 27 April 1915, the First Presidency addressed a letter to the stake presidents, bishops, and parents concerning the family. Editors published this letter in the June issue of *The Improvement Era* for all to read: [W]e advise and urge the inauguration of a ‘Home Evening’ throughout the Church, at which time fathers and mothers may gather their boys and girls about them in the home and teach them the word of the Lord.⁷²⁰ This was the formal introduction of the Family Home Evening. Xarissa Merkley Clarke (1909-1986), daughter of Magrath, Alberta residents Alva and Jehzill Merkley, claimed that they practiced a regular family evening even before the Church officially mandated Family Home Evening.⁷²¹ Eva Dahl Salmon (1903-1995) reported the same occurrence in her family home in Raymond. They also had a weekly time where the family met in the home, even before the Church stressed the importance of such a practice.⁷²² Winnifred Newton Thomas (1911-2001), born in Cardston to Amy and Samuel Newton, in her 1982 oral history interview, reported, “Family home evening is something that was almost every night in our home. We had no radio; we had no T.V.; we had nothing else.”⁷²³ The tradition of family

⁷¹⁸ Willard Montgomery Brooks, oral history, interviewed by Charles Ursenbach, Cardston and Calgary, Alberta, 1974-1975, transcript, Church History Library.

⁷¹⁹ Mauss, *Angel and the Beehive*, x.

⁷²⁰ Smith, Lund, and Penrose, “Home Evening,” 733.

⁷²¹ Xarissa Merkley Clarke, oral history, interviewed by Marsha C. Martin, 4 December 1982, transcript, LDS Family Life Oral History Project, 1959-1984, LTPSC.

⁷²² Eva Dahl Salmon, oral history, interviewed by Margaret E. Young, Lethbridge, Alberta, 8 June 1983, Lethbridge Alberta East Stake oral history program, Church History Library.

⁷²³ Winnifred Newton Thomas, oral history, interviewed by Jessie L. Embry, Cardston, Alberta, 22 and 23 July 1982, transcript, LDS Polygamy Oral History Project, LTPSC.

home evening facilitated a weekly ritual within the domain of the mother, rather than under the bishop in the meetinghouse.

Later, Church manuals in the early 1960s presented a resistance to feminism and a re-emphasis on patriarchy.⁷²⁴ These particular values are often cited as “important distinguishing traits” of Latter-day Saints.⁷²⁵ Latter-day Saints were like their Canadian neighbours in some ways (emphasis on the family) and unique in others (family prayer and Family Home Evening). The patriarchal family became more and more a symbol of the LDS Church. In a published family history from the 1940s, the authors described the daughter of Ernest and Olive Graham Bennion, Deloise Bennion Hill (1906-1981), as “An efficient wife and mother, [who] has always kept her children well in hand, her home immaculate, and is a perfect hostess.”⁷²⁶ This characterization of Deloise coincided with an account of her church activities—the two consistent pillars of LDS women’s identity.

4.5 Integration: Social Work

LDS men became the sole performers of healing rituals by the mid-twentieth century, rituals usually occurring within domestic spaces (spaces they believed were designated for their wives), and LDS women stopped experiencing other charismatic gifts. However, LDS women still cared about health care and moved further into the public sphere by joining non-Mormon organizations

⁷²⁴ Mauss, “The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation and Identity,” 132.

⁷²⁵ Mauss, “Assimilation and Ambivalence,” 41.

⁷²⁶ Hyrum Bennion Jr. and Stella Richards, *Joseph Harker Family History Pioneers Utah Canada Idaho*, ed. Jack H. Adamson (Salt Lake City: Acorn Printing Co., 1949), 244.

Women's Institutes, which began in Ontario in 1897, as anthropologist John William Bennett summarized, aimed to promote home economics to the highest standards so that "each home [ran] smoothly, then the collection of homes—the community—[would] also function well."⁷²⁷ In her dissertation on feminism in the prairie provinces, Barbara Nicholson explained the organization's goal was to encourage

that knowledge of household science which shall lead to the improvement in household architecture with special attention to home sanitation, to a better understanding of economic and hygienic value of foods and fuels, and to a more scientific care of children with a view to raising the general standard of our people.⁷²⁸

As historians Catherine Cole and Ann Milovic explained in their chapter on Alberta Women's Institutes, the AWI was important to rural women in particular because

It enabled them to face the loneliness of farm life in the early years by providing a social outlet, an opportunity to meet women from surrounding farms and share common concerns. . . . The community work in which AWI branches became involved, particularly during the two world wars, was widely seen as an acceptable means to broader public participation for women.⁷²⁹

The AWI connected women with various backgrounds because it was non-sectarian and non-partisan.

The AWI arrived in Cardston in the summer of 1912 and elected Lydia Brown (1855-1935) the first president.⁷³⁰ At some of their first meetings, which members hosted in their own homes, members of the Cardston branch discussed domestic problems such as how to make bread, how to lighten the burdens of wash day, and how to make the home more beautiful.⁷³¹ By

⁷²⁷ John W. Bennett and Seena B. Kohl, *Settling the Canadian-American West, 1890-1915: Pioneer Adaption and Community Building An Anthropological History* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 147.

⁷²⁸ Barbara J. Nicholson, "Feminism in the Prairie Provinces to 1916," (MA thesis, University of Calgary, 1974), 89.

⁷²⁹ Catherine C. Cole and Ann Milovic, "Education, Community Service, and Social Life: The Alberta Women's Institutes and Rural Families, 1909-1945," in *Standing on New Ground: Women in Alberta*, ed. Catherine A. Cavanaugh and Randi R. Warne (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1993), 20.

⁷³⁰ Bectell, *Chief Mountain Country*, vol. 2, 5.

⁷³¹ "Brief History of Cardston Women's Institute," *Cardston News*, August 23, 1934, 1.

the next year, the AWI spread to surrounding towns such as Spring Coulee, Magrath, and Raymond. During her visit to Cardston in March of 1926, provincial president Mable Huyck (1880-1961) explained its goals in regards to health: “[T]he W.I. plan is most ambitious. A free doctor and nurse for rural Alberta supplied by the W.I. to all districts lying more remote than 20 miles from an established office of a doctor.”⁷³² In October 1928, public health nurse Amy Conroy presented lectures on infectious diseases, diets, obstetrics and child care. In 1934, branches of Alberta Women’s Institutes at Raymond, Cardston, and Spring Coulee organized a traveling baby clinic.⁷³³ According to the *Raymond Recorder*, this was not the first baby clinic sponsored by the AWI, which had started since as early as 1926.⁷³⁴ The baby clinic in 1931 was not only sponsored by the Cardston Women’s Institute but also by the Department of Health.⁷³⁵ In 1939, focusing on the problems of child welfare, the Cardston WI listened to two trained nurses give papers on First Aid work in bleeding and artificial respiration and other topics such as burns, bruises, broken bones, and common diseases.⁷³⁶

The AWI worked with the Red Cross during World War I and II, and branches in Raymond and Cardston were particularly active. In a report for the Raymond Red Cross Society, under the direction of president Mary Rouse, the Raymond Women’s Institute made 12 pairs of pyjamas, 7 bed jackets, 18 many-tailed bandages, 36 T bandages, 11 wash cloths, 18 straight bandages, 12 bedside bags, 39 personal property bags, 8 pairs of socks, 9 bed pads, 43 triangular bandages, and 19 pillow cases.⁷³⁷ At the end of 1916, the AWI reported that they “had been most zealous in the raising of funds and generous in its disbursements for charity, Red Cross and

⁷³² “Mrs. Huyck Points Out Aims of W.I.,” *Cardston News*, March 18, 1926, 1.

⁷³³ “Baby Clinic Very Successful,” *Raymond Recorder*, July 5, 1934, 2.

⁷³⁴ “News Notes,” *Raymond Recorder*, June 10, 1927, 8.

⁷³⁵ *Cardston News*, April 30, 1931, 1.

⁷³⁶ “W.I. Studies Child Welfare,” *Cardston News*, June 9, 1939, 1.

⁷³⁷ “Red Cross Is Doing Well,” *Raymond Leader*, April 15, 1916, 1.

patriotic purposes.”⁷³⁸ Leading the Cardston branch at this time was English Latter-day Saint Jane Holmes (1857-1942) who immigrated to the United States in 1892 and came to Canada in 1898.⁷³⁹ Another example of the Women’s Institutes’ war effort is the Raymond WI’s contribution of \$32.50 for the War Services Fund in 1941 and the donation of an afghan to the Red Cross.⁷⁴⁰

Another Albertan institution that attracted Latter-day Saints’ attention was the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA). The Alberta Farmers Association and the Alberta Society of Equity joined together in 1909, established the UFA, and worked to achieve goals related to the economic and social conditions of Alberta farmers. From 1913 to 1914, members amended the UFA constitution and admitted wives and daughters of farmers to the association. Female members of the UFA established the Women’s Auxiliary in 1915 and changed the name to United Farm Women of Alberta (UFWA) in 1916. The rural perspectives of the United Farm Women of Alberta made members stand out among the various women’s groups, such as Women’s Institutes, in the province. In particular, the physical location of their homes and farms and the distances from resources made rural women more concerned with issues related to health care and education. In *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy*, Rennie wrote, “[T]he UFWA was more agrarian, class conscious, and independent than the government-funded Institutes, which included both town and country women.”⁷⁴¹ Having developed during the First World War, the UFA and UFWA worried “that the soldiers’ sacrifices might be in vain [and] farmers concluded that governments must create a new society through prohibition, health care, eugenics, social

⁷³⁸ “Institute Holds Annual Meeting,” *Raymond Leader*, December 16, 1916, 1

⁷³⁹ “Brief History of Cardston Women’s Institute,” *Cardston News*, August 23, 1934, 1. Later presidents were Mrs. Mark Spencer, Mrs. Ethel Spencer, Mrs. Edgar Duce, Mrs. J. R. Stutz.

⁷⁴⁰ “W.I. Meeting,” *Raymond Recorder*, June 20, 1941, 1.

⁷⁴¹ Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy*, 101.

welfare, and progressive taxation.”⁷⁴² Many of the Mormon farmers in southern Alberta shared these concerns and many female Latter-day Saints living in areas around Cardston, Magrath, Raymond, and Taber joined the UFWA. A history of the UFWA from the 1920s called the organization “a great Provincial training school for citizenship, where women stood on their feet and expressed opinions.”⁷⁴³ But they also acted on those opinions and some of their early achievements included securing legislation instituting municipal hospitals, increasing support for Public Health Nurses, and reforming several Acts that benefited women and children.⁷⁴⁴

Talitha Carlson (1870-1939) moved to Cardston with her husband and children in 1902 and in 1921 became the first president of the first organization of the UFWA in Cardston.⁷⁴⁵ During a visit to Taber in 1926, Carlson spoke at its Convention and stated, “The Farmers’ movement had grown out of the desire of people on the farms to attain a decent standard of living and to live in peace. A farmer might work by himself like a slave and attain to neither. Only by organized and co-operative effort could these things be gained.”⁷⁴⁶ That same year she reorganized the Cardston Local UFWA and the next year she became Director of the entire Lethbridge district.⁷⁴⁷ During her time as Director, the Executive Committee appointed Carlson

⁷⁴² Ibid., 118.

⁷⁴³ United Farm Women of Alberta, *The U.F.W.A.: The Organization for Alberta Farm Women* (Calgary: United Farm Women of Alberta, 1920), 4, <http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/4648/3.html>.

⁷⁴⁴ United Farm Women of Alberta, *The U.F.W.A.*, 10.

⁷⁴⁵ “Thumb-Nail Sketch No. 12: Talitha May Carlson,” *Cardston News*, February 2, 1937, 4. 61 members. Even before Carlson climbed the ranks of the UFWA, other LDS women participated at the provincial level too. Jehzell Merkley (1874-1955) of Magrath was the Director of the Lethbridge District for the year 1923. After Merkley came Allie Jensen and she held the position of Director for 1924 and 1925. At a Board Meeting in Calgary on January 24, 1925, the Executive Committee appointed Jensen Convenor of Social Services, the same role they would give to Carlson in 1927. See United Farm Women of Alberta, convention minutes, 18 January 1923, scanned microfilm, UFA fonds. Also see Miss J.B. Kidd, “The United Farm Women of Alberta in Convention,” *The U.F.A.*, February 15, 1923, 6. United Farm Women of Alberta, convention minutes, 17 January 1924, scanned microfilm, UFA fonds. Also see Miss J.B. Kidd, “The Women’s Convention in Retrospect,” *The U.F.A.*, February 1, 1924, 7. United Farm Women of Alberta, board meeting minutes, 24 January 1925, scanned microfilm, UFA fonds.

⁷⁴⁶ “Grows From Desire For Decent Standard,” *The U.F.A.*, June 3, 1926, 28.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid. Also see “New Local at Cardston,” *The U.F.A.*, June 17, 1926, 9. Carlson was director for Lethbridge until 1930.

Convenor of Social Service, a position she held for two years, and in July she spoke at a Board Meeting on social services and its close relation to the welfare of children.⁷⁴⁸ In April 1927, *The U.F.A.* newspaper published a series of programs created by Carlson for local branches of the UFWA, revealing some of the organization's focus. The final program submitted by Carlson was for 15 April called "Civic Pride." She linked civic pride to good fellowship, law following, and presentation of clean public spaces, initiating a community clean-up of roads and schools.⁷⁴⁹ This selection of programs for UFWA Locals suggested that women in southern Alberta cared about bettering their private and public spaces by sharing experiences and doing what worked best for others.

Raymond also had a UFWA branch and its members also participated and interacted with non-Mormon farm women. In February 1926 Oral King (1893-1948) reported on the annual UFWA convention she attended in Calgary to a gathering of UFWA members at Mabel Heninger's (1896-1967) home.⁷⁵⁰ In June, the Raymond UFWA listened to a talk given by practical nurse Rebecca Nalder (1872-1964).⁷⁵¹

The Lethbridge Constituency of the UFWA held its first conference on 7 November 1930 at the Masonic Hall in Lethbridge. According to the newspaper, about 100 women attended the conference and Raymond UFWA President Relva Ross presented a paper on the District Health Units.⁷⁵² Dr. Fitzpatrick of the mental health department addressed the conference on the subject of mental hygiene and praised the UFWA. "as being the most forward organization in the

⁷⁴⁸ United Farm Women of Alberta, convention minutes, 18 January 1927, scanned microfilm, UFA fonds.

⁷⁴⁹ "Interesting Series of Program for Women's Local," *The U.F.A.*, April 16, 1927, 25.

⁷⁵⁰ "U.F.W.A. Meeting," *Raymond Recorder*, February 12, 1926, 8.

⁷⁵¹ "News Notes," *Raymond Recorder*, June 10, 1927, 8.

⁷⁵² Inez R. Bennett, "Lethbridge Constituency Holds First U.F.W.A. Conference," *The U.F.A.*, December 1, 1930, 18.

Province in connection with the establishment of [mental health] clinics.⁷⁵³ Earlier in January at the annual convention Dr. Fitzpatrick spoke about the Sex Sterilization Act and the marriages of “unsuitable people.”⁷⁵⁴ Messages of this nature appealed to some Latter-day Saints because it moved attention away from themselves and towards another marginalized group. In the 19th century, non-Mormons argued that Latter-day Saints belonged to a new race with physiological, degenerate characteristics, as a result of plural marriage.⁷⁵⁵ If Albertan Mormons did not want the label of “unsuitable people” then they might add to the discussion by helping define exactly what “unsuitable” meant and ensuring that it did not include themselves.

At a meeting on 24 July 1931, Matilda Boyson (1889-1982) lectured on immigration policies and argued in favour of the ban on immigration.⁷⁵⁶ The group then turned to the subject of “Socialization, Education and Canadianization of the strangers already within our gates.” During a reading, “listeners were made to visualize themselves as foreigners and thus was developed a greater sympathy for the strangers among us,” but these Latter-day Saints were once foreigners in this land too. Had they forgotten? Many of the Mormon women involved with the UFWA were not Canadian-born. Jehzell Merkley was born in Wales, immigrated to the United States when she was still an infant, and moved to Alberta with her parents and siblings in 1899. Her father John Lye Gibb (1848-1920) had two plural wives named Sarah Gibb (1845-1923) and Hannah Simmons Gibb (1855-1941) and they all came to Canada. According to the 1906 Canada Census, Sarah had immigrated in 1899 and lived in Magrath with two of her children, and Hannah had immigrated in 1901 and lived in Raymond with six of her children.

⁷⁵³ Ibid., 19.

⁷⁵⁴ United Farm Women of Alberta, convention minutes, 22 January 1930, scanned microfilm, UFA fonds.

⁷⁵⁵ Megan Sanborn Jones, *Performing American Identity in Anti-Mormon Melodrama* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 142. Also see W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

⁷⁵⁶ “U.F.W.A. Hold Interesting Meeting,” *Raymond Recorder*, July 24, 1931, 1.

Talitha Carlson also descended from polygamists. Her maternal grandfather William Taylor Dennis (1810-1894) was originally from Tennessee and migrated to Utah Territory in the 1850s where he took his second wife and eventually married four women. Allie Jensen's father Ruel Rogers (1833-1903) had three wives by the time she was born in 1871 in Draper, Utah. Allie and her husband Christian Jensen (1868-1958) immigrated to Magrath in the year 1903. Matilda Boyson was born in Schofield, Utah and came to Alberta as a teenager with her mother and siblings in 1902.

By 1930, the president of the Glenwood UFWA was England-born Rachel Archibald (1876-1936), and the group re-elected her for the fourth year.⁷⁵⁷ In fact, during this time period, very few UFWA Latter-day Saints were born in Canada. One of these Canadian Mormons was the granddaughter of Talitha Carlson, Delia Woolf (1906-1976), who was born in Cardston. Woolf became vice president of the Raymond UFWA in 1931 and was elected president the next year, remaining as such until 1936.⁷⁵⁸ Delia's father Orson Bigelow (1884-1935) moved to Canada in 1893 and her mother Eva Carlson (1888-1929) probably moved about 1902 because that was when her parents Talitha and Isaac moved. These LDS women were members of an organization that probably would have campaigned to prevent their settlement of southern Alberta in the late 1880s.

When they discussed immigration, the UFA and UFWA encouraged assimilation. The U.F.A. magazine reported plans for improving conditions for immigrant women in 1923 and stated that there should be "greater care in the selection of girls who will adapt themselves to

⁷⁵⁷ "U.F.W.A.," *Cardston News*, March 22, 1928, 3. Archibald was also President of the Women's Institute in Glenwood for many years. See, Shaw, *Chief Mountain Country*, 236. "Activities of the U.F.W.A.," *The U.F.A.*, January 2, 1931, 14.

⁷⁵⁸ "Mrs. Ross Again Heads Local U.F.W.A.," *Raymond Recorder*, November 27, 1931, 1. "U.F. and U.F.W.A. Meeting," *Raymond Recorder*, January 4, 1933, 4. "Raymond U.F.W.A. Local Re-Elects President," *Raymond Recorder*, December 14, 1933, 4. "U.F.W.A. Meeting," *Raymond Recorder*, March 1, 1935, 1.

