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THE MORMON WALDENSIANS

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A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University

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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Diane Stokoe
December 1985

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This thesis, by Diane Stokoe, is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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This thesis, by Diane Stokoe, is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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THE MORMON WALDENSIANS

INTRODUCTION

Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints began settling the Rocky Mountain wilderness that would eventually be known as Utah, in July of 1847. Having been driven first from Ohio, then from Missouri, and later from Illinois, the Mormons finally sought sanctuary in the unclaimed regions of the western frontier. Almost from its inception on April 6, 1830 in Fayette, New York, the church had sent missionaries to preach the "restored" gospel throughout the United States, Canada and England. However, after establishing a permanent settlement in the Great Basin, missionary efforts were intensified and new missions were opened throughout the world.

At General Conference in October 1849, thirty-five-year-old Lorenzo Snow, a newly ordained member of the Twelve Apostles, was called to establish an L.D.S. Mission in Italy "and wherever else the spirit should direct."¹ It took Elder Snow and Joseph Toronto, a native Sicilian who accompanied him, over nine months to reach their field of labor.

While en route, in Liverpool, Elder Snow read of the Waldensians, Protestant sectarians who had inhabited the Piedmont region of the Cottian Alps for centuries. He was

Mormon Church. As the young converts married, often into

moved by their long struggle for religious freedom and saw many similarities between their simple doctrines and the "restored" gospel which he had been commissioned to preach. He felt empathy when he read that the Waldensians, like the Mormons, had suffered severe religious persecution and had been forced to seek sanctuary in a mountain retreat. Snow felt impressed enough to begin his missionary efforts in Italy among this simple mountain folk. Southampton Conference President Thomas B. H. Stenhouse joined Snow and Toronto. The three were likely excited by predictions made by Franklin D. Richards, President of the English Mission, that "thousands would, ere long, embrace the gospel in Italy, [and that from the commencement of labors in Piedmont the work should] extend triumphantly." ² The trio began their missionary labors in Italy with great expectations.

But of the 21,000 Waldensians living in the Protestant valleys in 1850, only 187 joined the Mormon church. During the sixteen-year period the Italian mission remained open, 74 of this group were excommunicated, 72 emigrated to Utah (primarily members of twelve families), and the remaining converts drifted into inactivity or returned to their former faith. ³ Though the number of serious Mormon converts was disappointing to the missionaries in the mid-1800s, from the vantage point of historical perspective we can observe many lasting contributions that the Waldensian emigrants and their descendants have made to the

Mormon Church. As the young converts married, often into polygamy, and raised large families, the number of Mormons who claimed Waldensian ancestry increased. Today thousands of Mormons in Utah, Arizona, California and throughout the church trace their ancestry back to the Italian Waldensians of the Protestant valleys. In August 1985, the author attended the opening sessions of the yearly Synod of the Waldensian Church held at Torre Pellice, Italy. The question most often asked by members of the Synod was, "Whatever became of the Mormon colonies?" The question was valid considering how little has been published about the colonies since the departure of the last convert family from Pinache in 1868.

George B. Watts devotes one chapter to this question in his 1941 publication, The Waldenses in the New World. However, Watts focused on Mormon missionary efforts in the Protestant valleys, and devoted only a few pages to the emigrating families.⁴ His biographical material in the appendix was incomplete. For example, Watts completely missed the Justet family and Michael Rostan. Also, the names of some of the immigrating children were omitted. Helen Z. Papanikolas devotes only two paragraphs to the Waldensian converts in her 1976 publication, The Peoples of Utah.⁵ In many cases, church records of the Italian Mission and family records conflicted, complicating the task of compiling lists identifying immigrants. Extensive research has been required to resolve discrepancies. Some

before 1870, church and family records, passenger lists,

the crossing-of-the-plains index and histories from the descendants of Waldensian pioneer families such as Michael W. Homer (of the Bertoch family), Marriner Cardon and Professor James L. Barker⁶ (a son of Margaret Stalle Barker) have published articles on their Waldensian ancestors. The author is indebted to these writers for their information and research. However, these articles focus on specific families and include very little about the other Waldensian immigrants who shared similar experiences. A collective biography treating the Italian emigrants as a community is long overdue.