Canadian conditions.”⁷⁵⁹ At their annual convention the following year, the UFWA appealed for “better assimilation of the foreign born” even though immigration regulations already barred “idiots, imbeciles, feeble minded, epileptics, insane...persons suffering from chronic alcoholism or the drug habit; and anarchists.”⁷⁶⁰ The United Farm Women of Alberta defined their Immigration Committee with “the purpose of helping the newcomer, and making them feel that they are welcome to the new country.” However, helping seemed to mean assimilating, but sometimes even integration was not enough to satisfy everyone. UFA member, Latter-day Saint, and solicitor Hjaldermar Ostlund (1878-1942) (whose parents were born in Sweden) called for the cessation of “the flooding of Canada with immigrants,” and, later, connected unemployment rates to immigration.⁷⁶¹

Local constituencies of the Women’s Institute discussed similar subjects and appointed various Convenors for committees on Canadianization and Immigration. At a meeting of the Cardston Constituency in 1926, Sadie Taylor stressed the importance of immigration and by the 1930s they were still discussing Canadian Customs regulations and how to help “Canadianise” immigrants.⁷⁶² Reporting on a meeting in July of 1932, the *Cardston News* wrote that American-born Clara Stutz (1885-1950) talked about how Canada needs “the right type” of immigration: “[Canada must] allow only those immigrants to enter who are adaptable and who can establish themselves in this land without Government help...“The Stranger within our gates,” she argued, “need[s] but to be known and understood to be appreciated and even loved.”⁷⁶³ At times Latter-day Saint women were tolerant of newcomers, but, as members of this provincial organizations,

⁷⁵⁹ “The U.F.W.A. and Junior Branch,” *The U.F.A.*, May 1, 1923, 8.

⁷⁶⁰ “The United Farm Women of Alberta in Annual Convention,” *The U.F.A.*, February 26, 1924, 12.

⁷⁶¹ “Federal Conventions,” *The U.F.A.*, July 15, 1930, 34.

⁷⁶² “W. I. Convention Of Cardston Constituency Held At Spring Coulee,” *Cardston News*, September 23, 1925, 1.

⁷⁶³ “W. I. Studies Immigration,” *Cardston News*, July 14, 1932, 1.

they debated whether or not to allow immigrants into Canada, and interfered in the sex lives of others (Sterilization Act). These LDS women were either immigrants themselves or daughters of immigrants, but had reached such a point of comfort and familiarity in Canadian society that they considered immigrants as potentially dangerous “others.”

In Utah, Church leaders were condescending to newcomers, but not discriminatory. At the general conference in 1925, Elder Rulon S. Wells of the First Council of Seventy preached the importance of helping “foreign language Saints” and teaching them “the customs, manners and language of which are to them unknown.”⁷⁶⁴ Furthermore, he hopes “they should be made to feel that they “are no more strangers and foreigners but fellow citizens with the Saints and of the household of God.””⁷⁶⁵ At the October conference of the same year, Elder Melvin J. Ballard complained that strict immigration privileges sends possible converts to South America instead of the United States since “only three per cent of the foreign population of any nation in this country, in 1900, may now come in, which means that not more than about two hundred thousand can enter this land in any single year from all nations of the earth.”⁷⁶⁶ The LDS in the United States seemed prepared to accept immigrants as potential converts to the Church, as long as they did not threaten liberty. In 1930 Anthony W. Ivins spoke about the land of America as the land of Zion which led him off on a tangent about sexual purity and then a discussion of the laws of the United States. “I do not believe that they will carelessly surrender the God-given

⁷⁶⁴ Rulon S. Wells, in *Conference Reports of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1898 to present), April 1925, 92.

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁷⁶⁶ Melvin J. Ballard, speech, *Conference Report of the Ninety-Sixth Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1925), 130.

principles of liberty and justice bequeathed to them into the hands of aliens who would trample them under foot, and turn back the wheels of human progress.”⁷⁶⁷

With time, LDS Church leaders became more suspicious. Levi Edgar Young, at the 1936 conference, argued that scientific progress, secularization, and “the coming of foreigners to our shores” has created a complex civilization with a very low moral state.⁷⁶⁸ Although here he did not place entire blame on foreigners, they are still held accountable for the fall of the United States. Upon a discussion of liberty and the ongoing conflicts in Europe, Albert E. Bowen commented on the conditions in the United States, staying that “we harbor here large numbers, alien as well as native born, who openly advocate the superiority of alien principles of government over our own.”⁷⁶⁹

Unlike the Albertan Saints, the leaders were more concerned with foreign influence on their government than on their young men and women. Continuing this trend, J. Reuben Clark, Jr. reflected on the predictions he made in 1923 about revolution and “the unrestricted immigration of aliens who were foreign and in tradition hostile to our systems of government.”⁷⁷⁰ The American LDS Church feared threats to democracy, not chastity, when it came to immigrants. Threats to chastity came from outsiders, but these outsiders were American non-Mormons. After attending college in an eastern state, a Latter-day Saint reported that the greatest weakness in society was “a breakdown in the relations of the sexes, that promiscuity had

⁷⁶⁷ Anthony W. Ivins, speech, Conference Report of the One Hundredth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930), 19.

⁷⁶⁸ Levi Edgar Young, speech, Conference Report of the One Hundred Seventh Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1936), 65.

⁷⁶⁹ Albert E. Bowen, speech, Conference Report of the One Hundred Eleventh Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1940), 126.

⁷⁷⁰ President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Conference Report of the One Hundred Eleventh Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1941), 18.

succeeded chastity.”⁷⁷¹ J. Reuben Clark Jr. preached that “Chastity is fundamental to our life and to our civilization. If the race becomes unchaste, it will perish.”⁷⁷²

The LDS Church stopped women from performing certain healing rituals and designated (male) Priesthood holders as official administrators to the sick when anointing and blessing. At the same time, LDS women became involved with non-Mormon organizations that contributed to improvements in public health. LDS women stepped into the public sphere and LDS men stepped into the domestic world, into the “sick rooms” of Church members. As LDS women contributed to AWI and UFWA they contributed to the improvement of public health by decreasing infant mortality, increasing life expectancy, educating mothers on hygiene, and offering free medical care. As a result of this progress, there were less sick to attend to and less need for administrations by Priesthood holders so by advancing in the public sphere women ultimately changed men’s work in the private sphere.

4.6 Conclusion

Historian Brian T. Thorn, writing about Canadian women after the Second World War, disclosed that,

Postwar political women used a maternalist viewpoint to argue for an increased female role, and their maternalism had specific elements. First, maternalist thinkers from the 1940s and 1950s suggested that there existed a uniquely female value system, based on care and nurturance. Second, they suggested that women, as mothers, shared a collective responsibility to protect the world’s children and families in the face of various threats.... Finally, right- and left-wing women asserted that their work, experience,

⁷⁷¹ Dr. Elmer G. Peterson, Conference Report of the One-Hundred and Third Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1932), 103.

⁷⁷² President J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Conference Report of the One Hundred Ninth Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1938), 137.

and socialization as mothers made them uniquely able to lead certain kinds of reform and political campaigns.⁷⁷³

In a similar vein, Canadian LDS women, by the 1940s, were mothers, wives, Relief Society members, and seekers of social change in local women's movements. These gendered roles replaced their once diverse repertoire of spiritual gifts, including faith healing and prophecy, activism in support of polygamy, and medical care of their fellow LDS settlers. Both internal and external factors facilitated these changes.

Financial success and progress in the southern Alberta LDS settlements replaced the need for spiritual approval of their pioneer efforts on foreign soil, distanced from the Utah Church. LDS leaders no longer needed the messages of these charismatic gifts since, by the 1940s, some had resided in Alberta for over fifty years. However, as early as 1900, Church authorities discouraged such manifestations of spiritual gifts. The end of the practice of plural marriage also removed women's roles as vocal supporters of the practice to outsiders. There was no need to defend polygamy as the Church tried to distance itself from the controversial past. Scientific medicine and the acceptance of non-LDS trained physicians ended their reliance on folk medicines and midwifery. Male doctors replaced the female midwives and practical nurses while some LDS women trained in the field of nursing and returned to assist doctors in southern Alberta. As for laying-on of hands, the Church decided that only Priesthood holders could administer to the sick, even though women had dominated the medical field for years as midwives and healers. That left the "sphere" of LDS women to include motherhood, wifeness, Relief Society membership, AWI membership, and UFWA membership.

⁷⁷³ Brian T. Thorn, *From Left to Right: Maternalism and Women's Political Activism in Postwar Canada* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2016), 6.

As wives and mothers, family members remembered them as guiding the spiritual life in the family home whether it was instructing activities for Family Home Evening, or reminding them to kneel in prayer before breakfast. Although LDS women still had the Relief Society, it was no longer an independent institution and fell directly under the control of the male members, the Priesthood. But women in Alberta sought out the AWI and UFWA when their Church limited their involvement for change. These non-LDS, Canadian organizations forced LDS women to work together with non-LDS to create social change that benefited both their own community members and outsiders. They no longer brewed folk medicines in their kitchens, but instead organized health classes teaching proper sanitation methods, or raised funds to assist the creation of a municipal hospital. Both Church authorities and Canadian society transformed LDS women's diverse duties into gendered roles.

Chapter 5: Family and Marriage

Otherness: Polygamy, Plural Marriage, and Non-Monogamy

a. *The Canadian Family*

By the turn of the twentieth century white Canadian society demanded Christian monogamous unions. “Through its use of law,” wrote historian W. Peter Ward,

[G]overnment reinforced the stability of marriage. It defined the range of acceptable spouses, it established the terms under which men and women married, it empowered the agent authorized to perform wedding ceremonies, it frustrated the dissolution of marriage, and it punished those who transgressed its bounds. In these ways the state put its weight behind the traditional Christian concept of marriage.⁷⁷⁴

In 1841, when the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada united, the government defined bigamy in the Provincial Statutes of Canada as occurring “if any person, being married, shall marry any other person during the life of the former husband or wife.”⁷⁷⁵ Bigamy was a felony in the newly established United Province of Canada, and the punishment was hard labour for no less than seven years, or imprisonment no longer than two years. The Magistrate’s Manual, a complete digest of the criminal law of Canada, and provincial law of Upper Canada, repeated the Provincial Statutes. The manual stated that, “So in an indictment for bigamy, it is necessary to state, with correctness, the time of the second marriage and to aver that the first wife was alive at the time...the place at which the alleged offence was committed must also be stated.”⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁷⁴ W. Peter Ward, *Courtship, Love and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990), 38.

⁷⁷⁵ “An Act for consolidating and amending the Statutes in this Province relative to Offences against the person,” 4 & 5 Victoria, ch. 27, sec. 22.

⁷⁷⁶ W. C. Keele, *The Provincial Justice, or Magistrate’s Manual, Being a Complete Digest of the Criminal Law of Canada and a Compendious and General View of the Provincial Law of Upper Canada: With Practical Forms, for the Use of the Magistracy*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Henry Roswell, 1858), 406. Despite the absence of a “first husband,” the section on bigamy stated that the offence was “having two wives or two husbands, at the same time.” See Keele, *The Provincial Justice*, 101.

In 1859, the Consolidated Statutes of Canada reworded the definition of bigamy:

Any person who, being married, marries any other person during the life of the former husband or wife, whether the second marriage takes place in this Province or elsewhere, and every person who counsels, aids, or abets such offender, shall respectively be guilty of felony ; and shall be imprisoned in the Penitentiary for any term not less than two years, or be imprisoned in any other prison or place of confinement for any term less than two years.⁷⁷⁷

Indigenous peoples and some minority groups became repeat transgressors, and authorities continued amending and rewording the law to further restrict deviations from their image of marriage and family. According to Cynthia R. Comacchio, the period of rapid change between 1850 and 1940 caused “a widespread public perception that ‘the family’ was in a state of crisis.”⁷⁷⁸ The model Canadian family was white, middle-class, Anglo-Celtic Protestant, or French Catholic, involving “masculine authority, feminine submission, and the reproduction of certain socially defined qualities.”⁷⁷⁹

In 1867, British Parliament passed the British North America (BNA) Act and created the Canadian federation. The BNA Act distributed legislative powers, including authority over marriage and divorce. While the exclusive legislative authority of the Parliament of Canada extended to matters concerning marriage and divorce, but each province was responsible for the solemnization of marriage.⁷⁸⁰ The same year of Canadian confederation, the Quebec Superior

⁷⁷⁷ “An Act respecting Offences against the Person,” 22 Victoria, ch. 91, sec. 29.

⁷⁷⁸ Comacchio, *Infinite Bonds*, 3.

⁷⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷⁸⁰ “Distribution of Legislative Powers,” 30 & 31 Victoria, ch. 3, sec. 91 – 92. The Statutes of Canada passed in 1869 altered the definition of bigamy to fit the united country of Canada. Under the Act respecting offences against the Person, the Canadian government defined someone guilty of bigamy, “Whosoever, being married, marries any other person during the life of the former husband or wife, whether the second marriage has taken place in Canada, or elsewhere, is guilty of felony, and shall be liable to be imprisoned in the Penitentiary for any term not exceeding seven years and not less than two years, or to be imprisoned in any other gaol or place of confinement for any term less than two years, with or without hard labour.” See “An Act respecting Offences against the Person,” 32 & 33 Victoria, ch. 20, sec. 58.

Court decision regarding *Connolly v. Woolrich and Johnson et al.* changed the way Canadians understood Aboriginal marriage. William Connolly (1786-1849) moved to the North-West Territories (where no marriage laws of France or Britain existed) at the age of sixteen. In 1803, at the age of seventeen, Connolly cohabitated with Suzanne Pas-de-nom, the daughter of a Cree Chief, who thus became his wife according to the customs of the Cree Nation. The couple spent 28 years together and had six children. In 1831 they moved to Lower Canada where a year later Connolly left his wife and married Julia Woolrich according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church. When Connolly passed away in 1849, his will from 1848 stated that he bequeathed all his property to Woolrich and her two children. In the case *Connolly v. Woolrich and Johnson et al.*, John Connolly, the son of Connolly and Pas-de-nom, argued that after the death of his father half of Connolly's property belonged to his lawful first wife Pas-de-nom, John's mother. Justice Monk wrote, "That an Indian marriage, according to the usage of the Cree country, followed by cohabitation and repute, and the bringing up of a numerous family, will be recognised as a valid marriage by our courts, and that such a marriage is valid."⁷⁸¹ Justice Monk recognized that Connolly "married her according to the usages of her tribe or nation. She passed for his lawful wife during twenty-eight years in the North-West country, and he introduced her into civilization and among his Christian acquaintances and friends, in Lower-Canada, as his wife" and proceeded to acknowledge that "a community of property existed between [Connolly] and his Indian wife from 1803."⁷⁸² Therefore, Justice Monk judged in favour of the plaintiff John Connolly and awarded him a portion of one-half of the estate. *Connolly v. Woolrich and Johnson et al.* elevated the status of Indigenous marriage customs to be lawfully recognized and

⁷⁸¹ *Connolly v. Woolrich and Johnson et al.*, in *The Lower Canada Jurist*, vol. 11, ed. S. Bethune, P.R. Lafrenaye, F.W. Torrance, and J.L. Morris (Montreal: John Lovell, 1867), 197.

⁷⁸² *Connolly v. Woolrich and Johnson et al.*, 256 and 263.

respected. The problem was that Indigenous marriage customs sometimes involved bigamy and polygamy.

b. Unpopular Definitions of Family and Marriage

In her contribution to *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada's Colonial Past*, Canadian historian Sarah Carter examined the prohibition of polygamy in western Canada and the government's attempts to impose monogamy on the Indigenous populations. Carter followed this with her chapter in *Unsettled Pasts: Reconceiving the West Through Women's History* and added the problem of divorce to her study of the federal administration of marriage among First Nations in western Canada. In her monograph *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada to 1915*, Carter addressed the widespread anxiety over the state of marriage, family, and home in western Canada where the Indigenous populations initially outnumbered the white settlers. Among these Indigenous peoples, the concept of marriage was diverse and took on numerous forms such as same-sex unions or polygamous relationships.⁷⁸³ While Carter's research concentrated on Indigenous communities in western Canada, she also explored the settlements in the District of Alberta that were founded by polygamous Latter-day Saints from Utah. Carter astutely identified their reasons for immigrating to Canada and briefly discussed their leader Charles Ora Card, but failed to consider Post-Manifesto polygamy, that is, polygamous relationships that continued and new unions that were solemnized after the First Manifesto in 1890.⁷⁸⁴ Furthermore, Carter acknowledged the Canadian government's harsh treatment of the Blackfoot population who refused to give up polygamy, but ignored the drastically different course of treatment received by the Latter-day Saints. Instead of prosecution or punishment for practicing polygamy, the

⁷⁸³ Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous*, 5.

⁷⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 41-50; 83-89.

government and officials rewarded the Canadian Latter-day Saints with lucrative business contracts and immigration assistance.

i. The Blackfoot

Three tribes encompass the original Blackfoot Confederacy (Niitsitapi) of western Canada: the Siksika, Kainai and Piikani Nations. Originally nomadic, the Niitsitapi migrated from the northern region around Lake Winnipeg and roamed as far as the lands that are now known as Oregon, Idaho and Montana.⁷⁸⁵ Their lives would forever change with the advancement of the white settlers, extinction of the buffalo, and interference from government officials. Although the Canadian government legally recognized Aboriginal marriage customs after the 1867 case of *Connolly v. Woolrich and Johnson et al.*, Indigenous ways of life, cultures, and religions were not protected from further interference. The third session of Canada's third Parliament assented to *The Indian Act* on 12 April 1876. Chapter 18 dictated that, "The Minister of the Interior shall be Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, and shall be governed in the supervision of the said affairs, and in the control and management of the reserves, lands, moneys and property of Indians in Canada by the provision of this Act."⁷⁸⁶ This was not a treaty. *The Indian Act* allowed the government of Canada to regulate and control many aspects of Aboriginal peoples' lives. In 1880, the Canadian Parliament created a separate department of the civil service called the Department of Indian Affairs to be run by the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs.⁷⁸⁷

⁷⁸⁵ John Maclean, *Canadian Savage Folk: The Native Tribes of Canada* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1896), 49.

⁷⁸⁶ "An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians," 39 Victoria, ch. 18.

⁷⁸⁷ "An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians," 43 Victoria, ch. 28, sec. 4.

The Niitsitapi made a treaty with the government a year later called Treaty Number 7, or the Blackfoot Treaty. This treaty “called upon the chiefs to envision a life without buffalo, without nomadic camps, and without freedom.”⁷⁸⁸ Some chiefs interpreted the treaty as a promise to protect the buffalo and payment for allowing white settlers to hunt on their lands.⁷⁸⁹ The Kainai Nation (Blood Tribe) agreed to a reserve based on five people per square mile originally located along the Bow River, but Chief Red Crow wanted “the tribe’s traditional wintering grounds along the Belly River” so a new treaty in 1883 allocated them a new location between the Belly and St. Mary’s Rivers.⁷⁹⁰ This would be the land that the Latter-day Saints neighboured within five years.

Photographer Walter McClintock (1870-1949) wrote of his time among the Blackfoot in northern Montana at the end of the nineteenth century. In his book *The Old North Trail*, McClintock noted, “[P]olygamy was a natural and necessary expedient, growing out of their tribal organisation.”⁷⁹¹ He rationalized the practice as a result of the high death count of men lost during war since many women were left husbandless and polygamy was a practical solution.⁷⁹² Alternatively, many considered it desirable to be placed with a chief married to several wives since the women could divide the work among themselves.⁷⁹³

⁷⁸⁸ Hugh A. Dempsey, *Red Crow, Warrior Chief*, 2nd ed. (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1995), 113.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, xi.

⁷⁹¹ Walter McClintock, *The Old North Trail: Life, Legends and Religion of the Blackfeet Indians* (London: Macmillan, 1910), 188.

⁷⁹² *Ibid.*, 189.