The "Mormon colonies" can best be understood when seen as ethnic enclaves. For the Waldensians, like the Norwegians, Danes and other ethnic groups who emigrated to Utah, generally settled together. The first Waldensian immigrants chose to establish communities in Ogden and Logan where they worshiped, worked and socialized together, often intermarrying. As these cities grew and polygamous families were disrupted by federal officers in the late 1870s and '80s, many of these families relocated in Arizona and Mexico. Often the Waldensian experience as Mormon converts mirrored the experiences of other ethnic groups: first there was contact with the Mormon elders in their homeland, next came conversion, then immigration and settlement, followed by amalgamation into the larger Mormon society.

To identify all the Waldensians who emigrated to Utah before 1870, church and family records, passenger lists,

the crossing-of-the-plains index and histories from the church archives and other institutions were consulted. After three years of intense study and careful research, the author believes that the list that follows [though it differs somewhat from lists published in other sources]⁷ is accurate and complete.

The twelve families include: (See Map in Appendix A, to identify the locales from which the families emigrated.)

1. Bertoch, John, a widower with five adult children, owned a small farm on the steep hillside near St. Germain. Three of his children, Antoinette, Daniel and James, survived the trip to Utah. Marguerite and John himself both died of cholera en route. John died of pneumonia near Fort Kearney.
2. Beus, Michael, a farmer from Pramol. He and wife Marianne Combe Beus had nine children ranging in age from infancy to twelve years. Ann, James, John, Michael, Paul, Louis Phillip, Mary and Magdalena completed the journey. Baby Joseph died in Liverpool.
3. Cardon, Philippe, a builder, lived with his wife Marie Tourn Cardon and their seven children in San Secondo di Pinerolo on the edge of the Piedmont plains. He served as president of the St. Bartholomew L.D.S. Branch. Their children--Mary Catherine, Louis Philippe, Marie Madeleine, John Paul and Thomas Barthelemy--also immigrated to Utah.
4. Chatelain, Henry, a widower, was a glazier by trade, with four adult children, all of whom lived in St. Germain. He was sixty-six when he was baptized, but Chatelain died before he could emigrate. Son Peter and daughters Lydia, Henrietta and Marie Louise all made their way to Utah.
5. Justet, Daniel, and wife Jane Rostan Justet, were the parents of seven children. Justet, a stonemason, his wife and all but his eldest daughter emigrated in 1868. The children were Antonett, Daniel, Madeleine, Marguerite, Suzanne and Catherine. Marie emigrated first, in 1861.

6. Lazald, Peter (later Lazear), was a farmer from Pinache. Married at the time he was baptized in 1852, he emigrated with two teen-age children in 1855. Apparently, Peter was the only member of his family to join the church in Italy. He died in Echo Canyon. Son John was the only member of the family to reach Salt Lake City.
7. Malan, John Daniel, owned a farm and oil press near La Tour. Malan was a prominent member of the community. He and wife Pauline Combe Malan were the parents of eight children. He presided over the Angrogna Branch and acted as mission president in the absence of the missionaries. His children included Marie Catherine Gaydou (with her daughter Julia), Jean Daniel, Stephen, twins Madeleine and Emily Pauline, Jane Dina and Barthelemy.
8. Pons, Berthelemy and Marie Anne Lantaret Pons were the parents of seven children. The family lived in Angrogna where Pons owned a large grape vineyard, two blocks of connecting houses, two wooded lands and three meadow-lands. He was a retired lieutenant. Immigrating children included Marianne, John Daniel, David, Lydia and Emma. Pons died of cholera en route.
9. Roman, David, was a brother-in-law of Malan, and a widower with a two-year-old son (Daniel), living at La Tour at the time of his baptism. Both emigrated to Utah in 1856.
10. Roshon, Michel, twice widowed, was a carpenter who lived at St. Germain with his third wife Susanne Robert (pronounced Ro Bear), and their three children. A 19-year-old relative, Elizabeth Roshon, (perhaps Roshon's daughter from a previous marriage) emigrated with this family. Roshon and his two youngest children died en route. His oldest daughter, Elizabeth, either died or remained in New York. Susanne and son Jacque Robert survived the trek and settled in Utah. Susanne later married David Roman.
11. Rostan, Michael, and wife Marthe Avondet Rostan, were the parents of two children who died in Italy before the family emigrated in 1860.
12. Stalle, Pierre, who had been twice widowed, lived with his third wife Jeanne Marie Gaudin and their four children near St. Bartholomew, where Stalle owned a small farm. Children Susanne, Daniel, Marie and Marguerite (Margaret) and their mother,

Jeanne Marie, completed the journey. Stalle died en route.