⁷⁹³ *Ibid.* Anthropologist Clark Wissler (1870-1947) collected stories from various Blackfoot tribes between 1903 and 1907, then collaborated with Piikani Nation member David C. Duvall (1878-1911), and produced numerous publications about the Blackfoot. Many of the ancient stories and legends collected and translated by Wissler and Duvall mentioned polygamous relationships. The story “Blood-Clot, or Smoking-Star” opened with the revelation that an old man’s three daughters all married the same young man. In “The Medicine-Shields,” the character Always-Talking originally had three wives before he killed one of them. In “The Treacherous Wives,” a man was very jealous of his two wives and in “The Woman with a Sharpened Leg” two female characters were married to the same man. These stories showed that the practice of polygamy was a part of Blackfoot history and memory. See

In his ethnographic work, Clark Wissler (1870-1947) recorded that current economic conditions were unfavourable for a man to have a plurality of wives, but a wealthy man could still be expected to have two or more.⁷⁹⁴ In an earlier publication, American anthropologist George Bird Grinnell (1849-1938) reported, “In the old days, it was a poor man who did not have three wives. Many had six, eight, and some more than a dozen.”⁷⁹⁵ Wissler further explained,

Plural wives speak of themselves as *niskas* (married to the same man) or, if of considerable difference in age, as elder and younger sisters. In the normal order of events, the first wife is the real, or head wife (she who sits beside him). A man may depose the head wife and confer the right upon another; but such was regarded as unusual, except when the provocation was great. When he went on a journey, the head wife alone usually accompanied him. In the transfer of medicines, she took the woman’s part and afterwards cared for the bundle.⁷⁹⁶

Modern anthropology and history records a similar history of polygamy amongst the Blackfoot. Canadian historian Sylvia Van Kirk documented, “All the western tribes were polygamous. A plurality of wives was often an economic necessity, a man’s prestige being enhanced by the number of wives he could support.”⁷⁹⁷ In *The Ways of My Grandmothers*, Beverly Hungry Wolf (born 1950), a member of the Blackfoot Confederacy, wrote about her grandmother AnadaAki and other female tribe members. Hungry Wolf remarked, “[I]t was common for a proud man of sixty or seventy to have six or seven wives, including some that

Clark Wissler and D. C. Duvall, *Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians* (New York: Order of the Trustees of the American Museum of Natural History, 1908).

⁷⁹⁴ Clark Wissler, *The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians* (New York: Order of the Trustees of the American Museum of Natural History, 1911), 11.

⁷⁹⁵ George Bird Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales: The Story of a Prairie People* (1892; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), 218.

⁷⁹⁶ Wissler, *The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians*, 11.

⁷⁹⁷ Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 24.

were young enough to be his grandchildren.”⁷⁹⁸ She acknowledged the constant warring and high fatality rate as reasons for men to have several wives.⁷⁹⁹ Hungry Wolf’s versions of her peoples’ ancient stories, like those collected by Wissler and Duvall, also included characters married to more than one spouse.

In interviews from 2001 and 2002, Kainai community member Andy Blackwater compared Aboriginal marriage customs to the practices of the Latter-day Saints. “They could have two, or as many wives as they wanted,” he explained, “And us, we practised the same out of necessity, not out of pleasure. So, maybe our ancestors felt that there was something in common; for the first time something was in common, so we accepted the Mormons.”⁸⁰⁰ Despite oversimplifying the Kainai-LDS relationship, a relationship complicated by racist theology and land disputes, Blackwater correctly ascertained one shared custom, polygamy. The Latter-day Saints and Kainai practiced marriage traditions that Canadians abhorred and feared.

ii. The Latter-day Saints

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints’ public confession to plural marriage shocked Americans and initiated a campaign to end the practice. The year was 1852 when Brigham Young (1801-1877) introduced the concept to all believers and guided Orson Pratt (1811-1881) to publicly defend it. To outsiders, plural marriage threatened Victorian ideals of

⁷⁹⁸ Beverly Hungry Wolf, *The Ways of My Grandmothers* (New York: Quill, 1982), 26. Carter found that there was no Cree or Blackfoot word for polygamy because it was not seen as a distinct departure from any norm. Polygamy was just one of many possibilities, but it was a favourable domestic arrangement because it “provided economic assistance, companionship, and enhanced status for the senior wife.” See Sarah Carter, “Creating “Semi-Widows” and “Supernumerary Wives”: Prohibiting Polygamy in Prairie Canada’s Aboriginal Communities to 1900,” in *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada’s Colonial Past*, ed. Katie Pickles and Myra Ruthford (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 132.

⁷⁹⁹ Hungry Wolf, *The Ways of My Grandmothers*, 27.

⁸⁰⁰ Andy Blackwater’s response to Beatrice Blackwood’s “Blood Indian Notes,” Appendix Four: Kainai Reflections on Beatrice Blackwood’s Diary in *Pictures Bring Us Messages /Sinaakssiiksi aohtsimaahpihkookiyaawa: Photographs and Histories from the Kainai Nation*, by Alison K. Brown and Laura Peers with members of the Kainai Nation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 238.

the family and sexuality. Next to slavery, polygamy was the next most contentious issue in the United States. The controversial practice brought unwanted attention from the United States government. Eventually, the government passed a series of laws prohibiting polygamy. In 1862, the U.S. Congress passed the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act, but the Civil War, among other factors, prevented the suppression of plural marriage. The U.S. Supreme Court tested the constitutionality of the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act with *Reynolds v. United States* in 1878. The anti-polygamy bill stood the legal test, and the Supreme Court rejected the argument of religious freedom. The U.S. government's next line of attack came in the form of the Edmunds Act of 1882, which deemed both polygamy and unlawful cohabitation illegal. Prison sentences, prohibition of voting, and exclusion from public service were the punishments facing those convicted of either or both crimes. In 1887, the Edmunds-Tucker Act further restricted the Mormons and nearly destroyed the LDS Church by disincorporating both the Church and the Perpetual Emigrating Fund and seizing Church-owned property.⁸⁰¹ This background provides one reason why Latter-day Saints immigrated to Canada – they thought Canada was a place to hide from prosecution and continue to practice controversial customs. However, bigamy was illegal in Canada and Canadians were just as concerned about maintaining their standard of the “ideal” family.

Charles Ora Card was one of these Latter-day Saints escaping anti-polygamy prosecution.

The U.S. Marshals Service arrested him on 26 July 1886 for taking four wives (his first wife

⁸⁰¹ Bradley, *Kidnapped from That Land*, 3-5. Kathryn M. Daynes, “Differing Polygamous Patterns: Nineteenth-Century LDS and Twenty-First Century FLDS Marriage Systems,” in *Modern Polygamy in the United States: Historical, Cultural, and Legal Issues*, ed. Cardell K. Jacobson with Lara Burton (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 140. For further information on the legislation process, see Ken Driggs, “The Mormon Church-State Confrontation in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Journal of Church and State* 30, no. 2 (1988): 273-289 and Richard D. Poll, “The Legislative Antipolygamy Campaign,” *BYU Studies* 25, no. 4 (1986): 107-124. Also, see Gordon’s *The Mormon Question* for a detailed study of nineteenth-century polygamy and United States law.

divorced him but he remained married to three), but he escaped from the train transporting him to the jail.⁸⁰² These events forced Card into hiding and he decided that it would be best to flee to Mexico. Instead, Church president John Taylor (1808-1887) suggested that Canada would be an even better location for the fugitive. Taylor, originally from England and later Upper Canada, believed that there was more freedom and flexibility to practice their religion under British law.⁸⁰³ The suggestion from his spiritual leader along with the need to leave the United States led to Card's exploration of British Columbia and the North-West Territories in search of suitable land for colonization. He finally decided to settle on an area around Lee's Creek. By the end of March 1887, the first group of settlers arrived and camped at this spot.⁸⁰⁴ The Woolf family, in particular, recorded their journey, which started from Utah, in April of 1887, of over 1000 miles from Hyde Park to Lewiston and Rexburg, Idaho, to Dillon and Helena, Montana, and finally across the United States-Canada border into the North-West Territories.⁸⁰⁵ John A. Woolf (1843-1928) was a polygamist, like Card, and in search of refuge. In her account of the founding of Cardston, Woolf's daughter Jane Woolf Bates (1873-1951) noted the difficult and dangerous journey: "Idaho and Montana through which we were to travel was wild, Indian infested, unsettled country for the most part, with rugged mountains and turbulent rivers to cross. The roads were poor at the best, often cut through forests, and were sometimes only narrow trails."⁸⁰⁶

The families that endured the trek to Lee's Creek were polygamous, but, while men brought only

⁸⁰² Brigham Y. Card, "Charles Ora Card and the Founding of the Mormon Settlements in Southwestern Alberta, North-West Territories," in *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, ed. Brigham Y. Card et al. (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1990), 84. The Revised Statutes of Canada, 1886 came into effect a few months before the Saints arrived in the North-West Territories. Bigamy was still prohibited. See "An Act Respecting Offenses Relating to the Laws of Marriage," 49 Victoria, ch. 161, sec. 4.

⁸⁰³ Card, "Charles Ora Card," 85.

⁸⁰⁴ Bates and Hickman, *Founding of Cardston*, 5.

⁸⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁸⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 7. One notes the racist implications of the term "Indian infested," as if Indigenous peoples were a pest that invaded the household rather than the original occupants living their lives in their ancestral lands.

one wife into Canada, they brought children from other wives too. For example, John Theodore Brandley (1851-1928) moved to Stirling in 1899 with some of his younger children by his wife Margaret Keeler (1863-1910) while Keeler stayed in Utah and Brandley married Rosina Elisabeth Zaugg (1868-1951) who lived with him in Canada.⁸⁰⁷

Historian Jessie L. Embry described the lifestyle of Latter-day Saints in Canada as “de facto monogamy.”⁸⁰⁸ Mentally and spiritually they were polygamous, but day-to-day they lived monogamously within a larger community of monogamist polygamists. Samuel Matkin (1850-1905) had three wives when he immigrated to Canada in 1887: Sarah Ann Wiles (1853-1930), Permelia Julia Drury (1853-1936), and Sena Georgina Andersen (1860-1914). Andersen moved with Matkin to Lee’s Creek and was his Canadian wife and mother of his Canadian family.⁸⁰⁹ Ephraim Harker (1854-1932) married Alice Jane Bennion (1856-1929) in Salt Lake City in 1876 and married his second wife Sarah Elizabeth Carter (1869-1951) in 1889. Harker’s second wife Carter accompanied him to Canada.⁸¹⁰ Thomas Rowell Leavitt (1834-1891), husband to more than one woman, brought his third wife Harriet Martha Dowdle (1862-1924) to the new Canadian settlement.⁸¹¹ This became a common practice. At one point, Card’s wife Lavinia Clark Rigby (1866-1960) lived in Idaho while Zina Young (1850-1931) split her time between Canada and Salt Lake City and Sarah Jane Painter (1858-1936) remained in Logan, Utah.

⁸⁰⁷ Louis Orson Brandley, oral history, interviewed by Charles Ursenbach, Raymond, Alberta, 1976, transcript, Church History Library.

⁸⁰⁸ Jessie L. Embry, “Mormon Polygamy in Canada, the United States and Mexico,” 178.

⁸⁰⁹ Charles Samuel Matkin, Oral history, interviewed by Charles Ursenbach, Magrath, Alberta, 18 July 1975, transcript, Church History Library. Heber James Matkin, Oral history, interviewed by Charles Ursenbach, Lethbridge, Alberta, 1974, transcript, Church History Library.

⁸¹⁰ Bennion and Richards, *Joseph Harker Family History*, 265. Harker Family Committee, *Harker Heritage* (Magrath, AB: Verona Harker Merkley, 1993), 27.

⁸¹¹ Leavitt Family Organization, *Thomas Rowell Leavitt*, 35. Josephine Leavitt Allred, oral history, interviewed by Orvilla Allred Steven, Provo, Utah, 1976, transcript, Church History Library.

c. Public Reactions to Polygamy and Plural Marriage

The capital of Canada was over two-thousand miles away from the North-West Territories, so Canadians learned about alternative marriage customs second-hand. For example, Christian missionaries recorded their interactions and observations, which were later published in manuscript format. John Maclean (1851-1928) was a Methodist missionary among the Kainai from 1880 to 1889 and left us with numerous, although biased, accounts of his time in the North-West Territories. In *The Indians, Their Manners and Customs*, Maclean described marriage among the Blackfoot as, “simply a bargain between the suitor and the young woman’s father, for a certain number of horses.”⁸¹² Maclean’s one-sided, Christian perspective of the Blackfoot revealed the type of information eastern Canadians received about First Nations peoples. Maclean tried to rationalize the practice of polygamy and guessed that “the Blackfeet did not intermarry with tribes outside their confederacy.”⁸¹³ In Maclean’s fictional work *The Warden of the Plains*, he revealed his opinion of polygamy in the short story titled, “Asokoa, the Chief’s Daughter.” Maclean explained that the character Asokoa’s “inferior position” was a result of her female sex.⁸¹⁴ To confirm that she was a victim of “the customs of the people,” Maclean narrated that the chief traded his fourteen-year-old daughter to Running Deer, a sixty-year-old warrior, for four horses.⁸¹⁵ Running Deer’s three other wives confronted Asokoa when she first entered the lodge and, following convention, she “would be obliged to submit to the rule of the one who was

⁸¹² John Maclean, *The Indians, Their Manners and Customs* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1889), 26.

⁸¹³ Maclean, *Canadian Savage Folk*, 62.

⁸¹⁴ John Maclean, *The Warden of the Plains and Other Stories of Life in the Canadian North-West* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1896), 55.

⁸¹⁵ *Ibid.* 56-57.

the queen.”⁸¹⁶ Even when Asokoa found true love and desired to leave the polygamous relationship she could not simply request freedom and had to run away.⁸¹⁷

In addition to fiction and missionary biographies, readers learned about First Nations peoples through the work of academics and researchers. Anthropologist Grinnell published his ethnographic studies of the Blackfoot in 1892. “The Blackfeet take as many wives as they wish,” he observed, “[I]f the man had proved a good, kind husband to his first wife, other men, who thought a good deal of their daughters, might propose to give them to him.”⁸¹⁸ Representing Oxford’s Pitt Rivers Museum, anthropologist Beatrice Blackwood (1889-1975) visited the Blood Reserve on the Third and 4th of August 1925 during her three-year North American research trip. In her field notes, Blackwood wrote on the subject of marriage and believed, “Marriage is often ‘Indian fashion’: by exchange of presents, and when the man gets tired of his wife he gives back the presents and goes to live with someone else. This is stopped by the [Indian] Agent whenever possible but is difficult to change.”⁸¹⁹ What Blackwood and other outsiders labelled as “Indian fashion” could just as easily fall under the definition of a dowry. White Canadian women could receive a dowry, which might be a portion of their inheritance, at the beginning of a new marriage. In nineteenth century Canada, a dowry “consisted typically of cash, bed, and cow...was simply a contribution by the bride’s kin towards the setting up of the new household.”⁸²⁰ Alternatively, for the Kainai, the gift, or dowry, might have been horses instead of

⁸¹⁶ Ibid. 58.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid., 62.

⁸¹⁸ Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, 215-216.

⁸¹⁹ Beatrice Blackwood, “Blood Indian Notes,” in *Pictures Bring Us Messages’/Sinaakssiiksi aohtsimaahpihkookiyaawa: Photographs and Histories from the Kainai Nation*, by Alison K. Brown and Laura Peers with members of the Kainai Nation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 236.

⁸²⁰ Bruce S. Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach*, 2nd ed. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), 208. Another account from nineteenth century Upper Canada: “No dowry and no coming out meant no introductions to eligible young men, and therefore, no likely prospects of suitors, even from

household goods. According to Kainai community member Andy Blackwater, “[I]f you’re going to marry you give presents, you don’t get presents.”⁸²¹ In another interview, and in contrast to Blackwood’s observations of Kainai marriage, Blackwater argued, “Marriages occur through traditional ways, based on survival...you don’t want to put your daughter where she would have to struggle, where she would be abused. So, a lot of arranged marriages did occur.”⁸²²

Esther Schiff Goldfrank (1896-1997), another anthropologist, arrived in 1939 and visited numerous Blackfoot reservations from Alberta to Montana. In *Changing Configurations in the Social Organization of a Blackfoot Tribe During the Reserve Period*, Goldfrank judged that marriage within the Kainai Nation was unstable due to “psychopathic possessiveness and aggressive behavior” and, furthermore, that tribe members had “re-establish[ed] the polygamous past with considerable success.”⁸²³ Goldfrank offered the example of a woman joining another family “not unlike a second wife” if her husband was absent due to circumstances, such as a prison sentence.⁸²⁴ She disregarded traditional customs and familial bonds that connected tribe members and caused them to assist one another especially in times of need.

d. Political Reactions to Polygamy and Plural Marriage

Representatives of the Canadian government added to the growing dialogue regarding “deviant” marriage practices. In government reports, debates, and legislation, they expressed fears of non-monogamous unions. At the House of Commons in 1882, during a debate over Bill No. 9 and marriage with a deceased wife’s sister, Member of Parliament Guillaume Amyot

the middle class” in Barbara Williams, *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada: The Journals, Letters, and Art of Anne Langton* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 10.

⁸²¹ Blackwood, “Blood Indian Notes,” 238.

⁸²² Ibid.

⁸²³ Esther Schiff Goldfrank, *Changing Configurations in the Social Organization of a Blackfoot Tribe During the Reserve Period* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), 52-53.

⁸²⁴ Ibid., 53.

(1843-1896) moved that every marriage celebrated by competent religious authority be hereby declared valid and legal.⁸²⁵ Wilfrid Laurier (1841-1919) asked if this Bill would apply to “the Mormon Church” and Amyot replied, “I am happy to reply that the Mormon Church is not accepted by the law in this country, and I hope it never will be; so it is not necessary to consider that point.”⁸²⁶ But Amyot was incorrect, and the Latter-day Saints arrived five years later.

As a response to the alleged sale of “Indian girls to White men in the Canadian North West,” the Committee of the Privy Council, with approval from the Governor General of Canada, released a report in 1887 discussing the marriage customs of Aboriginal peoples. In the report, the Committee stated that Aboriginal marriages required “only consent of the parties and of the father of the female without every rite and without the idea of continuing obligation. The consent of the father is generally procured by a gift, or is at least dignified by the acceptance of the Indian. Hence it is at that which is a mere marriage custom has come to be so frequently spoken of as the “sale” of women and girls.”⁸²⁷ The report quoted extensively from the case of *Connolly vs. Woolwich and Johnson et al.* to explain the validity of this type of marriage in Canada. Although the government recognized these unions as legally valid, the report revealed underlying opinions on the matter:

The Minister at the same time doubts greatly whether it would be possible by legal means to bring about a better condition of affairs, or whether, if the customs referred to could be altogether prohibited...The immediate result of such repression would be, it is feared, to convert women, now regarded as reputable, by themselves and the Society in which they live,

⁸²⁵ Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada: Fourth Session-Fourth Parliament (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1882), 485.

⁸²⁶ Ibid, 486.

⁸²⁷ Library and Archives of Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, RG 10, Black Series, volume 3762, file 32345, Certified Copy of a Report of the Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council on the 31 October 1887, reproduction copy number C-10192. The Committee of the Privy Council responded to a Dispatch dated 29th July 1886 from the High Commissioner for Canada in London Charles Tupper regarding a letter from Mr. F.W. Clesson Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society.

into prostitutes and thus, by causing them to lose their own self-respect greatly to aggravate the evil which it is desire to cure. The Minister is of opinion that the true remedy for this lax state of things must come from the gradual civilization of the Indians and more especially by the inoculation into their minds of the views which prevail in civilized communities as regards woman's true position in the family and of the Christian doctrine respecting the sanctity and indissolubility of the marriage tie. When they come to grasp this higher morality it will no doubt be a cry to bring about the desired change in their social relations.⁸²⁸

This report suggested that Canadians, even though they were legally obligated to, did not respect Aboriginal marriage customs.

Just as they could have read missionary or academic publications to learn about the First Nations peoples, Canadians might have read newspaper or magazine articles about Latter-day Saints. A monthly review of current events called *The Bystander* described the LDS as “a strange community, which has relapsed into polygamy.... Mormonism ought to perish, of course, and will perish; but it is a human aberration, with some features not unworthy of study.”⁸²⁹

On 27 September 1887, several months after the first Mormon settlers arrived in the NWT, *The Macleod Gazette* published an article, defending the LDS, which stated, “It is our duty to take people as we find them, and to judge them by their lives among us. There are thousands and thousands of Mormons who have never practiced polygamy, and have apparently never shown a desire to do so.”⁸³⁰ Positive yet naïve, the article continued, “No one has a right to assert that those who have settled in this country were ever among the number who did indulge in that practice.”⁸³¹ The *Edmonton Bulletin* had less positive statements to make about the Mormon

⁸²⁸ Ibid.

⁸²⁹ *The Bystander* (March 1881): 137.

⁸³⁰ “Our Mormon Settlers,” *The Macleod Gazette*, September 27, 1887.

⁸³¹ Ibid. The statement was incorrect because among the first to settle around Lee's Creek were polygamists. Some of these polygamist early settlers were Charles Ora Card, John A. Woolf, Henry L. Hinman (1837-1921), John W. Taylor (1858-1916), Richard Pilling (1833-1906), Thomas Rowell Leavitt, Josiah Austin Hammer (1855-1922), Thomas Duce (1846-1926), and Ephraim Harker (1854-1932).

immigrants in an article two years later. The article stated, “[Canadians] can do better without them than with them, if they introduce into our country their polygamous practices; the persistence in which has been the means of driving them from the soil of the United States.”⁸³² Closer to the truth, the article asked, “Will a change of latitude be accompanied by a change of life and belief? Or are they coming to this country to escape, what they claim was persecution in the one they are leaving, without ceasing those practices, that were the direct cause of these so called persecutions.”⁸³³

On 30 October 1888, Charles Ora Card and Apostles Francis M. Lyman (1840-1916) and John W. Taylor travelled from the Lee’s Creek settlement to Lethbridge and then by train to Winnipeg, Manitoba. The company left Winnipeg on Monday, 5 November, and arrived in Ottawa on Thursday. On Friday, 9 November, Card, Lyman, and Taylor met with the Minister of the Interior and requested,

For the privilege of purchasing Our Hamlet site also all the lands desired for the settlement of the Latterday saints in this dominion at \$1.25 per acre and in addition to this one Fourth Section of Coal lands at the same price (\$1.25 per acre) for every township of land purchased by our people. Also the Free use of timber & Rock for Domestic purposes. We further asked the Gov’t for free transportation of our Immigration from their borders where it could be done By R[ailwa]y or Ste[a]mship navigation.⁸³⁴

The following day they met with Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald (1815-1891) and presented the same requests. Afterwards, Lyman,

Appealed to Him [on] behalf of those who had Entered in to the covenant of the Eternity of Marriage whom at this date were suffering in prisons of the U.S. besides being heavily fined and not allowed to mingle with their families with the repetition of fines and imprisonment... He then asked Sir John if he did not think that this Government would give them a resting

⁸³² “Mormons in Canada,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, December 21, 1889.

⁸³³ *Ibid.*

⁸³⁴ 9 November 1888, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

place upon their Soil for they were the choicest of men and had many sons and ample means to sustain themselves and would bring wealth into the Dominion.⁸³⁵

One interpretation of Lyman's plea is that he tried to demonstrate the value in allowing polygamy because plural families equalled numerous children, who were all hard workers, and would, therefore, bring prosperity to Canada. Canada received some of the more industrious and prosperous Latter-day Saints because those were the men that received permission to wed more than one woman and those men with more than one wife were running from U.S. authorities straight into Canada. John W. Taylor continued and, "Explained the great principle of plurality of wives as viewed by the s[ain]ts and as practiced in its purity for the purpose of observing God's Law in multiplying and replenishing the Earth."⁸³⁶ When Prime Minister Macdonald asked them to differentiate between bigamy and polygamy Lyman responded that, "Bigamy was deception and the wives were deceived and injured, while polygamy as we viewed and practiced it, it was understood and consented to by the former wife or wives and knowing by the one married."⁸³⁷ Card recorded in his diary that Macdonald "acquiesced by a gesture of the head. We thank God for thus opening up the way."⁸³⁸

On 14 November, Card, Lyman, and Taylor met with the Minister of Customs Mackenzie Bowell (1823-1917) who rejected polygamy because "He felt also that polygamy was not proper and very unpopular and consequently could not be admitted."⁸³⁹ Further rejection followed on 16 November when Minister of the Interior Edgar Dewdney (1835-1916) informed them that they would have to homestead like everyone else rather than be allowed to purchase the land. Card

⁸³⁵ 10 November 1888, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁸³⁶ Ibid.

⁸³⁷ Ibid.

⁸³⁸ Ibid.

⁸³⁹ 14 November 1888, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

noted that Dewdney “did not refer to our request for our brethren who were in bondage which was referred to Sir John A. MacDonnald.”⁸⁴⁰ The “brethren who were in bondage” were their fellow polygamists in the United States. This trip to Ottawa placed the Latter-day Saints more than ever on the Canadian government’s radar.

The Canada Presbyterian, a Toronto-based publication, called the success of the LDS Church “one of the religious puzzles of the time.” The journalist, who called Mormonism fraudulent and absurd, promised,

So long as the Mormons in Canada choose to conform to the laws of the country and make industrious citizens, they will be left unmolested by the State. In a land where religious liberty prevails they need not expect special privileges. The time for giving exemptions is past. One thing is certain, that Canadians will not tolerate in their midst a community that practices polygamy.⁸⁴¹

During the Third Session of the 6th Parliament in April 1889, Member of Parliament Cyrille Doyon (1842-1918) voiced concerns regarding the Latter-day Saints and read from the Montreal newspaper *La Minerve*:

Some hundreds of Mormons have crossed the frontier and are grouped near Fort McLeod. The despatches say that they are now importing a large number of cattle for stock-raising, and that they are preparing for a large colony. This is very bad seed grain, and we do not want to see any corner of the North-West poisoned with it. Polygamy is forbidden by our laws, and whosoever practices it infringes them.⁸⁴²

Doyon proceeded to ask what steps the Canadian government intended to take, but Conservative MP Hector-Louis Langevin (1826-1906) replied that the government had no

⁸⁴⁰ 16 November 1888, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁸⁴¹ *The Canada Presbyterian*, November 21, 1888, 760.

⁸⁴² Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada: Third Session-Sixth Parliament (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1889), 980.

information before them to assist with any decision making regarding the Latter-day Saints in the NWT.

Thus far in Canadian legal history, polygamy was not included in Canadian criminal law, only bigamy was mentioned. On 7 February 1890 (three years after the Latter-day Saints began permanently settling in Canada) Sir John Thompson (1845-1894) introduced Bill No. 65 to further amend criminal law by creating “effectual provisions for the suppression of polygamy.”⁸⁴³ On 21 February, while in Logan, Utah, Charles Ora Card received a forwarded letter from the Deputy Minister of the Interior Alexander Mackinnon Burgess (1850-1898) who relayed a report that Card and his people on Lee’s Creek were practicing polygamy and cohabitation. The next day Card responded and included a copy of his reply in his personal diary:

It can be “clearly established” that the alleged crimes to which you refer of “Polygamy and Cohabitation” are not practiced either in or out of Cardston in Canada...I am confident our people could not practice either “Polygamy or Cohabitation” without the North West Police knowing it. I am well aware of the assurance we gave to Sir John A MacDonal and the minister of the Interior and I can assure you, that our good faith in this matter has not been broken [emphasis by Card]. Our people understand too well the laws of the Dominion of Canada to infringe upon them.⁸⁴⁴

Previous to writing this letter, however, Card had taken his breakfast with one of his plural wives, Sarah Painter.

Discussion of Bill No. 65 continued several months later. On 10 April Members of Parliament examined Section 8 extending the prohibition of bigamy and Section 9 dealing with polygamy. After a recess, Thompson revealed his lack of knowledge and reported that it was “the Mormon practice” to marry more than one person at a time. By this he meant, a man

⁸⁴³ Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada: Fourth Session-Sixth Parliament (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1890), 342-343.

⁸⁴⁴ 22 February 1890, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

married two women on the same day, which was not the case in most Mormon plural marriages.

Edward Blake (1833-1912) spoke in support of the amendment:

[T]here is now a disposition on the part of a considerable number of these people [Mormons]—if not on the part of their authorities themselves—to seek some more congenial place, wherein they hope to be able to carry on these practices [polygamy]...the settlement has been made in the North-West Territories...I can only highly approve of the effort which the Hon. Minister of Justice is making to provide stringent laws against the practices which are condemned by these clauses of the Bill.⁸⁴⁵

Blake proceeded to quote clause 34 from Brigham Young's will, which was published after his death in 1877, "To avoid any question, the words married, or marriage, in this will shall be taken to have become consummate between man and woman, either by ceremony before a lawful magistrate or according to the order of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or by their cohabitation in conformity to our customs."⁸⁴⁶ Then Edgar Dewdney, who was Minister of the Interior when the LDS visited Ottawa, referred to the Mormon delegation of December 1888 and incorrectly reported, "[A]t the time they stated most distinctly that those coming into the Territories did not propose to practice polygamy."⁸⁴⁷ Not only did the LDS request permission to practice plural marriage and bring their families into the country, but also, only two months prior, authorities accused the Latter-day Saints in the NWT of practicing polygamy and cohabitation. Liberal MP John Charlton (1829-1910) did not want the Canadian government to encourage Mormon immigration because he perceived the LDS as an undesirable class of

⁸⁴⁵ Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada: Fourth Session-Sixth Parliament (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1890), 3173.

⁸⁴⁶ Ibid. Brigham Young, will, ca. 1887, Church History Library.

⁸⁴⁷ Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada: Fourth Session-Sixth Parliament (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1890), 3176.

immigrants.⁸⁴⁸ MP for Northumberland in New Brunswick Peter Mitchell (1824-1899) disagreed with Charlton and argued that,

any man can come here and can demand permission to occupy any unoccupied lands which are set apart for those people who come into this country to settle here.... It is admitted that they are first-rate settlers, that they are industrious and frugal; and all we should do is to see that they obey the laws which compel them to live as other people do in a Christian community.⁸⁴⁹

Blake stated his impression was that the LDS “were coming here in the hope that they would be able to re-establish in our country a condition of things which they had found it difficult to continue in the United States.”⁸⁵⁰

A few weeks following this discussion in the House of Commons, the Senate read Bill No. 65 and opened the criminal law amendment for debate. John Abbott (1821-1893) summarized the third chapter as “mainly devoted to the prevention of an evil which seems likely to encroach upon us, that of Mormon polygamy, and it is devoted largely to provision against that practice.”⁸⁵¹ Prime Minister Macdonald clarified that the Bill had a specific section regarding Mormonism that prohibited Latter-day Saints who had been convicted of polygamy from serving on juries or voting in elections. Relieved, Senator Patrick Power (1841-1921) responded, “It is desirable that no one holding views which Mormons do should be allowed to vote or serve as jurors.”⁸⁵²

⁸⁴⁸ Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada: Fourth Session-Sixth Parliament (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1890), 3179.

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁵¹ Debates of the Senate of the Dominion of Canada: Fourth Session – Sixth Parliament (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1890), 583.

⁸⁵² Ibid., 584.

e. Legal Reactions to Polygamy and Plural Marriage

While government representatives discussed Mormon marriage customs in Canada, the courts further solidified the status of Aboriginal marriage with the North-West Territories Supreme Court decision of December 1889 *Regina v. Nan-e-quis-a-ka*. The Court held that “the laws of England respecting the solemnization of marriage are not applicable to the Territories [with respect to] the Indians.”⁸⁵³ A previous judge rejected the evidence of Maggie, the first wife and legal wife, but admitted that of Keewasens the second wife (both women married the prisoner in the “Indian fashion”). Following this, the Court convicted and sentenced the prisoner on the charge of assault. The question put before the Supreme Court was whether the Court could reject the evidence of the first wife. Justice Wetmore wrote, “I adopt this view of the law in so far as the marriage customs and laws of the Indians are concerned as among themselves without, however, recognizing as valid any law or custom authorizing polygamy.”⁸⁵⁴ Building upon *Connolly v. Woolrich and Johnson et al.*, he continued,

I have great doubts if these laws [of England] are applicable to the Territories in any respect...It would be monstrous to hold that the law of England respecting the solemnization of marriage is applicable to them...The conclusion I have arrived at is that a marriage between Indians by mutual consent and according to Indian custom since 15th July, 1870, is a valid marriage, providing that neither of the parties had a husband or wife, as the case might be, living at the time...the evidence of Maggie was properly rejected and that the judgment given on the trial of the prisoner should be affirmed...a wife is not competent or compellable to testify for or against her husband.⁸⁵⁵

Once again, legal authorities confirmed the legitimacy of Aboriginal marriage customs while at the same time denying the practice of polygamy.

⁸⁵³ *Regina v. Nan-e-quis-a-ka* in *Reports of the Supreme Court of the North-West Territories*, vol. 1 no. 2, ed. W. C. Hamilton (Regina: The Leader Company, 1890), 21.

⁸⁵⁴ *Regina v. Nan-e-quis-a-ka*, 23.

⁸⁵⁵ *Regina v. Nan-e-quis-a-ka*, 25-26.

While some Members of Parliament voiced their support for the Mormon settlers, no one supported the practice of polygamy and the Canadian government amended Canadian Criminal Law and repealed Chapter 161 of the Revised Statutes related to the laws of marriage. They reworded the section regarding bigamy:

Every one who, being married, marries any other person during the life of the former husband or wife, whether the second marriage takes place in Canada or elsewhere, and every male person who, in Canada, simultaneously, or on the same day, marries more than one woman, is guilty of felony, and liable to seven years' imprisonment.⁸⁵⁶

A section on Polygamy followed:

Every one who practices, or, by the rites, ceremonies, forms, rules or customs of any denomination, sect or society, religious or secular, or by any form of contract, or by mere mutual consent, or by any other method whatsoever, and whether in a manner recognized by law as a binding form of marriage or not, agrees or consents to practise or enter into—

- (a.) Any form of polygamy ; or—
- (b.) Any kind of conjugal union with more than one person at the same time ; or—
- (c.) What among the persons commonly called Mormons is known as spiritual or plural marriage ; or—
- (d.) Who lives, cohabits, or agrees or consents to live or cohabit, in any kind of conjugal union with a person who is married to another, or with a person who lives or cohabits with another or others in any kind of conjugal union ; and-- ...⁸⁵⁷

Polygamy was now officially illegal in Canada, but the LDS Church in the United States had already been dealing with legal pressures for several years. Thus, it is hard to determine how closely the Canadian Criminal Law Amendments influenced the Church's decision and President Wilford Woodruff's revelation regarding plural marriage in September of 1890.

⁸⁵⁶ "An Act further to amend the Criminal Law," 53 Victoria, ch. 37, sec. 10 (Revised Statutes of Canada (R.S.C.), ch. 161, sec. 4).

⁸⁵⁷ "An Act further to amend the Criminal Law," 53 Victoria, ch. 37, sec. 11 (R.S.C., ch. 161, sec. 5).

Church President Wilford Woodruff (1807-1898) publicly released the Official Declaration, or First Manifesto, on 6 October 1890, which stated,

We are not teaching polygamy or plural marriage, not permitting any person to enter into its practice.... Inasmuch as laws have been enacted by Congress forbidding plural marriages, which laws have been pronounced constitutional by the court of last resort, I hereby declare my intention to submit to those laws, and to use my influence with the members of the Church over which I preside to have them do likewise.... I now publicly declare that my advice to the Latter-day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land.⁸⁵⁸

This statement marked the beginning of the end of the official practice of plural marriage for the mainstream LDS Church. It did not mean polygamy would discontinue in LDS communities. It did not even mean the prohibition of new plural marriages. One might interpret the Manifesto as not necessarily a lie but not the truth either. When Woodruff said the Church would not teach polygamy or plural marriage, what he really could have said was that they were not publicly, or obviously, teaching the doctrine. Woodruff may have “advised” the Latter-day Saints to stop polygamy, but how strong was the encouragement?

Charles Ora Card kept suspiciously quiet on the issue even having attended the October conference in person. For his diary entry dated Monday, 6 October 1890 he wrote, “To day I attended meeting at 10 & 2 P.M. at the Latter meeting...the noted Manifesto by Prest. Wilford Woodruff presented & unanimously sustained by the S[ain]ts assembled.”⁸⁵⁹ Three years after The Manifesto, on 26 December 1893, Card met with John W. Taylor, John A. Woolf, Henry L. Hinman, and other Canadian polygamists “to consider further the advisability of planting Settlements in British Columbia & Montana” and recalled that Taylor announced, “[W]e have

⁸⁵⁸ “Official Declaration 1,” Scriptures, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, accessed January 13, 2015, <https://www.lds.org/scriptures/dc-testament/od/1?lang=eng>.

⁸⁵⁹ 26 December 1893, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

called you together to consult upon the subject to aid us in keeping the Commandments of God & relieve [retrieve] other families.”⁸⁶⁰ Thomas Archibald Hendry (1857-1929) commented that the LDS in Canada were “comfortable here with our families but we need to provide for our other families...it is not safe in the U.S. with more families than one...The Lord has Commanded this principle & it will go on & on...I propose to bring my families into the North Country.”⁸⁶¹ Hendry and his wife Jane Elizabeth Stuart (1863-1936) immigrated to Canada in 1888 and left Hendry’s other wife Jennett Agnes Glenn (1860-1952) in Utah. The Manifesto of 1890 did little to solve the issues of already existing plural families. At the stake conference in Cardston on 28 November 1897, Zina D.H. Young (1821-1901) preached, “The principle of Celestial Marriage is a grand principle and will revolutionize the whole Earth.”⁸⁶² During a meeting of the Cardston Relief Society in 1905, Nellie Taylor (1869-1945) encouraged her audience to be “loyal to every principle and hold them sacred and teach our children the same. The gospel will never be changed to suit the government... [L]et us quietly, modestly live for the holy principle that gave many of our dead ones birth and is assailed by our enemies and is very unpopular.”⁸⁶³ So although the LDS Church publicly denounced plural marriage, it seemed to continue at the local level, especially in Alberta.

Laws prohibiting bigamy and polygamy remained when the Parliament of Canada passed *The Criminal Code* in 1892. Once again, authorities reworded and redefined the crimes. Section 275 defined bigamy as:

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁶¹ Ibid.

⁸⁶² Stake conference minutes, 28 November 1897, Cardston Alberta Stake General Minutes, 1894-1974, Church History Library.

⁸⁶³ Relief Society minutes, 2 March 1905, Cardston Ward Relief Society Minutes and Records, 1887-1911, Church History Library.

- (a.) the act of a person who, being married, goes through a form of marriage with any other person in any part of the world : or
- (b.) the act of a person who goes through a form of marriage in any part of the world with any person whom he or she knows to be married ; or
- (c.) the act of a person who goes through a form of marriage with more than one person simultaneously or on the same day.⁸⁶⁴

The section stated that marriage was “any form either recognized as a valid form by the law of the place where it is gone through or, though not so recognized, is such that a marriage celebrated there in that form is recognized as binding by the law of the place where the offender is tried.”⁸⁶⁵ Section 278 on polygamy repeated the 1890 amendments of Chapter 161 Section 5 of the Revised Statutes of Canada.⁸⁶⁶

5.2 Integration: Monogamy

a. After The Criminal Code

Despite the introduction of *The Criminal Code*, Indigenous peoples and Latter-day Saints continued to practice bigamy and polygamy in the North-West Territories. On 6 September 1892, Hayter Reed (1846-1936), Indian Commissioner for the North-West Territories, wrote to the Deputy of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in Ottawa admitting his failure to suppress polygamy among Indigenous peoples. In need of guidance, Reed submitted four questions:

No. 1. For the purpose of a criminal prosecution for bigamy, will a marriage contracted according to the Indian customs be considered a legal marriage?