Three young adults who emigrated were relatives of the preceding families:

1. Anthony Gaydou was the estranged husband of Mary Catherine Malan Gaydou. The Gaydous were divorced in Philadelphia, where Anthony settled.
2. Susanne Goudin (Gaudin) was a near relative of Pierre Stalle and was the only member of her immediate family to emigrate.
3. Madelaina Malan was a relative of the Malan family. She married Peter Chatelain in St. Louis, Missouri, en route.

Other young adult immigrants appear not to have been related to the twelve families. These included:

1. James Bonnett, from Pinerolo, a former neighbor of Susanne Robert (Roshon) who emigrated at the age of seventeen.
2. Dominic Brodero, 27, from Marseilles, France, who was a friend of David Roman. Brodero married Henriette Chatelain in Utah.
3. Marianne Catherine Gardiol, 20, from Prarustin. She was the only member of her immediate family to emigrate.
4. Jacob Rivoir, 35, from St. Germain. He presided over the region after the missionaries left and most of the branch leadership had emigrated. Rivoir emigrated in 1866.

Several other Waldensian families came to Utah in the 1880s and 1890s after the Italian Mission was combined with the Swiss Mission. These families were not converts to the Mormon church but many were relatives or friends of the original Italian immigrants. The second wave of Waldensians who came to Utah included about fifteen families and approximately the same number of single

individuals.⁸ This group represented only a few of the thousands who left the valleys in the late 1800s seeking "an opportunity to win their bread from a more hospitable soil."⁹ As they arrived after the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, they were not counted as Utah pioneers or considered early settlers. Consequently, they are not included in this study unless they intermarried with the original group; though many in the second wave settled into existing Waldensian communities. Once in Utah, this group "'melted' into the local Protestant churches and communities, expressly encouraged to do so by their Church in Italy."¹⁰ In time, many of this second group or their descendants became Mormons, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Though the Waldensian Church had been left behind, in the decades that followed the settlement of Utah Mormon descendants of Italian Waldensians would trace their genealogy back to the Protestant Valleys, and research and contemplate the rich heritage that was theirs. Intrigued by a dramatic religious history, many would return to Piedmont to search out for themselves the secrets of their ancestral home.

⁸ Waldensians, the first 800 years, trans. Cavillo V. Merlino (Torino: Claudiana, 1980), p. xv. (Hereafter cited as The Waldensians.)

⁹ Ibid. The author was told at the 1985 Synod in Torre Pellice that when the Protestant valleys could no longer accommodate the large population, the "Waldensian church did a very brave thing. Emigrating Waldensians were told not to organize but to go into the

World and do as the spirit directs." Interview with the Reverend Frank Gibson, Executive Director of the American Waldensian Aid Society, August 24, 1985.

NOTES

1. Eliza R. Snow, Autobiography of Lorenzo Snow (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1884), p. 109. (Hereafter cited as Lorenzo Snow.)
2. Ibid., pp. 122-123.
3. All statistical information concerning the original Mormon Converts was compiled from membership lists which appear in the appendix of Daniel B. Richard's The Italian Mission, the Scriptural Allegory in Three Parts (Salt Lake City: Magazine Publishing Co., 1931), pp 297-312. (Hereafter cited as Scriptural Allegory.)
4. George B. Watts, The Waldenses in the New World (Durham: Drake University Press, 1941), pp. 42-44, 227-229. (Hereafter cited as Waldenses in New World.)
5. Helen Z. Papanikolas, The Peoples of Utah (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), p. 306.
6. Michael W. Homer, "For the Strength of the Hills We Bless Thee--Italian Mormons Come to Utah", paper presented to Dr. Davis Bitton, University of Utah. Marriner Cardon, "Children of the Valleys", Transcript of the sound track of an 8 mm documentary motion picture, privately published by the author, November, 1977 in Phoenix Arizona. James L. Barker, "Pioneer Reminiscences of Mrs. Margaret Stalle Barker", Relief Society Magazine (July, 1926).
7. See Appendix of Richards, Scriptural Allegory, pp. 297-312. Also Appendix in Watts, Waldenses in New World, pp. 227-229.
8. Watts, Ibid., pp. 232-239.
9. Giorgio Tourn, The Waldensians, the first 800 years, trans. Camillo P. Merlino (Torino: Claudiana, 1980), p. xv. (Hereafter cited as The Waldensians.)
10. Ibid. The author was told at the 1985 Synod in Torre Pellice that when the Protestant valleys could no longer accommodate the large population, the "Waldensian church did a very brave thing. Emigrating Waldense were told not to organize but to go into the

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CHAPTER I

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE ITALIAN WALDENSIANS

"Wild, narrow and inaccessible, rising from the plain and finally losing themselves in the rocky heights forming the French frontier,"¹ the Protestant valleys on the Italian side of the Cottian Alps provide the setting for this study. The scenery of this portion of northern Italy is exceedingly grand and beautiful; though, owing to its rugged nature, the higher regions are not very productive.

We do not know when or why the first inhabitants chose these alpine valleys for their home. What we do know is that this remote region eventually produced a hardy colony who, living apart from other Christian communities, "retained their primitive appearance and manners to a greater degree than almost any other [Christian sect in Europe.]"²

Historically, not many more than 20,000 people have inhabited these alpine valleys at any one time. Though small in size (the valleys constitute an area of about 300 square miles, 22 miles in length and 16 miles wide,) this is a region rich in religious tradition. The Waldensians claim a heritage that some believe dates back to the dawn of Christendom. Captain R. M. Stephens explains that "the history of the Waldense is nothing if it is not viewed from

a spiritual standpoint; their story is one long continual struggle for liberty of conscience."

CHAPTER I

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a spiritual standpoint; their story is one long continual struggle for liberty of conscience."³

The beginnings of the Waldensians⁴ as a separate religious sect is obscure and complicated by controversy. Do they go back in unbroken succession to the Apostles? Are they descendants of various groups of dissenters who fled to the wild mountains of Piedmont to escape religious persecution? Or are they specifically the heirs of Peter Waldo, a twelfth century religious reformer from Lyons, France?

English writer William St. Gilly, and early Waldensian historians, including Jean Leger and Henry Arnaud,⁵ support the theory of apostolic origin as described by James D. McCabe:

Soon after the introduction of Christianity into Italy by the Apostles, the people of these valleys became converts to the faith preached by St. Paul. They accepted and taught the doctrines of the Apostles, and practiced simple rites. . . . They acknowledged the Holy Scriptures as their sole rule of faith, and rejected all that was not taught in the books of the New Testament. From the days of Constantine to the present. . . they have never changed their faith, and have never altered any important particular of their religious observance.

Dr. Alexis Muston devotes thirty-four pages in his two volume work, The Israel of the Alps, to the question of origin and concluded that "the Vaudois, therefore, are not schismatics, but continued inheritors of the Church founded by the apostles."⁷

Twentieth century historians, Catholic writers, and educators such as Walter F. Adeney [Professor of History of

Religious Doctrine at Manchester University and Lancashire College in England] contend that there is not a shred of evidence to link the Waldensians with the apostles.⁸ These writers maintain that the Waldense are simply the followers of Peter Waldo.

Will Durant, the 20th Century popular historian, dismisses the Waldensians as "heretics," "preservers of heresies and semi-communistic aspirations," and "continuing an old tradition of basing radical proposals upon Biblical texts." In ten references throughout his book, The Story of Civilization, Vol. VI, The Reformation, Durant completely anathematized them.⁹

Adeney is at least objective in acknowledging Waldensian achievements. He does not label them "heretics", allowing that

. . . this community of hardy mountaineers. . . [established a church that] was able to develop and maintain its own individuality and to withstand the attacks of opponents in a way that has almost suggested the miraculous. [But to maintain its doctrinal purity] throughout all these centuries would demand a double miracle.¹⁰

In order to come to terms with this controversy over origin of the Waldensians as a religious sect, it is necessary to trace Christianity in Northern Italy from the time of Constantine in the fourth century to the activities of Peter Waldo at the end of the twelfth century. In 312 A.D., Christians numbered about five percent of the total population of the Roman Empire. In many areas the Christian Church was represented only by a few scattered

groups of repressed, poor, and occasionally persecuted minorities of low social status. These groups held secret services and were of little political significance to the great Roman Empire which was then at the point of collapse. Struggles among rival emperors brought frequent civil wars, while barbarian hordes threatened the borders. However, these circumstances changed in 312 when a soldier named Constantine, who had proclaimed himself sole legitimate Emperor in the West, had a vision in which

He said that about noon he saw with his own eyes a cross of light in the heavens, about the sun, and bearing the inscription BY THIS SIGN SHALT THOU CONQUER. At this divine sign he was struck by amazement, as was the whole army, which also witnessed the miracle.¹¹

Subsequently, Constantine believed that the god of the Christians had revealed himself as the true God and had promised him victory. When he was successful in his battles, Constantine united the whole Empire under his rule and the Christian church found itself suddenly raised to prominence with power, prestige and patronage. Although Constantine was not baptized until 337 when he was on his deathbed, he took a great interest in matters of the Christian church, himself presiding at the Council of Nicea in 325 A.D. where the official doctrine of the church was defined.