No. 2. Is an Indian guilty of bigamy, who being married according to the Indian custom, takes to himself a second wife in legal marriage according to the law of the country?

No. 3. And what if an Indian being legally married takes to himself a second wife, according to the Indian customs?

⁸⁶⁴ “The Criminal Code, 1892,” 55 & 56 Victoria, ch. 29, sec. 275.

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁶ 53 Victoria, ch. 37, sec. 11 (R.S.C., ch. 161, sec. 5).

No. 4. Lastly, if a marriage according to the Indian customs be considered valid, would a separation according to the same customs be also be held legal?⁸⁶⁷

Although answers to these questions were available in previous court decisions, Reed continued his inquiry the following year and once more asked the Deputy of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs:

1. Is a marriage between two pagan Indians legally contracted according to the customs of their bands?
2. What, if both or one of the contracting parties be known to belong to a Christian denomination?
3. If valid, can such a marriage be dissolved according to Indian customs?
4. If not valid, what constitutes a legal marriage among Indians?
5. Is an Indian liable to criminal prosecution, if, in accordance with the customs of his Band, he lives with more than one wife?⁸⁶⁸

Coincidentally, to outsiders, the Latter-day Saints in the North-West Territories appeared to be assimilating. In his annual report of 1893, North-West Mounted Police Commissioner Lawrence W. Herchmer (1840-1915) reported, “The Mormons, numbering about 650, are doing well, improving their places and attending to business ; they have dug a flume to provide water for the power in their mill, and are getting out an irrigation ditch.”⁸⁶⁹ “They are a well-behaved people,” continued Herchmer, “[They] give no trouble in any way, and have greatly reduced the cost of living in the district.”⁸⁷⁰ A similarly positive report composed a year later by Frederick W. Wilkins (1854-1944) to the Surveyor General of the Department of the Interior named the

⁸⁶⁷ Hayter Reed letter to Deputy of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, September 6, 1892, microfilm, “Manitoba – Polygamy Among the Indians,” Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, Black series, volume 3881, Library and Archives Canada.

⁸⁶⁸ Hayter Reed letter to Deputy of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, September 25, 1893, microfilm, “Manitoba – Polygamy Among the Indians,” Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, Black series, volume 3881, Library and Archives Canada.

⁸⁶⁹ L. W. Herchmer, Commissioner, North-West Mounted Police, Annual Report of Commissioner L. W. Herchmer North-West Mounted Police, 1893, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada: Volume 11, Fourth Session of the Seventh Parliament, Session 1894* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1894), 15-10.

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid.

Latter-day Saints “honest and all their dealings are fair and square.”⁸⁷¹ According to Wilkins, they were “the best settlers in the North-West, and they will undoubtedly succeed in making their part of the country prosperous and valuable.”⁸⁷² In his 1899 report to the Superintendent of Immigration, Charles W. Speers (1856-1920), General Colonization Agent, wrote that the 1,700 Mormons in the District of Alberta were,

[A] very progressive people, with good schools and churches. They have raised 100,000 bushels of grain in 1897, and the same quantity in 1898. They have cheese factories; were constructing a large irrigation canal, and are making their country productive and farming profitable through a process of irrigation... They are a socialistic people, but observe Canadian laws and usages. They are first class settlers.⁸⁷³

However, some of these “first class settlers” had multiple wives, just like their neighbours the Kainai.

b. The Maintenance of the Ideal Canadian Family

While representatives of the Canadian government praised the polygamous settlers, the neighbouring Indigenous peoples found themselves further under government control with an amendment to *The Indian Act* in 1894 and children became a bargaining chip for government officials to use when preventing Aboriginal marriage customs.⁸⁷⁴ In a letter dated 20 February 1895, Indian Agent of the Blood Agency James A. Wilson (1850-1923) wrote to the Indian Commissioner in Regina about members of the Kainai Nation taking second wives even after

⁸⁷¹ Fred W. Wilkins, Report of F. W. Wilkins, D.T.S. Subdivision and Trail Surveys in South-Western Alberta, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada: Volume 9, Fifth Session of the Seventh Parliament, Session 1895* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1895), 13-39.

⁸⁷² Ibid.

⁸⁷³ Charles W. Speers, Report of C. W. Speers, General Colonization Agent, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada: Volume 10, Fifth Session of the Eighth Parliament, Session 1900* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1900), 13-139 – 13-140.

⁸⁷⁴ “An Act further to amend “The Indian Act,”” 57 & 58 Victoria, ch. 32, sec. 137 and 138. The new sections dictated the type and duration of education for Aboriginal children. Section 137 required compulsory attendance of children at school and section 138 gave the government the authority to establish industrial or boarding schools where Aboriginal children must attend until age sixteen.

Wilson warned them it was against Canadian law. He explained that Running Crane took Under Mouse as his wife when already married to her half-sister. Wilson confronted Running Crane and, since Under Mouse was 13-years-old, removed her from his home and placed her in the care of Reverend Swainson.⁸⁷⁵ Regarding another polygamy case, Wilson requested permission to take Plaited Hair's second wife and place her in an industrial school.⁸⁷⁶ Agent Wilson did not hesitate to punish members of the Kainai who practiced polygamy and refused to submit to Canadian law.

Attached to Wilson's February letter was a memo written in January by Amédée Forget (1847-1923), the Assistant Indian Commissioner, addressed to the entire department. Forget referred his readers to *The Criminal Code* Section 278 on polygamy and encouraged them to punish those that disobeyed the law. Forget wrote,

For years it has been kept before them, that polygamous unions are strictly prohibited by the laws of the country, and they have been cautioned against the consequences entailing upon a continuance of the practice. They are therefore now so fully cognizant of the fact that a plural marriage is a criminal act, that any further postponement of the prosecutions which they have all along been led to expect, will undoubtedly bring them to a point where their regard for the prestige of the law in this particular will be lessened ; and that they will be emboldened to profit by what cannot but seem to them as an evidence of weakness. A present illustration of this is the extreme probability that, should no action be taken against "Plaited Hair," the two others mentioned as having given up the second wives, will be almost certain to resume the relationship immediately.⁸⁷⁷

Indian Agent for the Siksika Nation Magnus Begg (1851-1904) complied with Forget's instructions and, like Wilson, agreed to send Aboriginal girls who were in polygamous unions to

⁸⁷⁵ James A. Wilson letter to the Indian Commissioner, February 20, 1895, microfilm, "Manitoba – Polygamy Among the Indians," Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, Black series, volume 3881, Library and Archives Canada.

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁷ Amédée Forget, memorandum, January 23, 1895, microfilm, "Manitoba – Polygamy Among the Indians," Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, Black series, volume 3881, Library and Archives Canada.

boarding or industrial schools.⁸⁷⁸ But punishment of this kind did not prevent polygamy. In July of 1898 Wilson reported to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs that six or seven more men had taken second wives that past year.⁸⁷⁹ Authorities hesitated to take legal action. The Indian Commissioner admitted, “It is possible that trouble may follow attempts to enforce the law, especially among the Indians of Treaty 7.”⁸⁸⁰ Thus, he advised Agent Wilson to meet with the chiefs and young man still practicing polygamy and, “[E]xplain fully the law on the subject...assure them that the Department has no desire to be hard with them, and that while it would see with pleasure the old men abandoning the practice, yet no prosecution is intended regarding them as they commenced this practice before they knew of the existence of the law.”⁸⁸¹

Just as the Department of Indian Affairs was aware of Indigenous polygamy, so was the North-West Mounted Police informed of the LDS practice of plural marriage. The NWMP sent Corporal E. H. Bolderson to Cardston with the purpose of surveiling the LDS community and their “polygamous practices.”⁸⁸² In a letter dated 10 February 1899, Corporal E.H. Bolderson presented evidence that Charles McCarty (1850-1926) lived with two women. Bolderson wrote,

Last winter I noticed two women were living for a time in Cardston in one room with a man named Charles McCarty. During the past summer

⁸⁷⁸ Magnus Begg, memorandum, March 9, 1895, microfilm, “Manitoba – Polygamy Among the Indians,” Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, Black series, volume 3881, Library and Archives Canada.

⁸⁷⁹ James A. Wilson letter to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, July 23, 1898, microfilm, “Blood Agency – Polygamy – (Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and Northwest Territories),” Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, Black series, volume 3559, Library and Archives Canada.

⁸⁸⁰ Amédée Forget letter to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, August 8, 1898, microfilm, “Blood Agency – Polygamy – (Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and Northwest Territories),” Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, Black series, volume 3559, Library and Archives Canada.

⁸⁸¹ Amédée Forget letter to James A. Wilson, August 18, 1898, microfilm, “Blood Agency – Polygamy – (Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and Northwest Territories),” Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, Black series, volume 3559, Library and Archives Canada.

⁸⁸² R. Burton Deane letter to Commissioner Lawrence W. Herchmer, March 17, 1899, microfilm, “Mormons at Cardstone [*sic*] – Report on polygamous practices amongst,” Royal Canadian Mounted Police fonds, Subject files, volume 169, Library and Archives Canada.

McCarty introduced me to one as his wife. The second one passed as Mrs. Maude Mercer. Later in the Summer I called at C. O. Card's residence on business. Card was out, and a young woman newly arrived from Utah was busy entertaining the woman known as Mrs. Maude Mercer. The late arrival immediately introduced me to Mrs. Mercer as Mrs. McCarty, which appeared to cause some consternation... Since then whilst discussing Polygamy with Mark Spencer of Cardston, who is not by any means a good Mormon from their standpoint, he was telling me, in confidence, what men resident in Cardston had two wives (1 here and 1 in the U.S.).⁸⁸³

Bolderson referenced an article from Salt Lake City reprinted in the Cardston Record on 8 February 1899, which stated, "American Fork, Jan. 26.—Charles and Maud McCarty from Cardston, Alberta, Canada, are visiting here at present."⁸⁸⁴ The two sisters mentioned in Bolderson's letter would have been Mary Mercer (1855-1943) and Margery Mercer (1860-1934), and McCarty was married to both. Bolderson continued, convinced that Charles McCarty was guilty of polygamy under Sec. 278 of the 1892 Criminal Code,

These two women being sisters and passing under different names, have in the ordinary course a reasonable excuse for living in the one house, and further, no Mormon would give evidence in a case of this kind unless cornered very tightly... Dr. Brant, who is not a Mormon, but who has lived in Utah for years, tells me he is pretty sure another man living near Mountain View has two wives resident in Canada. He will report to me or Sergt. Cotter, the name and particulars as soon as he finds out.⁸⁸⁵

Suspicion did not end there. In the article "A Big Family," the writer warned readers of deceptive Mormon missionaries in Canada and the colony in the NWT whose members "claim

⁸⁸³ E. H. Bolderson letter to R. Burton Deane, February 10, 1899, microfilm, "Mormons at Cardstone [*sic*] – Report on polygamous practices amongst," Royal Canadian Mounted Police fonds, Subject files, volume 169, Library and Archives Canada.

⁸⁸⁴ "Local and General," *Cardston Record*, February 8, 1899, 4.

⁸⁸⁵ E. H. Bolderson letter to R. Burton Deane, February 10, 1899, microfilm, "Mormons at Cardstone [*sic*] – Report on polygamous practices amongst," Royal Canadian Mounted Police fonds, Subject files, volume 169, Library and Archives Canada.

that they have given up one part of their system, polygamy, but it is feared that this profession is in many cases not a fact.”⁸⁸⁶

Despite accusations against the Mormons, no Latter-day Saint faced prosecution. However, there were local polygamists who did draw the legal ire of the white authorities: Kainai community member Bear’s Shin Bone was charged under Section 278 of the Criminal Code subsections (i) and (ii) for practicing polygamy with two women named Free Cutter Woman and Killed Herself. Both women married Bear’s Shin Bone according to the customs of their tribe. On 9 March 1899, Justice Charles Rouleau (1840-1901) “held that the marriage customs of the Blood Indian Tribe came within the provisions of sub-section (a) of section 278 of the Criminal Code, whether their ceremonies are those of a denomination, sect or society, or not, as their marriages are a form of contract, and recognized as valid... The prisoner was accordingly convicted.”⁸⁸⁷ Furthermore, “Wherever marriage is governed by no statute, consent constitutes marriage, and that consent is shown by the parties living together.”⁸⁸⁸ On 13 March, Agent Wilson wrote the Indian Commissioner in Winnipeg about the trial and conviction. Wilson had changed his mind regarding his decision to deny annuity payments to polygamous women in 1898 and requested permission to pay them arrears.⁸⁸⁹ Assistant Secretary Samuel

⁸⁸⁶ “A Big Family,” *The Children’s Record* 14, no. 8 (August 1899): 123. The same year Canadian author Lily Dougall (1858-1923) released her book about Joseph Smith titled *The Mormon Prophet* (Toronto: The W. J. Gage Company, 1899).

⁸⁸⁷ *The Queen v. “Bear’s Shin Bone”* in *Canadian Criminal Cases*, volume 3, ed. W. J. Tremear (Toronto: Canada Law Book Company, 1900), 330.

⁸⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁹ James A. Wilson, Letter to David Laird, Indian Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, Manitoba, and Keewatin, March 13, 1899, microfilm, “Blood Agency – Polygamy – (Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and Northwest Territories),” Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, Black series, volume 3559, Library and Archives Canada.

Stuart (1852-1920) granted Wilson's request and advised, "Leniency is shown in these cases as it is thought it will assist in furthering an easy transition to civilized views of matrimony."⁸⁹⁰

c. Irrigation

While polygamous Indigenous peoples faced legal consequences, polygamous Latter-day Saints began a lucrative contract building irrigation canals in southern Alberta with businessmen that knew about their alternative marriage customs.

Charles Ora Card frequently visited Lethbridge and it was there that he met Charles Alexander Magrath (1860-1949), former land surveyor and current employee of the North Western Coal and Navigation Company (NWCNC). Card, known to the United States government for "unlawful cohabitation," escaped arrest in 1886, but his charges followed him as the Salt Lake *Herald* published stories of his arrest escape and court dates.⁸⁹¹ In 1899, the newspaper printed a list of Cache county citizens accused of violating marriage laws and named "C. O. Card with Sarah J. Paynter, Zina Y. Card and Lavinia Rigby" among many others presented to County Attorney Nebeker.⁸⁹² The suspicion of plural marriage followed Card and the Latter-day Saints from the start of their settlement in southern Alberta. In 1888, the *Edmonton Bulletin* printed the report of S. J. Dennis, who surveyed the Mormon settlement,

There is, however, something to be said against the encouragement of the immigration of these people in large numbers. In the first place there is no doubt that some of those at present here are fugitives from justice in the United States, in consequence of their having practiced polygamy.... And while these people say that they have come to our Territories with the intention of obeying the law, they still are proud of being known as Mormons, and to the question of whether they practice or profess

⁸⁹⁰ Samuel Stewart, Letter to David Laird, April 4, 1899, microfilm, "Blood Agency – Polygamy – (Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and Northwest Territories)," Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, Black series, volume 3559, Library and Archives Canada.

⁸⁹¹ "The Escape of C. O. Card," *Salt Lake Herald*, July 27, 1886, 8. "First District Court," *Salt Lake Herald*, December 23, 1890, 4. "United States vs. C. O. Card; trial for unlawful cohabitation;" and then they listed the appointed jury.

⁸⁹² "Cache People Accused," *Salt Lake Herald*, November 29, 1899, 6.

polygamy they return no answer, but say that they believe in the Mormon articles of faith, a copy of which was given me by Mr. Card, and is herewith enclosed. These articles of faith of course authorize polygamy.⁸⁹³

Therefore, while Charles Magrath may never have met Card's other wives, there is little chance he was unaware of Card's extended family. Canadian authorities, such as the North-West Mounted Police, were cautious from their arrival. Commissioner L. W. Herchmer wrote,

They are, so far as progress and enterprise go, the very best settlers in our country, but any attempt to introduce the practice of polygamy under any guise must be promptly dealt with. They are, so far, if straight on this point, law abiding citizens. I have placed a detachment in the colony.⁸⁹⁴

In his diary entry for 2 May 1888, Card recalled a conversation about purchasing railway lands for future LDS to settle on.⁸⁹⁵ The following year they were still negotiating land matters with Card hoping to lease land north of Township 2 Range 24 and purchase land south of Township 3 Range 24 and east of the St. Mary's River that did not already belong to the Hudson's Bay Company and North-West Mounted Police.⁸⁹⁶ Eventually Card paid \$1,230 for the south half of Township 3 Range 24, which contained 9,480 acres, and \$8,484 for the north half of Township 2 Range 24 containing 18,400 acres.⁸⁹⁷ By November, Card and visiting LDS Church officials made the acquaintance of Magrath's employer Elliott T. Galt (1850-1928).⁸⁹⁸ Elliott and his father Sir Alexander T. Galt (1817-1893) invested in numerous companies in the North-West Territories including the NWCNC, Lethbridge Land Company, and Alberta Railway and Coal Company (ARCC), which would eventually absorb the NWCNC. Throughout his

⁸⁹³ "The Mormons," *Edmonton Bulletin*, March 31, 1888, 3.

⁸⁹⁴ L. W. Herchmer, Annual Report of the Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police, 1888 in *Report of the Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police, 1888* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, A. Senecal, 1889), 22.