Faced with dissension within the various far-flung branches of the church at that time, Constantine helped to unify, legalize and define the beliefs of the Christian church. Thus he is credited with launching Christianity on

the path to power. By 361, many members of the upper classes in the Roman Empire had embraced the new faith. Subsequently, many innovations were introduced into the church to accommodate the new converts.

But there were those who staunchly resisted these secular changes. Cries of protests from Christians in the alpine valleys of Piedmont reached Rome as early as 370 A.D. In that year Vigilantius, a dissident Spanish elder who had taken up residence in that region, condemned the Roman worship of images, saints and relics. He protested prayers for the dead, and other innovations that had crept into the church. From a letter written by Jerome we learn that some bishops in the vicinity of the Cottian Alps supported Vigilantius in opposing what they perceived to be errors.¹² In this early period, the people of the Piedmont Valleys considered themselves simply Christians and not members of a church separate and apart from the universal Christian community.

Stephens points out in The Burning Bush that when Napoleon was in Turin in 1805 he contacted the Moderator (President) of the Mountain Church and asked how long it had been since the Waldensians became an independent church. "Since the time of Claude, Bishop of Turin"¹³ was the answer.

Claude became Bishop of Turin in 817. Within a short period he ordered images and relics removed from the churches in his dioceses. Claude denied the mystic

doctrine of the Mass and denounced the claim of the Bishop of Rome to authority over all other Christian leaders.¹⁴

The official history of the Waldensian Church, published in 1980, all but ignores the ancient claims to apostolic origin and the debate this theory perpetuated in the last century. Times change and in the interim certain doctrines and practices appear to have been altered. Today, the cross is often used as adornment on newer Waldensian Church buildings. Early Waldensians refused to use the cross to adorn their homes or churches, for anciently they regarded it as a symbol of apostate Christianity. "God commands us to bear our cross, not to worship it" wrote Claude in the ninth century. "They worship it, but bear it neither corporally nor spiritually."¹⁵

Pastors of the Waldensian Church today join modern historians in dating the beginning of the church from the time of Peter Waldo (1140?-1206 or 07), "a wealthy merchant of Lyons, who became convinced in 1173 that every man had a right to read and interpret the Scriptures for himself. [Waldo] engaged two priests to translate portions of the Bible into the language of the people."¹⁶ He then followed Christ's admonition to the rich young ruler to go and sell all his goods and distribute the proceeds among the poor. He made some provisions for the support of his family and then went forth to preach as he felt the Lord wanted him to do. He attracted followers and founded a movement. Upon

observing Waldo and his followers--the Poor Men of Lyons-- 18

Catholic official Walter Map recorded: of Jesus. There

were Arnoldists, Petrusians, and Henricians before
 These people have no dwelling place, but go around two
 by two, barefoot and dressed in coarse tunics. They
 own nothing, sharing everything in common, after the
 manner of the Apostles. Naked, they follow a naked
 Christ. Their beginnings are humble in the extreme,
 for they have not yet much of a following, but if we
 should leave them to their devices they will end by
 turning all of us out.¹⁷ larger when one realizes that

In time, the local archbishop became aware of Waldo's
 work and forbade him and his followers to preach, as they
 were not ordained priests. Waldo and his Poor Men took
 their case to the Pope in 1179. They were received kindly
 but were not given permission to preach in "their vulgar
 tongue (or) spread the Gospel."¹⁸ In 1184, Waldo and his
 followers were excommunicated from the Catholic church and,
 scattering in all directions, went off two by two to preach
 the Gospel throughout Europe. ns who converted to the Mormon