⁸⁹⁵ 2 May 1888, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁸⁹⁶ 15 May 1889, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁸⁹⁷ 17 May 1889, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁸⁹⁸ 7 November 1889, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

personal diary, Card mentioned several visits to Magrath's office to discuss "land business."⁸⁹⁹ Card called Magrath "a very staunch friend of our people in refuting falsehoods and staving off persecution here."⁹⁰⁰ In return, the Latter-day Saints gave their political support if Magrath requested. For example, on 28 February 1891 Magrath encouraged the LDS to vote for Donald W. Davis (1845-1906) as their representative to Ottawa and in return they would receive support for "rights in other matters."⁹⁰¹ But the relationship extended beyond land purchase and politics and in May, Galt and Magrath, now Mayor of Lethbridge, travelled to Salt Lake City. They toured the old offices of Brigham Young, met the Presiding Bishop William B. Preston (1830-1908), who loaned them keys to West Temple gate so Card could show off the temple, grounds, and tabernacle.⁹⁰²

In 1893, Galt formed the Alberta Irrigation Company with the hope of purchasing lands from the ARCC, building irrigation canals, and re-selling the lands for agriculture. He had Magrath, who was an expert in land, and Card, who was the leader of a group of people capable of building irrigation canals. Back in Salt Lake City in January of 1895, Card met with Magrath, John W. Taylor, and Alonzo E. Hyde (1848-1910) to discuss "land business" and the organization of a large corporation to handle stock and land (600,000 acres) previously purchased by Taylor and Card.⁹⁰³ On 17 January, Card bought 591,000 acres of land from the ARCC with the intention of signing it over to the newly formed Alberta Land and Colonization Company.⁹⁰⁴ In 1895, at least three men on the Board of Directors were polygamists: Vice President Card, Secretary Alonzo E. Hyde, and John W. Taylor. Hyde married both Annie Maria

⁸⁹⁹ 17 November 1890; 14 January 1891; 12 May 1893, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁹⁰⁰ 25 February 1891, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁹⁰¹ 28 February 1891, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁹⁰² 16 May 1891, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁹⁰³ 12 January 1895, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁹⁰⁴ 17 January 1895, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

Ballantyne Taylor (1849-1909) and Ellen Amelia Wilcox (1850-1927) in Salt Lake City in 1870.⁹⁰⁵ In 1895, John W. Taylor (1858-1916) was married to May Leona Rich (1865-1966), Nellie Eva Todd (1869-1945), and Janet Maria Woolley (1870-1956). Card and Taylor each kept one wife in Canada. Remember Card traveled to Ottawa to ask for permission to bring plural wives into Alberta and alerted the government to their practices. Canadians' skepticisms of the LDS marriage practices appeared in *The Globe* on 10 October 1893 when Reverend Dr. Robertson, Superintendent of Northwest Missions, visited Ottawa:

The Mormons he found to be thrifty and hard-working people, who made splendid settlers. They claim to conform to the liberal laws of the land in the matter of religion and other civil observances, "but," added he when you visit their houses you might be excused for some doubt as to the assertion that they abstain from the practice of polygamy, for you meet so many aunts and cousins in the one household.⁹⁰⁶

In his report to the Department of the Interior for the year 1890, Deputy of the Minister of the Interior A. M. Burgess reported that, "During the past year, however, representations reached the Department from various sources in the North-West that the Mormons of Lee's Creek colony were not adhering to the pledge given by their delegates [to Ottawa]" and, while the LDS denied these charges, the authorities were not naïve.⁹⁰⁷

Between negotiations with the LDS Church, Magrath sent Card as a delegate to the 1896 Conservative Convention in Calgary where he met the Chief Inspector of Surveys and advocate for irrigation J.S. Dennis (1856-1938), whose report appeared above.⁹⁰⁸ The next month Card

⁹⁰⁵ Hyde and Taylor had eight children. Hyde and Wilcox had one child born May 23, 1886 whose death certificate says "Hazel May Wilcox" but whose gravestone says "Hazel M. Hyde." Both the death certificate and gravestone mark her birth as May 23, 1886 and death as February 16, 1888.

⁹⁰⁶ "News From Four Cities," *The Globe*, October 10, 1893, 1.

⁹⁰⁷ A. M. Burgess Deputy of the Minister of the Interior, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year 1889, *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada: Volume 11, Fourth Session of the Sixth Parliament, Session 1890* (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1890).

⁹⁰⁸ 13 May 1896; 16 May 1896, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

hosted Magrath and Conservative candidates throughout the Mormon settlements. They held meetings for Conservative-Liberal debates in Cardston, Aetna, and Mountain View and the Canadian federal election occurred 23 June, but the Conservatives failed to win a majority of the seats.⁹⁰⁹

On 11 March 1897, Magrath, escorted by Card, met with the LDS Church Presidency, probably Second Counselor in the First Presidency Joseph F. Smith (1838-1918), First Counselor George Q. Cannon (1827-1901), and President Wilford Woodruff (1807-1898), and expressed, according to Card, that he was “well satisfied with [the] Mormon settlers...the Mormons were the only people that could & would settle southern Alberta and make a success of it.”⁹¹⁰ Smith and Cannon currently had five wives and Woodruff had at least three at the time of this meeting.⁹¹¹ Seven years earlier, *The New York Times* labeled Woodruff and Cannon “disfranchised polygamists” and the reporting Utah Commissioner continued, “the high dignitaries of the Church are polygamists, and all are reputed to be open believers in the doctrine. Indeed it is believed that no one can be promoted to office in the Church unless he professes a belief in it as a fundamental doctrine.”⁹¹²

That autumn Card recorded in his diary the immigration and irrigation plans proposed by Magrath. Magrath instructed Card to gather able Latter-day Saints and promised they would receive land and labour for constructing the proposed canal from St. Mary’s River eastward

⁹⁰⁹ 17 June 1896; 18 June 1896; 19 June 1896; 20 June 1896; 23 June 1896, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁹¹⁰ 11 March 1897, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁹¹¹ Lisa Olsen Tait, ““A Modern Patriarchal Family”: The Wives of Joseph F. Smith in the *Relief Society Magazine*, 1915–19,” in *Joseph F. Smith: Reflections on the Man and His Times*, ed. Craig K. Manscill, Brian D. Reeves, Guy L. Dorius, and J. B. Haws (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2013), 74–95. For Joseph F. Smith see Christopher C. Jones, “Joseph F. Smith,” in *Mormonism: A Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. W. Paul Reeve and Ardis E. Parshall (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010), 185. For Wilford Woodruff see Thomas G. Alexander, “Wilford Woodruff,” in *Mormonism: A Historical Encyclopedia*, 217-218.

⁹¹² “Polygamy Still Flourishing: The Utah Commission Calls for More Stringent Laws,” *New York Times*, September 18, 1890, 5.

along the base of the Milk River towards Lethbridge.⁹¹³ Negotiations continued through September and October and into November. In an entry dated 3 November 1897, Card wrote, “The Presidency made the proposition to Mr. E.T. Galt to form 2 settlements on 2 Blocks of land within a radius of 20 & 30 miles of Lethbridge & place [in] them 50 families each, [to] total 250 souls each within 2 years from Apr. First 1898 & take pay in Labor & land & water [rights] at \$3.00 per acre.”⁹¹⁴ They reached an agreement that afternoon. Latter-day Saints would labor to build the irrigation canal and receive payment half in land and half in cash. However, the agreement was not finalized until April of the following year. The Alberta Stake of Zion needed incorporation before both sides could sign contracts and on December 15, 1897 the North-West Territories passed an ordinance to incorporate the President and High Council of the Alberta Stake of Zion, thus allowing the LDS Church in Canada to “acquire and possess real and personal estate within the North-West Territories of Canada.” Section six gave them the “power to sell, convey, exchange, alienate, mortgage, lease or demise any lands, tenements and hereditaments held by said corporation.”⁹¹⁵ Two days after the government passed the ordinance, Card thanked Magrath “for the great interest he had taken in getting the bill through the Northwest Council to incorporate the Alberta Stake of Zion.”⁹¹⁶ In addition to granting the LDS Church such rights, the Canadian government appointed Card Sub Agent for Dominion Lands in January 1898, authorizing him to grant homestead entries and aid immigration.⁹¹⁷

⁹¹³ 6 September 1897, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁹¹⁴ 3 November 1897, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁹¹⁵ An Ordinance to Incorporate the President and High Council of the Alberta Stake of Zion, No. 43 of 1897, *Ordinances of the North-west Territories Passed in the Third Session of the Third Legislative Assembly* (Regina: John Alexander Reid, Queen’s Printer for the Territories, 1898), 574-577.

⁹¹⁶ 17 December 1897, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁹¹⁷ 28 January 1898, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

On 26 April, Card “met with Pres[iden]ts Cannon & Woodruff & talked Canal matters over about Alberta & the construction of the Canal the Church had engaged to do \$100,000.00 worth of Labor upon the 14 Inst and papers were executed about 5:30.”⁹¹⁸ Card also recorded that the Presidency emphasized the Church’s dependence on him to see that they complete the work required and carry out the contract. In his diary he continued, “We also talked about the marriage Laws & I agreed to look up matters in this matter & let them know about all vital points pertaining to matrimony that our people might be kept from transgressing any known Law.”⁹¹⁹ The Church did transgress Canadian laws, however, as scholars D. Michael Quinn and B. Carmon Hardy demonstrate. LDS Church authorities directed John A. Woolf to officiate at least two LDS plural marriages in Cardston, Alberta after the Manifesto.⁹²⁰ Hardy noted two earlier plural marriages occurred in Canada one on 3 August 1892 between David Rainey (1858-1934) and Janet Hanson (1870-1945), and one on 2 June 1894 between Isaac Smith (1857-1914) and Elizabeth Fuhriman (1871-1944).⁹²¹ Rainey’s personal history stated, “In 1892, Sept. 2nd, I went to Canada to marry Janet Hanson in polygamy, which was after the manifesto had been issued, however, Wilford Woodruff who had issued the manifesto gave me a recommend to President Card in Canada to perform the marriage ceremony. On the count of the law of the United States and the church I left my second wife in Canada for two years.”⁹²²

⁹¹⁸ 26 April 1898, MSS 1543, LTPSC. Also see Card’s diary entries for April 5, 6, 7, 9, 13, and 14 for further negotiations.

⁹¹⁹ 26 April 1898, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁹²⁰ D. Michael Quinn, “LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890-1904,” *Dialogue* 18, no. 1 (1985): 94. John A. Woolf officiated the plural marriages of Franklin Dewey Leavitt and Jane Glenn (1883-1972) on 11 September 1903, and Heber S. Allen to Elizabeth Hardy (1884-1952) on 19 September 1903. Also see Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II.

⁹²¹ Hardy, *Solemn Covenant*, Appendix II. The writer of Elizabeth Fuhriman Smith’s Life Sketch stated that she married Isaac Smith in Cardston on 2 June 1894. See Elizabeth Fuhriman Smith, biography, contributed by rosaliaannbrown1 on April 1, 2014, <https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/6212891>.

⁹²² David William Rainey, “The Personal History of David William Rainey,” ca. 1931, Given to Jean Dewey Sisson by Enid Durham February 1990, contributed by Lareine Stephens on January 9, 2015, <https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/12592434>.

Work commenced that summer. At a priesthood meeting on 21 August Card “layed before the brethren the construction of the Alberta Irrigation Co Canal as that which has been inaugurated by our leaders for our good & the good of the kingdom in this part of the Land and as such we should support it with our works & words.”⁹²³ Ten days later, Apostle and polygamist Abraham Owen Woodruff (1872-1904) visited the construction site in Alberta.⁹²⁴

The construction of the canal involved polygamists not only on the business side, but also as labourers and settlers. In January of 1899, Card spoke to LDS audiences throughout Utah on “the advantages of southern Alberta” in order to recruit workers and settlers.⁹²⁵ John Theodore Brandley answered this call to Canada, left his wife Margaret Keeler (1863-1910) in Utah, and arrived in Stirling, one of the new settlements at the end of the canal, in May 1899. Apostle John W. Taylor sustained Brandley as bishop of Stirling the following month and he became a leader in the developing community.⁹²⁶ Brandley was a polygamist, but his first wife died several years before the move to Canada so, when he immigrated, he was only married to Margaret Keeler. However, sometime between 1899 and 1901, Brandley married Rosina Elizabeth Zaugg. Louis Orson Brandley (1889-1984), son of Brandley and Keeler, remembered Taylor “who with other Church leaders were given authority to seal women to men in Canada” sealed his father to Zaugg in 1901.⁹²⁷ Including his own father’s Post-Manifesto polygamous marriages, Louis Brandley witnessed other non-monogamous unions in the new Mormon community. He recalled Taylor

⁹²³ 21 August 1898, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁹²⁴ 31 August 1898, MSS 1543, LTPSC. For more details on the life of Abraham Owen Woodruff refer to Lu Ann Faylor Snyder and Phillip A. Snyder, ed., *Post-Manifesto Polygamy: The 1899-1904 Correspondence of Helen, Owen, and Avery Woodruff* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2009).

⁹²⁵ 12 February 1899, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁹²⁶ 12 June 1899, MSS 1543, LTPSC.

⁹²⁷ Louis Orson Brandley, oral history, interviewed by Jessie L. Embry, Raymond, Alberta, 24 July 1982, transcript, LDS Polygamy Oral History Project, LTPSC. John Theodore Brandley entered another polygamous relationship with Emma Biefer (1869-1942) and they had a daughter in 1909 named Madaleine.

sealing Elizabeth Skidmore Hardy (1884-1952) to Heber S. Allen in 1903, but claimed Hardy remained in Salt Lake City until Amy, Allen's first wife, died.⁹²⁸ Despite practicing plural marriage, in 1903, Allen became president of the Taylor Stake and Brandley was named his counsellor.⁹²⁹ Success continued outside the Church too. According to Anna Brandley Ostlund, after they completed the construction of the canal, Galt and Magrath hired Brandley to construct a railroad from Stirling to Cardston.⁹³⁰ Not only were the LDS given better transportation between their settlements, but also a Mormon received the contract to build it.

Generally, Canadians reacted with disgust to both the Indigenous and Mormon practices of polygamy. Yet, actions that followed diverged into two different directions. Kainai faced criminal prosecution, threats to withhold annuity, and intimidations involving family members. The Latter-day Saints, on the other hand, who routinely supported the dominant understanding of marriage while often continuing the practice of plural marriage, received immigration assistance, business contracts, and development deals – all aiding the success of their settlements in southern Alberta, which neighbored the Kainai Nation. The LDS represented hard work, commitment, financial gain, and the appearance of assimilation. By contrast, Canadian officials considered Indigenous peoples a burden and not a benefit to the progress of Canada. While Canadians overlooked the Mormon practice of plural marriage, they worked hard to suppress non-monogamous relationships within Aboriginal communities. It was not until the 1940s that Canadian Latter-day Saints actively suppressed non-monogamous relationships among their own people.

⁹²⁸ Ibid.

⁹²⁹ John Leonard Allen, oral history, interviewed by Charles Ursenbach, Cardston, Alberta, 24 April 1975, transcript, Church History Library.

⁹³⁰ Anna Brandley Ostlund, "My Father, Theodore Brandley," 1961, photocopy, Church History Library.

5.3 Difference from Canadians: Persistence of Plural Marriage

The separate cases of John H. Blackmore and Zola Brown demonstrated how far the Latter-day Saints of the 1940s differed from their late 19th century and early 20th century attitudes of marriage and family.

a. John H. Blackmore

William Blackmore (1862-1918), a native of England, and Mary Christina Ada Horn (1874-1966) married in 1889 in Idaho. In 1892, William was “greatly disgusted with the enforcement of the laws in Idaho...[and left] for the great unknowns of Canada, blessed by the British flag.”⁹³¹ “[A]nxiety that if he remained longer where people envied him so much as his neighbors did, and where men quarrelled so much about water and ditches as his neighbors did,” wrote his descendent Viola Larsen, “he would give way to his temper and some violent thing might be done to somebody as he suffered many wrongs and injustices” fuelled his immigration to the North-West Territories.⁹³² William became a citizen soon after and raised all his children, including the eldest born in Idaho John H. Blackmore (1890-1971), as “good Canadians.”⁹³³

As a child, John H. Blackmore slipped on ice and suffered a serious leg injury that was poorly treated because the nearest doctor was in Lethbridge (a day and a half drive away).⁹³⁴ He

⁹³¹ John H. Blackmore, autobiography, November 14, 1935, “The Story of My Life,” John Blackmore fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta.

⁹³² Viola Blackmore Larson, biography, “Life of John H. Blackmore,” Archives of the Cardston Historical Society, Courthouse Museum, Cardston, Alberta. The first of their family born in Canada was Mary Blackmore in Cardston, Alberta on February 25, 1894.

⁹³³ “Social Credit Group Will Support King If He Implements Promises; Blackmore Sure Dividend Possible,” *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, November 22, 1935, 6. Government of Canada, Census of Canada, 1901, Library and Archives Canada, accessed April 19, 2016, <http://data2.collectionscanada.ca/1901/z/z004/jpg/z000178894.jpg>. The 1901 Census showed William Blackmore’s naturalization date as 1896.

⁹³⁴ Blackmore, “The Story of My Life.”

was 11 years old when doctors finally operated and fitted him with a leg brace.⁹³⁵ In addition to his leg injury, the distance of 3.5 miles to the closest school kept John on the farm, and he was home-schooled by his mother until 1900 when they moved to a quarter section closer to the town of Cardston.⁹³⁶ After high school, he moved to Edmonton and attended the University of Alberta, graduating with a Bachelor of Arts in 1913. John continued his education at the Calgary Normal School, earned his teaching certificate in 1914, and started teaching in the Mormon community of Mountain View.⁹³⁷

John married Emily Woolley (1894-1976) in 1915 in Salt Lake City, Utah. From 1915 to 1918 he was a faculty member of the LDS Church school, the Knight Academy in Raymond.⁹³⁸ In 1918, his father William died of pneumonia, leaving an estate of 200-300 acres of land.⁹³⁹ John, Emily, and their family moved to Cardston where John taught elementary school for the year. He went from teacher to principal the following year at the Woolford School, and from 1921 to 1935, was Principal of Raymond High School.⁹⁴⁰ Regularly active in the Church, during the 1920s, John was president of the Taylor Stake Mutual Improvement Association.⁹⁴¹

Elected as Member of Parliament for the Lethbridge Constituency in 1935, and selected as party leader for Social Credit, John H. Blackmore became the first member of the LDS

⁹³⁵ "Biography of John Horn Blackmore," Families, Cardston Historical Society, accessed April 19, 2016, http://www.cardstonhistoricalsociety.org/families_b.htm.

⁹³⁶ John H. Blackmore, "The Story of My Life." Larson, "Life of John H. Blackmore."

⁹³⁷ Cardston Historical Society, "Biography of John Horn Blackmore."

⁹³⁸ MSS 838, Minutes of Faculty Meetings, 1910-1921, LTPSC. Also see Government of Canada, Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, 1916, Library and Archives Canada, accessed April 19, 2016, http://data2.collectionscanada.ca/006003/t-21951/jpg/31228_4363980-00947.jpg. Blackmore listed as High School teacher.

⁹³⁹ "Old-Timer of Cardston Dead," *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, April 12, 1918, 5.

⁹⁴⁰ Cardston Historical Society, "Biography of John Horn Blackmore." Also see Mardon, Mardon, Mardon, and Dutchin, *The Mormon Contribution*, 17.

⁹⁴¹ "Boy Scouts Lauded By Mormon Apostle at Raymond Meeting," *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, August 17, 1922, 5. "Fathers And Sons Of Three Stakes To Stage Outing," *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, May 1, 1924, 5.

Church elected to the House of Commons. In a newspaper interview, Blackmore stated, “[W]e will be missionaries both in the house and out of it. We will champion Social Credit views on money and credit.”⁹⁴² Part of Blackmore’s life was now situated in Ottawa and he and his wife Emily joined the Ottawa Branch of the Church. But, back in Alberta, spiritual concerns haunted his eldest son Harold Woolly Blackmore (1916-2000).

Writing to his son Winston Blackmore (1920-1943) in 1939, John revealed his other son Harold’s spiritual dilemma: “Harold is contemplating very important decisions. In the last analysis all I can do is to endeavour to lay before him all the correct principles, as far as my intelligence and experience can show me what they are, and then let him depend upon the inspiration in his heart to decide what is the correct course to follow.”⁹⁴³ The pamphlet “Reverence for God” appeared in the John Horn Blackmore Fonds of the Glenbow Archives and hinted at what might have troubled the minds of John and Harold Blackmore. The pamphlet stated, “And the so-called Fundamentalists are the only people on the earth who are able to live these laws and are doing it successfully and worthily. And they are braving the persecutions that are waged against them...”⁹⁴⁴ Fundamentalist Mormons denied the Manifestos and believed that God endowed John Taylor (1808-1887), the third LDS Church president (who refused to eliminate plural marriage even when pressured from the government), with the power to continue the practice of plural marriage. An underground movement developed and plural marriage continued. Lorin C. Woolley (1856-1934) believed he inherited the authority from John Taylor

⁹⁴² “Social Credit Group Will Support King,” 6.

⁹⁴³ John H. Blackmore, letter to Winston Blackmore, February 20, 1939, John Blackmore fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta.

⁹⁴⁴ “Reverence for God,” John Blackmore fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta.

to perform plural marriages and formed the polygamist organization called the Council of Friends.

Doctrines of communalism and plural marriage united the Council, but also isolated them from the LDS Church and forced them to move from Salt Lake City to Short Creek, Arizona, to avoid persecution.⁹⁴⁵ In 1935, the LDS church asked the polygamist residents of Short Creek to sign an oath denouncing plural marriage, which they refused and, consequently, the Church excommunicated them. The U.S. government raided Short Creek in 1944 during the time of John Y. Barlow's (1874-1949) leadership. In total, authorities charged forty-six adults with unlawful cohabitation and conspiracy to commit polygamy. The LDS Church publicly endorsed the efforts made by the government to extinguish polygamous marriages and, once more, re-emphasized their rejection of Mormon fundamentalism. Most of the convicted fundamentalists were sent to state prison to serve their sentences, but nine were given federal prison time. The men received five-year prison sentences, but only served partial time because some signed a pledge to end the practice of plural marriage and were released on parole.⁹⁴⁶

Fundamentalist Mormons continued to perform plural marriages because they considered it an essential religious practice. It was a religious duty connected to their belief that Joseph

⁹⁴⁵ Janet Bennion, "History, Culture, and Variability of Mormon Schismatic Groups," in *Modern Polygamy in the United States: Historical, Cultural, and Legal Issues*, ed. Cardell K. Jacobson with Lara Burton (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 102-103. Also see Janet Bennion, *Polygamy in Primetime: Media, Gender, and Politics in Mormon Fundamentalism* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2012), 25. Bradley, *Kidnapped from That Land*, 19, 27, 50-52. D. Michael Quinn, "Plural Marriage and Mormon Fundamentalism," in *Fundamentalisms and Society: Reclaiming the Sciences, Education, and the Family*, ed. Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 240-293.

⁹⁴⁶ Bennion, *Polygamy in Primetime*, 26. Bradley, *Kidnapped from That Land*, 59, 64-85. Ken Driggs, "After the Manifesto: Modern Polygamy and Fundamentalist Mormons," *Journal of Church and State* 32, no. 2 (Spring 1990): 381-382. Ken Driggs, "'This Will Someday Be the Head and Not the Tail of the Church': A History of the Mormon Fundamentalists at Short Creek," *Journal of Church and State* 43, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 65-66. Ken Driggs, "Imprisonment, Defiance, and Division: A History of Mormon Fundamentalism in the 1940s and 1950s," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 38, no. 1 (2005): 73-80.

Smith received a revelation from God that defined eternal marriage and justified man taking another wife.⁹⁴⁷ As a defence against opponents and critics, they used this divine commandment and biblical precedents, such as Abraham and Jacob, to argue that plural marriage was a religious principle. Another religious belief of fundamentalist Mormons was that Jesus Christ and Joseph Smith visited the church's third president and prophet John Taylor on the night of 26 September 1887 and instructed him to continue plural marriage despite pressure to end the practice. Not only did God and the prophets sanction plural marriage, argued the fundamentalists, but also it was a requirement to enter the highest level of heaven, the Celestial Kingdom.⁹⁴⁸

Canadian Latter-day Saints were not immune to this fundamentalist movement. In 2010 Lorna Blackmore told the B.C. Supreme Court that her father Harold Blackmore "became interested in [fundamentalism] after attending a meeting in Rosemary at the home of Eldon Palmer at which an American fundamentalist by the name of Owen LeBaron talked about plural marriage. [Her] father subsequently decided to practice polygamy."⁹⁴⁹ Harold Blackmore (1916-2000), son of John H. Blackmore, moved his family to property near Lister, B.C., in 1946 and married his second wife Florence Williams (1916-1998), the sister of his first wife Gwendolyn Williams (1914-2002), entering into a polygamous union. Eldon Palmer (1914-2004) and Joseph "Ray" Blackmore (1915-1974), Harold's uncle and John's brother, joined them in what became the closed community of Bountiful. Ray's wives included Anna Mae Johnson (married in 1941),

⁹⁴⁷ Doctrine and Covenants 132.

⁹⁴⁸ Bennion, *Polygamy in Primetime*, 61-65. Bradley, *Kidnapped from That Land*, 1-3. Driggs, "After the Manifesto," 370-371, 375. Gordon, *The Mormon Question*, 22-23. Cardell K. Jacobson and Lara Burton, "Prologue: The Incident at Eldorado, Texas," in *Modern Polygamy in the United States: Historical, Cultural, and Legal Issues*, ed. Cardell K. Jacobson and Lara Burton (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), xx. Quinn, "Plural Marriage and Mormon Fundamentalism," 243.

⁹⁴⁹ Lorna Blackmore, Affidavit #1, Sworn June 25, 2010, No. S-097767, Vancouver Registry, in the Supreme Court of British Columbia, in the Matter of: The Constitutional Question Act, R.S.B.C. 1996, C.68, etc. Owen LeBaron (1918-1975) was related to the murderer and leader of the Church of the First Born of the Lamb of God Ervil LeBaron (1925-1981). Owen and Ervil shared a great-grandfather David LeBaron (1822-1905).

Nesta Kay Boehmer (married about 1952), and Aloha Bohmer (1921-2016). Writing about his brothers, Harold “Pete” Blackmore (1906-1994) recalled,

Ray did do something different, for he married three lovely girls and moved to British Columbia. I was at the wedding of the 3rd girl, and Ray didn’t want to take her for [his] wife. He told me so and wept as he told me. Pressure was put on him, from some source. He later was cut off from the church, having taken 5 lovely girls to wife and raising a large beautiful family.⁹⁵⁰

The fact that Harold, Eldon, Ray, their families, and other so-called “fundamentalists” could not remain in the Albertan enclaves originally established to preserve Mormon distinctiveness signalled the effective completion of the initial integration process for the new Mormon mainstream.

Regardless of the unsanctioned practices of the LDS in Creston Valley, John and Emily Blackmore visited “Camp Lester, B.C.” in the summer of 1947 to visit their daughter Fayila Williams and their now polygamous son, Harold.⁹⁵¹ John would soon reap the consequences. Back in Ottawa that fall, Easter Woods (1904-1996) received a letter from branch president Frank A. Cook (1901-1985), who was acting under direct orders from the Canadian Mission Headquarters, requesting her presence at an Elders’ Court Meeting on 28 September 1947 for investigation of alleged “Teaching, and endeavouring to put into effect doctrines contrary to the established practice of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.”⁹⁵² Part of the evidence presented at this meeting was Hilda Crawshaw’s witness statement:

⁹⁵⁰ Orpha Vance Blackmore, ed., “Life of Harold Horn (Pete) Blackmore” (unpublished manuscript, May 1997), Microsoft Word file.

⁹⁵¹ *Lethbridge Herald*, August 23, 1947.

⁹⁵² Frank A. Cook letter to Easter Wood, September 23, 1947, Letter to Easter Wood, Ottawa 1st Ward General Minutes, 1926-1973, Church History Library.

On the 29th of June, Brother Blackmore and Sister Woods asked me to accompany them to his office in the Parliament Buildings, for they wanted to talk to me...I was told that many strange things were happening in the world today; stranger than we dreamed of. For some time past Sister Woods had been receiving visits and help from a personage. This personage had helped her in many personal problems, and now he had revealed further messages to her concerning myself. Brother Blackmore said that for the past eight years there had never been any doubt in his mind but that one day I would be one of his wives. This personage had informed them, much to his chagrin, that I was not to be his wife, but companion to Brother Frank Cook. Brother Frank Cook and I were to be the first in Ottawa to begin polygamy and Brother Blackmore and Sister Woods were to be the first to begin living polygamy in the Dominion of Canada...Brother Blackmore believed that it was his father who was appearing to her...Brother Blackmore continued then by saying that further revelation would be received as to how we were to go about this polygamy, and that he didn't know just how I would be able to broach the subject to Brother Cook. Personally he thought I should tell Sister Cook, who in turn would tell Frank. He informed me that we would not be married in the Temple, but that there was a man in Salt Lake who holds the keys of temple marriage...He insisted that the manifesto was illegal; that it had been forced upon Wilford Woodruff under the threat of refusing to take Utah into the Union. Also, that President John Taylor had successfully held out against this during his time as President of the Church.⁹⁵³

Easter Woods did not appear at the Elders Court Meeting but those present heard the evidence and voted unanimously that she was guilty and “disfellowshipped” her.⁹⁵⁴

In Alberta on 14 October 1947, John H. Blackmore, Lethbridge Stake President Octave W. Ursenbach (1893-1981), Alberta Stake President Willard L. Smith (1891-1955), and Bishop of Cardston Third Ward Forest Wood (1903-1995) met to discuss “certain matters pertaining to [Blackmore's] conduct while residing at Ottawa, Ontario... teaching and promoting of

⁹⁵³ Hilda Crawshaw, witness Statement, Ottawa 1st Ward General Minutes, 1926-1973, Church History Library.

⁹⁵⁴ Disfellowshipment is a temporary suspension of membership privileges. A disfellowshipped person remains a member but cannot enter temples, hold Church callings, exercise the priesthood, partake in the Sacrament, or participate openly in meetings. See Hafen, "Disciplinary Procedures," 385-387.

Fundamentalist doctrines and practices.”⁹⁵⁵ The leaders informed Blackmore that elders of the Ottawa branch had disfellowshipped Easter Woods and that witnesses associated his name with hers. The record showed that “Brother Blackmore was asked to state his position relative to Fundamentalist doctrines which he did not do in a straightforward manner but did considerable ‘hedging,’ and questioning of terms used in the discussion. There were some admissions made which confirmed, in part, the report and evidence formerly received.” Blackmore admitted that he had taught the doctrine of plural marriage as a part of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, had referred people who had inquired to written statements of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, John Taylor and others, but evaded references to whether or not he always taught what President Wilford Woodruff had announced in the First Manifesto. He stated that he had, at the request of two sisters in Ottawa, consented for them to be sealed to him in the hereafter. Furthermore, Blackmore admitted having paid attention to purported reports of messages received by Sister Woods from some ‘personage,’ to the effect that he and Sister Wood were to be the first couple in Canada to engage in plural marriage, and that Frank Cook and Hilda Crawshaw were to be the first couple in Ottawa to enter into that relationship.... He denied that the ‘personage’ had been reported as having made the statement that “the Manifesto was illegal.” Ursenbach wrote that “Blackmore presented a rather strong defense of his position and activities, seemingly feeling fully justified in his actions and beliefs [because] he had done only that which he had been taught by great men in the early days of settlement in Alberta.” Blackmore argued that Latter-day Saints cannot avoid plural marriage when discussing the Gospel. Ursenbach reported,

It had been hoped that Brother Blackmore, when confronted with the fact that his name was associated with so serious matter, would manifest some

⁹⁵⁵ Ursenbach, Report of a meeting held at Cardston, Alberta, Tuesday, October 14, 1947 with Elder John H. Blackmore of Cardston Alberta, MSS 3116, LTPSC. Also see Willard Smith letter to Octave W. Ursenbach, October 17, 1947, MSS 3116, LTPSC. “I appreciate receiving the very fine report which you prepared of our meeting held last Tuesday evening with Brother Blackmore. I think you covered the facts well without prejudice.”

concern over his situation and humbly strive to clear his reputation. Seemingly this was not the case. He firmly denied having done anything wrong, unless making arrangements with living persons for sealings in plural marriage after death were contrary to the doctrine and practices of the church.

President Smith very plainly informed him that he was “playing with fire”; that if he insisted in advocating Fundamentalist doctrines “his die would be cast”; that while he now represented the Mormon people in the Dominion Parliament he would not do so in the future; that he would lose his membership in the church; that his family would suffer humiliation and that his economic position would become seriously affected.

In concluding the discussion Brother Blackmore was informed by all of the brethren that they were entertaining no ill-will toward him, but were earnestly and seriously concerned for his welfare; for the welfare of his family; for the welfare of the Ottawa Branch and for the reputation of the Church of Jesus Christ.⁹⁵⁶

Just over two weeks later, John H. Blackmore spoke at the noon luncheon of the Cardston Rotary Club and instructed the audience to “shun the Communist world control on one hand and capitalist world control on the other. We must, with inflexible vigilance, guard against any religious influences striving to establish world dictatorship or any racial influence working toward the same goal.”⁹⁵⁷ Less than two weeks after that, Ezra Taft Benson (1899-1994) wrote to Willard L. Smith instructing him to hold a formal Bishop’s Court for Blackmore on the charge of teaching and advocating the doctrine (not the practice) of plural marriage.⁹⁵⁸ Blackmore briefly returned to Ottawa after his trial but returned to Cardston for the Christmas holidays.⁹⁵⁹

⁹⁵⁶ Ursenbach, Report of a meeting held at Cardston, Alberta, Tuesday, October 14, 1947 with Elder John H. Blackmore of Cardston Alberta, MSS 3116, LTPSC.

⁹⁵⁷ “Blackmore Points Out Threat Of Communism And Big Business Today,” *Lethbridge Herald*, October 29, 1947, 5.

⁹⁵⁸ Ezra Taft Benson letter to Willard L. Smith, November 10, 1947, MSS 3116, LTPSC. Also see Ward Historical Record Book, 1945-1950, Cardston 1st Ward General Minutes, 1914-1977, Church History Library. “A letter outlining the fundamentalist teachings and activities of JH Blackmoere was read and Bishop J. Forest Wood told of the meeting of the stake presidency, himself and JH Blackmore and of the instructions he had received from the stake presidency to summon Bro Blackmore to a bishops trial in which he would be tried for his standing in the church” – asked Heber Matkin and A. R. Jensen to serve the summons. Trial set for November 26 at home of David U. Watson.

⁹⁵⁹ “District News,” *Lethbridge Herald*, December 3, 1947, 5.

Newspaper articles from 29 December 1947 informed the public that the LDS Church had excommunicated John H. Blackmore; David O. McKay (1873-1970), second counsellor in the First Presidency, confirmed the report.⁹⁶⁰ A statement from Blackmore in the *Toronto Daily Star* read, “I deny the charge. I definitely declare I have done no wrong... that I am the husband of only one wife, and that to her I have always been scrupulously faithful.”⁹⁶¹ Blackmore claimed shock and surprise in an interview published on 30 December: “As regards the whole situation pertaining to my excommunication from the L.D.S. Church on Nov. 28, 1947, one aspect which I find bewildering to me is this: In August 1947, there began to be spread in my constituency of Lethbridge various falsehoods reflecting on my moral integrity. Such slanderous stories were industriously circulated all through the latter part of August, all through the months of September, October and November.”⁹⁶² The fact that fundamentalist Mormons from the United States converted his son Harold to plural marriage, with whom he remained close, and the existence of witness accounts of his conversations with Church members in Ottawa heavily suggested that Blackmore was probably guilty of the charges laid against him. In a letter from “Rhea” of Farmington, Utah in 1949, the sender wanted to make Blackmore “a second John W. Taylor,” the former Apostle who was excommunicated in 1911 for continuing plural marriage.⁹⁶³ Further evidence suggesting Blackmore’s opinion of plural marriage came from a letter dated 13 June 1957. The writer M.J. Tolley (probably Melvin James Tolley 1905-1967) of Coutts,

⁹⁶⁰ “Excommunication Of Lethbridge M.P. Is Confirmed,” *Lethbridge Herald*, December 29, 1947, 6.

⁹⁶¹ “I’m One-Wife Man, Also I’m Faithful—Blackmore,” *Toronto Daily Star*, December 29, 1947, 4.

⁹⁶² “Blackmore Won’t Go Into Details,” *Lethbridge Herald*, December 30, 1947, 2.

⁹⁶³ “Rhea” letter to John H. Blackmore, July 30, 1949, Farmington, Utah, John Blackmore fonds, Glenbow Archives. “Rhea” also wrote that fundamentalist “Lorrin Woolley taught [her] many things preparatory to this dark time.” It is likely the author of the letter was Rhea Allred Kunz (1906-1989). Her husband Morris Quincy Kunz entered plural marriage by taking a second wife in 1931. The United States Census of 1940 shows Kunz’s household and lists his wives as Rachel J. age 20, Ellen H. age 34, and Rhea Allred age 34. See United States Census, 1940 (Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940), Records of the Bureau of the Census, 1790 – 2007, RG 29, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.

Alberta, stated that they had “been convinced for a long time, that some of our L.D.S. leaders are not what they pretend and are doing all that they can to oust you from your position by one means or another...They have given me a bad time so to speak because I have found out the score re: polygamy and have expressed my views in public.”⁹⁶⁴ In her book *Life of Harold Horn (Pete) Blackmore*, John’s sister-in-law Orpha Blackmore, wrote that he was falsely charged by a jealous neighbour and that the man responsible admitted his guilt years later.⁹⁶⁵ His brother William H. Blackmore also wrote that many were jealous of John because of his accomplishments and abilities.⁹⁶⁶

In the summer of 1953, following the second Short Creek Raid, the LDS Church investigated more than ten people of the Creston Valley in connection with polygamy.⁹⁶⁷ President of the Church’s Western Canadian Mission R. Scott Zimmerman (1887-1960) completed the investigations by 5 August and announced he had not excommunicated anyone, at that time.⁹⁶⁸ However, less than a month later, the LDS Church excommunicated ten members from the Lister, B.C., area for apostasy.⁹⁶⁹ The LDS Church established a strong message of zero tolerance for fundamentalism.

b. Zola Brown Jeffs Hodson

In 1934, the daughter of future Apostle and Canadian Hugh B. Brown (1883-1975) married Rulon Jeffs (1909-2002) in Salt Lake City, Utah. Within five years, claimed Zola Brown Jeffs (1911-2005), according to court documents, Rulon firmly believed he should marry another

⁹⁶⁴ M. J. Tolley letter to John H. Blackmore, June 13, 1957, Coutts, Alberta, Archives of the Cardston Historical Society, Courthouse Museum, Cardston, Alberta.

⁹⁶⁵ Blackmore, “Life of Harold Horn (Pete) Blackmore.”

⁹⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁷ “Says Creston Valley Cases Are Set for Trial,” *Lethbridge Herald*, August 1, 1953, 13.

⁹⁶⁸ “LDS Officials Hold Church Trial in B.C.,” *Lethbridge Herald*, August 5, 1953, 11.

⁹⁶⁹ “10 Ousted From Mormon Faith In B.C. Colony,” *Lethbridge Herald*, August 21, 1953, 1.

woman or women and intended to follow through with the practice of plural marriage.⁹⁷⁰ Rulon denied that he intended to marry another without the consent of his wife, stating that Zola did consent “that he might, under proper conditions, enter the law known as the law of celestial marriage” and that together they attended meetings where other Latter-day Saints taught the law of celestial marriage.⁹⁷¹

Born in Cardston, Alberta, Zola’s parents were Zina Young Card (1888-1974) and Hugh Brown (1883-1975). Her grandfather Charles Ora Card had three wives and one of his wives, Zina Young, was the daughter of Brigham Young. Her great-grandfather, on Hugh’s side of the family, had three wives: Sarah Woolf (1834-1911), Hannah Woolf (1838-1927), and Bertha Nielson (1842-1866). Consequently, she was not unfamiliar with the doctrine and practice of plural marriage in the history of her family.

Similarly, Rulon Jeffs’ father was also a polygamist. David Jeffs (1873-1853) married Phebe Woolley (1873-1948) in 1900 and Nettie Timpson, Rulon’s mother, in 1909. After Zola and Rulon divorced in 1941, Rulon went on to marry many other women and fathered the now convicted “prophet” Warren Jeffs, leader of the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (FLDS). But before 1940, all seemed well with Rulon and Zola.