Although some historians believe that Peter Waldo
 founded the Waldensian church, many others writing in the
 eighteenth and nineteenth centuries claim otherwise.¹⁹ All
 modern writers and the Waldensian Church today accept Waldo
 as the founder, allowing for some groundwork by earlier
 reformers.²⁰ Adeney believes that the Waldensian church
 was a fusion of twelfth century reform movements. He
 believes that the followers of Waldo united with those of
 Arnold of Brescia (1100?-1155), Peter of Bruys (1104-1125)
 and Henry of Cluny, (who died in 1150): began a crusade

The ideas were in the air, the spirit was alive and
 awake, when Waldo and his "Poor Men" came with
 apostolic fervor to embrace them and blend them with

scenes of unsurpassed cruelty with extensive murders and

their own version of the teaching of Jesus. There were Arnoldists, Petrobrusians, and Henricians before Waldo, existing as scattered religionists. But it was his movement that gathered in the harvest of their lives and brought about the formation of a Waldensian Church.²¹

None of the theories of origin can be verified.

However, the question looms larger when one realizes that at its base is the issue of authority. If the Waldensian church was simply an outgrowth of reform movements of the day, then it was no different from any other Protestant church. If, on the other hand, the Waldensian valleys were a last stronghold of ancient Christendom, then the Roman church was the apostate church. This may have been at the crux of the bitter argument between Rome and the early mountain Christians. The authority issue was of major significance to the Waldensians who converted to the Mormon church.

Be that as it may, by the end of the twelfth century the Waldensians of the Protestant valleys were united by a faith grounded in the teachings of Jesus Christ. Collectively, they had rejected papal authority, claiming the Catholic church was in a state of apostasy. Finally, they had organized a vibrant church that would sustain them during seven hundred years of severe persecution.

Early in the thirteenth century, Pope Innocent III, confronted by heresy in many quarters, began a crusade against all heretics. His efforts were continued and intensified by his successors. The alpine valleys became scenes of unsurpassed cruelty with extensive murders and

burning.²² As a result many Waldensians left and became scattered throughout Europe where they joined other dissidents in Spain, Germany, France, Austria and Bohemia. Reinerius Sacho, an inquisitor sent to the valleys to force submission to Catholic doctrine, noted in 1245:

Among all these sects which still are, or have been, there is not one more pernicious to the church than that of the Leonists, and this on three accounts: The first is, because it is of longer duration. For some say that it has existed from the time of Sylvester; others from the time of the Apostles. The second, because it is more general, for there is almost no land in which this sect is not. The third, because [although] all other sects, through their monstrous blasphemy against God, strike horror into their hearers, this of the Leonists has a great appearance of piety, inasmuch as they live justly before men, and believe not only in the articles of the creed, but every sound doctrine respecting the Deity; only they speak evil of the Roman church and clergy, to which the multitude of the laity are quite willing to give credence."²³

The Waldensians took the Bible as the standard of their faith and the Apostles' Creed as the summary of their doctrine. Anciently, they were uneducated. While most could not read, they were able to memorize and often committed entire books to memory. In the middle ages, when only the priests were allowed access to the scriptures, the Catholic church claimed common use of the Bible was the mainspring of heresy. "I have heard and seen a certain unlettered countryman who used to recite Job word for word, and many others who knew the whole New Testament perfectly," wrote an inquisitor in 1260.²⁴ Later, when printed copies became available, Bible reading became a common daily practice in Waldensian families. "The only

exchanges was a conference in Angrogna held in 1532 during

book my father owned was a Bible," recalled Marie Madeleine Cardon. "It was then over two centuries old, handed down from his ancestors."²⁵

Throughout the fourteenth century, persecution continued not only in the alpine valleys but in most other areas where the Vaudois had taken refuge. General persecution and harassment against all heretics became so widespread in the fifteenth century that many sects were completely wiped out. However, a remnant of the Italian Waldense persisted because generally their mountains protected them until danger had passed and they could return to their homes.²⁶ For this reason, the valleys on the Italian side of the Alps now became the center and chief home of the Waldensians, as those Waldense who had fled to the French side of the Alps and to other locations were completely annihilated.