Four years after Zola and Rulon’s wedding, her mother Zina wrote, “all is sweet and lovely at Zola’s” in a letter to her daughter Mary.⁹⁷² In another letter, Zina claimed that Mary’s

⁹⁷⁰ P. D. Clarke, Attorney for Zola B. Jeffs (Plaintiff), Complaint No. 65430, Filed October 22, 1940, District Court of the Third Judicial District in and for Salt Lake County, State of Utah. Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁹⁷¹ J. W. McKnight, Attorney for Rulon Jeffs (Defendant), Rulon Jeffs’ Answer to Complaint No. 65430, Filed December 14, 1940, District Court of the Third Judicial District in and for Salt Lake County, State of Utah. Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁹⁷² Zina Brown letter to Mary Firmage, March 3, 1938, Hugh B. Brown Family Papers, 1835-1982, Church History Library.

father-in-law would be pleased with Rulon's work because he "excels at his accountant's work. He's a splendid man and just the one for Zola."⁹⁷³ Later that month, Zina wrote that there was "no nobler [man]" than Rulon.⁹⁷⁴ The next winter in 1939, a letter from Zola's father Hugh to his wife in California revealed that Rulon and Zola might have experienced difficulties: "[S]o glad [Zola] is better in every way. Hope their affairs will work out satisfactorily and think they will as time is a great healer of ills and fads and idiosyncrasies."⁹⁷⁵ But by November of the following year, Hugh's patience with his son-in-law ran out and he wrote, "[Rulon] is adamant and impossible, more fanatical all the time.... After my last talk with him I am more than ever sure his case is hopeless and that [Zola] has only one course."⁹⁷⁶ Rulon revealed further fundamentalist leanings in a letter to Zola at the beginning of 1941, which Hugh described as proof of "how far he is from the Rulon she used to know and how baneful is the effect of constant association with law breakers and apostates."⁹⁷⁷ Zola's mother Zina was "so utterly disgusted" with Rulon and greatly desired her to remarry soon after the divorce trial ended.⁹⁷⁸ Indeed, by 1945 Zola was happily married to Waldo Hodson. However, her children remained in touch with their polygamist father. In a letter to her parents, Zola told them how Rulon gave Daniel a flashlight and soft-ball for his birthday for which Daniel wrote a thank-you letter that, according to Zola, "was the sweetest letter and worded so cute," and ended with Daniel writing,

⁹⁷³ Zina Brown letter to Mary Firmage, April 14, 1938, Hugh B. Brown Family Papers, 1835-1982, Church History Library.

⁹⁷⁴ Zina Brown letter to her daughters, April 28, 1938, Hugh B. Brown Family Papers, 1835-1982, Church History Library.

⁹⁷⁵ Hugh B. Brown letter to Zina Brown, December 19, 1939, Hugh B. Brown Family Papers, 1835-1982, Church History Library.

⁹⁷⁶ Hugh B. Brown letter to Zina Brown, November 27, 1940, Hugh B. Brown Family Papers, 1835-1982, Church History Library.

⁹⁷⁷ Hugh B. Brown letter to Zina Brown, January 29, 1941, Hugh B. Brown Family Papers, 1835-1982, Church History Library.

⁹⁷⁸ Zina Brown letter to Mry Firmage, February 2, 1941, Hugh B. Brown Family Papers, 1835-1982, Church History Library.

“I love you Daddy Dear and bless you for the ball and flashlight.”⁹⁷⁹ The Brown family could not entirely separate themselves from Rulon Jeffs and Mormon fundamentalism since Zola’s two sons, Hugh and Zina’s grandsons, remained in contact with their father. Their reactions to Rulon’s conversion and decision to practice plural marriage demonstrated how far Canadian Latter-day Saints had changed. Zina Brown’s own grand-father was a polygamist, but by the 1940s the Mormon mindset was trained to reject this not-so-distant practice.

⁹⁷⁹ Zola Brown Hodson letter to Hugh and Zina Brown, May 14, 1945, Hugh B. Brown Family Papers, 1835-1982, Church History Library.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The question “How did Latter-day Saints in Alberta balance their peculiarity with integration into Canadian society?” fueled this dissertation. How did they integrate into society while at the same time preserving their distinct, separate identity as LDS? The Latter-day Saints in Alberta moved boundaries, created new borders, and eliminated restrictions; they negotiated. The theories of Thomas Tweed guided the construction of these questions.

The purpose of this dissertation was to track the process of negotiation, resistance, and integration of Latter-day Saints as they moved into Alberta and encountered a distinctive society. I have attempted to outline this process by examining the issues of material culture, economic integration, civic organization, political engagement, and the changing attitudes of Mormons to gender roles, family life, and plural marriage.

The beginning of what one might call a Canadian Mormonism coincided with the construction of the Cardston Alberta Temple. LDS Temples, regardless of architectural style, are one strategy for maintaining “peculiarity” and protective borders. However, taking the architectural style into consideration, allows further observation of the negotiation between three identities. The Prairie School Style of the Cardston Alberta Temple, and the physical presence of a temple outside the U.S., reinforced the difference from American Latter-day Saints. The Cardston Alberta Temple appeared on gravestones of deceased LDS, sending another message of pride in their new homeland and legitimacy of their LDS communities. The temple represented another successful instance of negotiation for the LDS Church because the community could construct something as particular as the Cardston Alberta Temple and remain acceptable in the eyes of non-LDS Canadians.

Rather than observing clear-cut characteristics of a Canadian Mormonism, the collected evidence presented three categories of negotiation: Canadian LDS, non-LDS Canadians, and American LDS. The interaction between these categories produced unexpected results. Canadian Latter-day Saints not only negotiated between themselves and non-LDS Canadians, but also between themselves and LDS Americans. In terms of Business and Politics, the political ideology, specifically Albertan non-partisan patterns and the formation of new political parties specific to the province's concerns, distinguished Albertan LDS Church members from their American members. Canadian Latter-day Saints involved themselves in the distinctly Albertan political parties known as the United Farmers of Alberta, Social Credit Party, and Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

The Mormon Farm Village and the exercise of co-operation, especially examples of communal economics, made the LDS of southern Alberta outsiders in their new home. The financial well-being of their own Church members outweighed external factors until overlapping economic and political needs led to LDS participation in Canadian politics. Ranching and sugar beet farming productions were enough to satisfy their internal members, but there came a time when Albertan Latter-day Saints' ambition extended beyond their inner circle. Political participation at all levels of government signaled another form of integration for the LDS Church in Canada. The chapter on Business and Politics revealed how the LDS simultaneously integrated and remained different from both non-Canadian LDS and American LDS. Lay leadership in the LDS Church meant a significant overlap among spiritual advisors, Church organizers and political leaders. For example, LDS membership might receive marriage counselling in their ward meetinghouse from the same person they did or did not vote for in the last local election.

Tracking the changing roles shouldered by the men and women of the LDS Church provided another way to observe gradual integration into Canadian society. During the early years of their settlement in southern Alberta, LDS women provided support for their Church leaders, husbands, and families by acting as spiritual advocates, activists, and healers. They claimed to receive gifts of speaking in tongues and prophecy, who's messages helped motivate discouraged leaders regarding their purpose in Canada, and encourage homesick community members. Isolated from Canadian communities, LDS women fulfilled the role of healer by acting as midwives and practical nurses. These healers claimed their healing powers came from not only their medical knowledge, but also the spiritual gift of healing and the ability to administer to the sick by laying on of hands. As they became more comfortable with non-LDS physicians, the reliance on home medicines and midwifery ended. Male doctors replaced these LDS women, and the Church decided that only male Priesthood leaders could administer to the sick. LDS women adapted and spread their "sphere" of activity and authority from motherhood, wifehood, and householding to membership in the LDS Relief Society, and in non-LDS organizations such as Alberta Women's Institute and United Farm Women of Alberta. Together Church authorities and Canadian society changed LDS women's responsibilities from diverse to gendered. As the Church followed cues from mainstream society and limited the roles of female members, it became more like Canadian society, which, after World War II, pictured their women as maternalist reformers. LDS women, who found their roles restricted, helped move their Church into a more accepted circle by participating in the AWI and UFWA, leading certain social and political reforms centered around the home, family, and healthcare.

By the close of the 1940s, Canadian Latter-day Saints practiced monogamy and punished Church members who practiced or even promoted plural marriage. By the mid-Twentieth

Century, Latter-day Saints rejected plural marriage, the exact belief and practice that non-LDS Canadians feared when Mormon settlers first arrived in the District of Alberta. Latter-day Saints attempted to distance themselves from the idea by disciplining non-monogamous LDS Church members. They had integrated into Canadian society by this measure, but the memory of plural marriage and the persistence of the practice in Canada kept them distinct from non-LDS Canadians. In this way, the LDS in Canada remained quite like their American counterparts who were also facing the re-emergence of plural marriage in fundamentalist circles.

In order to answer my research questions, I consulted documents, such as diaries, oral histories, correspondences, and minutes, recorded by Latter-day Saints living in southern Alberta during the time period of this study. The Church History Library in Salt Lake City, the L. Tom Perry Special Collections at Brigham Young University, the Galt Museum and Archives in Lethbridge, the Courthouse Museum in Cardston, the Raymond Museum, the village of Stirling, Magrath Museum, and the Glenbow Museum and Archives all housed collections used in this dissertation to answer the research questions. While writing notes and re-reading material, themes repeated throughout various documents: gender, material culture, politics, business, family, and marriage. Following in the footsteps of scholars on the “Americanization thesis,” I knew to look for these themes as others had observed assimilation trends in Utah especially regarding plural marriage, gender roles, and economics. Thus, if the main body of the LDS Church in Utah and the rest of the United States adapted and negotiated their identity under these categories then I expected to find similar patterns in the Canadian cases. The small details and less obvious identity negotiations became the surprising part of this dissertation. I wondered how was this southern Alberta version of LDS identity different from American versions. I also asked how did this version of LDS identity balance “Canadian-ness” with “Mormon-ness”? How were

they both Canadian and Mormon without neglecting either part of their identity? Was it possible, as a non-dominant group, to integrate without compromising their beliefs and practices?

Historians of religion and religious studies scholars concentrating on religion in Canada neglected the topic of Mormonism. It did not appear in any detail in monographs on the topic of religion in Canada. When a writer did include it, they only briefly and uncritically mentioned it in passing. Similarly, this dissertation addressed a lacuna in the newer field of Mormon Studies, whose scholars also focused on other subjects, such as Church Presidents, rather than Canada. Many scholars believed that Latter-day Saints in Canada were no different than Latter-day Saints in the United States and, therefore, the former did not require further investigation. Furthermore, many assumed that the history ended with the initial settlements in southern Alberta, that Albertan LDS had no problems adapting to their new environment, or that these issues were not worth studying since they did not measure up to conditions faced to the south. Others assumed that negotiation and integration were a linear process. If we assume that the case of the LDS in Canada offered a satisfactory example then one can conclude that integration into a majority society will take several generations, the process is filled with ups and downs, twists and turns.

6.1 Limitations

General limitations of this dissertation started with access to resources. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints while maintaining extensive records also restricted anything they deemed “sacred.” In addition, donated records that Church History Library staff members have yet to process are also defined as off limits to scholars. Less popular subjects, such as Canada, received less attention and slower processing. Geographical and financial restrictions also limited this dissertation. I could only travel to Utah a handful of times and, therefore, moved

through documents as fast as possible, potentially missing key information. Time limits also prevented a close reading of every single document related to Canadian Mormonism.

A comparison to either a LDS community in the United States during the same time period, or to a new settlement in non-LDS locations, such as Mexico, might have provided further explanation, or contradiction, to the observations stated in this dissertation. For example, the migrations to Mexico and Canada, while similar, contained essential differences, such as the level of violence encountered by the Latter-day Saints in each location. Another example for comparison might be each country's government's reaction to plural marriage.

Another general limitation of this dissertation regarded the level of authority and interpretation. My research could demonstrate what Church leaders said, but not how that teaching or regulation was received, interpreted, and acted upon by ordinary believers. When a Church leader made a statement, as recorded in meeting minutes or diaries, did the regular membership believe or follow it? For example, when the Church limited women's spiritual roles, such as administering to the sick, did male members in Alberta agree with the Utah Church? When did beliefs and actions/behaviour contradict each other? In order to answer this question, it would be necessary to do further research into the lives of ordinary members by examining diaries, letters, and other sources of information.

The chapter about Material Culture contained several limitations. First, I only analyzed five LDS buildings. A further investigation of architecture in Magrath, Stirling, and Lethbridge might strengthen or weaken my initial observations. Some structures studied no longer exist. For example, the Church demolished the Cardston Tabernacle about mid-century so photographs were the only source of information. I also limited this study by concentrating on architectural style and the exterior of buildings rather than including interior designs (partially because the

tabernacle no longer stands, and I am not allowed to enter any LDS Temple as a non-member). A consideration of economic restrictions in regards to style and design selection could also have its benefits. The most speculative conclusion in this chapter related to grave-markers. The deceased's wishes, their financial limitations, accessibility of materials, and the designers of grave-stones in Alberta were all unknown to me. The physical markers in the Albertan cemeteries were my sole source of information.

The chapter regarding Business and Politics lacked any comparison to Utahn political parties such as the American Party (1904-1911), People's Party, Utah Liberal Party, and the Godbeites. The absence of a detailed description of what the United Order meant to LDS in Alberta prevented any certainty about the practices in Canada. As for politics, what did Albertan politicians actually accomplish? What policies did they implement? Does it matter? I rely on political ideology and the assumption that is what lured the Latter-day Saints to the parties. However, other motivations might have factored in when considering their status at the time. Aligning with a popular political party would help status and finances of the individual and their associations, such as the LDS Church. Personal, political writings of LDS politicians would strengthen this chapter and provide more confidence in the conclusions made. Political affiliation was public, but what they actually believed in was not.

The next chapter covering the topic of Gendered Roles would benefit from a comparison of other religious groups' treatment of women, such as the Hutterites or Mennonites. I also consider the possibility that spiritual gifts continued even later than I found, that secretaries or diarists did not record all events of miraculous healing after Church leaders limited certain ritual to men.

The final chapter on Family and Marriage was limited by the absence of consideration for other religious minorities that faced legal troubles in Canada as well, such as Jehovah's Witnesses. The argument that the LDS received numerous perks from their relationships with Canadian businessmen and politicians weakens when challenged about what the Canadian non-LDS knew about their LDS associates. While I argued that there is substantial circumstantial evidence that they were aware of plural marriages, there is no definitive evidence to prove their knowledge of the numerous marriage partners or families of their business partners.

6.2 Implications

The case study of Latter-day Saints migrating to southern Alberta teaches that integration is messy and complicated. My perspective as a religious studies scholar contributes to the body of work on Canadian Mormonism because it adds religious motivations to explain historical events and social developments. By unpacking lessons from the past, we can learn and understand current topics such as immigration and refugee issues, significant issues for countries such as France, England, United States, and Canada. An understanding that for new Canadians integration into the mainstream society is a multi-dimensional process that takes generations to achieve might reduce hostility, including hate crimes and discrimination, aimed at non-dominant groups.

Sensitivity to integration becomes particularly relevant considering what the *New York Times* called Canada's "generous refugee policies."⁹⁸⁰ In 2016, Canada welcomed more than 300,000 immigrants, which *The Globe and Mail* and Statistics Canada reported as the largest

⁹⁸⁰ Jonathan Tepperman, "How Immigration Helps Canada," *New York Times*, June 28, 2017, A27.

annual number since 1971.⁹⁸¹ Alberta received the second highest number of newcomers and most are reported as “prairie-bound.”⁹⁸² While Canadians dealt with a larger number of newcomers, Americans faced anti-immigration rhetoric from their new president. Within the first 100 days, the Trump Administration banned the entry of nationals from Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen; heightened screening and vetting of applications for visas; increased border security and enforcement; and encouraged a “Buy American and Hire American” campaign.⁹⁸³ Various media sources claimed a dramatic spike in hate-crimes since the election of Donald Trump. *Slate* keeps an updated list titled “Hate in America” cataloguing incidents of racism, Islamophobia, homophobia, and anti-immigrant sentiment, and the Southern Poverty Law Centre collected over 1,000 “bias-related incidents” in the month following the U.S. election.⁹⁸⁴ Many North Americans fear the non-white, non-Christian, “the Other” rather than learn about the complications of moving into a new homeland as a minority. From the case of LDS in Canada, I learned that change does not happen quickly and those that fear the newcomers are acting and reacting with violence, rather than patience to see what the newcomer contributes to society. Consequently, this dissertation can also make a contribution to the study of Canadian multiculturalism and immigrant integration. It highlights the fact that religion often serves as an important identity-marker for some members of immigrant communities, that religious institutions and organizations may facilitate immigrant integration, and that immigrants may act out of religious—as well as political, economic, social, and cultural—motivations.

⁹⁸¹ Tavia Grant, “320,000 newcomers came to Canada in past year, highest number since 1971,” *The Globe and Mail*, September 28, 2016.

⁹⁸² *Ibid.*

⁹⁸³ Sela Cowger, Jessica Bolter, and Sara Pierce, “The First 100 Days: Summary of Major Immigration Actions Taken by the Trump Administration,” Migration Policy Institute, April 2017.

⁹⁸⁴ “Hate in America: An updating list,” *Slate*, accessed February 12, 2018, http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/politics/2016/12/hate_in_america_a_list_of_racism_bigotry_and_a_buse_since_the_election.html. *Hatewatch*, a blog by Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed February 12, 2018, www.splcenter.org/hatewatch.

This dissertation adds to the history of Canadian religious diversity by not only studying a non-dominant religious group, but also by examining the group's location in the Canadian West. It shows the importance of understanding regional differences in issues of the construction of religious identity and solidarity as well as immigrant integration. In this dissertation, "the centre" is southern Alberta, not Ontario or Quebec. Alberta offers something geographically, economically, politically, socially, and climatically different. The setting is the foothills of the Rocky Mountains and the rolling prairies. The winters are long, brutally cold, and those in the south face strong winds in addition to the freezing temperatures. There is oil in the north and agriculture is present throughout. The people are isolated from the centre of Canadian politics by a great distance, but sometimes they are also isolated from one another, living on their homesteads, far from paved roads, which was especially troubling before automobiles. The culture of Alberta is diverse: Canadian Muslims constructed the first mosque in Canada in Edmonton, the Mennonites and Hutterites established their communal communities throughout all three prairie provinces, the many Indigenous peoples lived thousands of years on the land, now called Alberta, before European contact. Over 125 years ago Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Alberta, and Japanese Canadians found some sanctuary in Alberta during and after their internment during World War II. This dissertation gives ignored voices – those in Alberta and those of a non-dominant group – a chance to speak. Today "Alberta" might represent for many conservatism, ruralism, and ethnic homogeneity, but, as this dissertation shows, it has a much more complicated history.

In Mormon Studies, the assimilation into American mainstream society is a well-told story heard from numerous perspectives using a variety of sources of evidence. However, the absence of studies about Canada (and, just as important, Mexico) leaves the story incomplete

since settlements in both the countries north and south of the U.S. occurred during the same time, which also happened to be the time of increasing assimilation for the LDS in the United States. Researching Canadian Mormonism taught me that there was and is a much larger picture of Mormonism than that of just the Utah Church. The introduction of the idea of a diverse North American Mormonisms would help adjust Mormon Studies scholars' narrow view. The same can be said of Mormons in Canada and Mexico today; they are not the same as their American counterparts. Plural families during this time connected LDS from Alberta through Idaho, Utah, Arizona, and Mexico. And the ever-advancing modes of transportation and communication made the LDS even closer when physically separated across the continent. What would happen if scholars considered North American Mormonisms rather than Canadian or American versions? My thesis shows that the dominant scholarly narrative about Mormonism would be expanded by producing a more accurate picture of Mormonism's evolution. A more inclusive and diverse narrative that considers the histories and narratives of those on the fringes will widen the reach of Mormon Studies into fields such as Religious Studies and History.

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