Just before the Reformation began to spread throughout Europe with the dawn of the sixteenth century, the only organized opponents of the Catholic Church were the Waldense of the Protestant valleys and some Hussites or Bohemians whom the Roman clergy also identified as Waldensians. Though the Bohemian Brethren were the first to contact Martin Luther, the Italian Waldensians soon joined them with messages of congratulations. Representatives of both groups were sent to Luther in Germany and Calvin in Switzerland. The outcome of these exchanges was a conference in Angrogna held in 1532 during

which the Waldensians decided to make some changes in their practices. They adopted public worship, having previously met secretly in dens and caves; they publicly condemned those who called themselves "Vaudois" but had been attending Catholic services. The Waldensians united with the Reformers on several doctrines, including their views on predestination, oaths, marriage of the clergy and some sacraments. The movement that had seeded the Reformation now merged with it.²⁷

The marriage was sealed with a gift. The Waldensians commissioned Robert Olivetan, cousin of John Calvin, to translate the Bible into the French language. "It was evident that the Waldensians were thus ready to seek a wider audience for their witness than was possible with their old Bible in Provençal and to take advantage of the most recent textual studies," wrote Tourn in The Waldensians. Calvin himself penned the Preface to the "Olivetan Bible" which was printed in Neuchatel and delivered to the Waldensians in 1535. This remarkable translation was the first of the French Reformation and has been widely used as the basis for later French revisions.²⁸

The open participation of the Waldense in the Reformation and their cooperation with Swiss and German protestant movements left no ambiguity as to their relationship with the Roman church. Consequently, the period between 1540 and 1690 became a time of great persecution. Yet the Waldensians often took the offensive:

Those sturdy mountaineers were not meek martyrs led as lambs to the slaughter. They carried the war into the enemy's camp. . . . The Waldenses became in a literal sense a Church militant, taking to the field in arms and fighting valiantly for their liberty of worship, with hardy heroism and at times with brilliant success.²⁹

In January of 1561, the Vaudois found themselves trapped by the Pope's troops. They were ordered to attend mass within 24 hours or suffer death. They gathered together and took an oath to "Maintain the Bible, whole and without admixture, preserving in this holy religion. . . . at the peril of our lives, in order that we may transmit it to our children, intact and pure, as we received it from our fathers."³⁰

The next day the Waldense pretended to comply with the Count of Trinity's order and attended their churches which had been taken over by the Catholics. At a given signal they ripped down the crucifix, candles and images that the priests had brought for the celebration of the mass. They then rushed from their churches and attacked those who had come to enforce the decree.

As soon as he could reorganize, the Count led his army into the Valley of Angrogna against a well-organized and carefully prepared Vaudois army. Though greatly outnumbered, the Vaudois knew the terrain, had experience in guerilla warfare, and fought with the sure knowledge that defeat would bring death to themselves and their families. The Count's troops sustained one defeat after another. Each time they charged they were hurled back:

Even the Spanish infantry, the flower of the whole force, was routed with terrible loss. The Count burst into tears as he beheld the suffering of his troops, while the men [murmured and refused to fight] exclaiming, "God fights for them and we do them wrong."³¹

Finally the Catholic army retreated after suffering a serious humiliation. But Michele Ghislier, the grand inquisitor (later Pope Pius V), succeeded where the Count's troops had failed. The heretics were brought before him and eliminated one by one.³²

A period of relative calm followed the darkest days of the inquisition. For over half a century the Vaudois were left in peace. However, in 1630 a French army passed through the valleys and brought with it the bubonic plague, then raging in Europe. Hundreds died including all but three of the Vaudois pastors. New pastors came from Switzerland but those who came spoke only French. Henceforth, all Vaudois services were conducted in French instead of the French-Italian mixture (Patua) that was the common language of the people.³⁵ Six months

The seventeenth century was a time of terrible persecutions. Several times it appeared that this ancient community would be completely exterminated. The Easter massacre of 1655 was so savage that all of Protestant Europe was aroused.³³ Oliver Cromwell proclaimed a fast and commissioned John Milton to draw up a letter to Louis XIV condemning the act and threatening reprisal. Milton wrote a sonnet about the 1,712 Waldense who were fighting men who returned to their homeland fewer than 400 survived.³⁶

slaughtered and entitled it "On the Late Massacre in Piedmont": The result was a proclamation allowing liberty

Avenge, O Lord thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold;
E'en them who kept Thy Truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,
Forget not: In Thy book, record their groans
Who are Thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
to heaven. . . .³⁴

The worst was yet to come. In 1685, Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, which granted religious freedom to all French subjects. The following year a French and Piedmontese army invaded the valleys. The Waldense fought bravely crying "Death rather than the Mass," but out of a population of 14,000, 2,000 were slain. The 8,500 survivors were imprisoned where cold and disease accomplished what the Catholic armies had left undone. "The rest survived thanks only to abjuration of their faith which was more formal than substantial."³⁵ Six months after their imprisonment the survivors, a half-starved remnant of 3,000, were allowed to go into exile in Switzerland.

They remained there for three years, until 1689, when their pastor-soldier, Henry Arnaud, led a ten-day march back to their valleys which became known in the annals of Waldense history as "The Glorious Return." But the price of reclaiming their alpine valleys was high. Of the 1,000 fighting men who returned to their homeland fewer than 400 survived.³⁶

After the French Revolution when Piedmont again came under control of France, the Waldensians appealed to Napoleon. The result was a proclamation allowing liberty of conscience to all French subjects. However, after Napoleon's fall, Victor Emanuel I took possession of Piedmont and the Waldense were again placed under severe restrictions. They could not leave their valleys to live in the more productive plains. Their colleges were closed and they were prevented from entering universities. They were barred from some professions and could not hold commissions in the army.

However, by the mid-1800s the current of European opinion so strongly favored religious liberty that King Charles Albert of Savoy abandoned his predecessor's policies. On February 18, 1848, he issued the Edict of Emancipation granting the Vaudois full civil and religious rights including access to public schools and universities and the right to move from the confines of their valleys. The King's proclamation brought an end to the centuries of religious persecution and placed the Vaudois on an equal footing with Savoy's other citizens. Three days of celebration followed the announcement and the entire country rejoiced. Marie Madeleine Cardon explained: "The King said that no other people on earth could have suffered what we did and still be true to their religion and loyal to the laws of the land."³⁷

-no, Welsh

A hymn composed by Vaudois poetess Felicia Hermans was later translated into English and revised for use in Mormon services. It describes poetically how the Waldense perceive themselves and their long colorful history:

For the strength of the hills we bless Thee,
Our God, our father's God.

Thou has made Thy children mighty

By the touch of the mountain sod.

Thou has fixed our ark of refuge

Where the spoiler's foot ne'er trod. . .

For the strength of the hills we bless Thee,

Our God, our father's God.

We are watchers of a beacon,
Whose light must never die;

We are guardians of an altar

"Midst the silence of the sky."

The rocks yield founts of courage,

Struck forth as by Thy Rod.

For the strength of the hills we bless Thee,

Our God, our father's God. . . .

For the shadow of Thy presence

'Round our camp of rock outspread;

For the stern defiles of battle,

Bearing record of our dead:

For the snows and for the torrents,

For the free heart's burial sod:

For the strength of the hills we bless Thee,

Our God, our Father's God. . . .

It was this dramatic history which so impressed Lorenzo Snow that he established a mission among the Waldensians. From the writings of the early converts it appears that many Waldensians were spiritually prepared for the missionaries' message of restoration, for by 1850, many questioned whether the Waldensian Church was the true church. Upon his deathbed John Combe (1775-1847) instructed his granddaughter, Mary Catherine Gaydou, "Take heed to my words Mary, remember what I say, that the old may not, but the young and rising generation will see the

day when the gospel shall be restored in its purity and power and in that day, Mary, remember me." Stephen Malan wrote of the time prior to the appearance of the Mormon Elders in the valleys of Piedmont, "Some received visions, some dreams, some by sudden inspiration of the spirit awakened to a sense that the religious principles of the day were not in accordance with Holy Writ." John Daniel Malan and Barthelemy Pons both expressed dissatisfaction with the teachings of the mountain church years before the coming of the Mormon elders.³⁹

In summary, it appears that the Waldensians had faith or "light" enough to sustain them through seven hundred years of intense persecution.⁴⁰ Whether this "light" came directly from Christ's apostles, or was distilled through Peter Waldo and his Poor Men, or came to them as a result of regular scripture reading, it is difficult to judge. Their piety and submission to civil authority while defending their right to liberty of conscience is evidence of strong character. The fact that they persisted for so many centuries despite every attempt to "extinguish" them denotes determination and commitment. Their history testifies that they were a unique people in the annals of religious history.

church. See Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. 1938-1926 s.v., p. 684. In 1179, Waldo was still in full fellowship within the Catholic Church. In that year, he and some of his followers were received by Pope Alexander III at the third Lateran Council in Rome. See Comba, Emilio, History of the Waldenses in Italy (London: Truslove & Shirley, 1889) pp. 31-36. Gray indicated in History of the Old Waldensians

(London: Joseph Downing, 1712) that "some of Waldo's disciples did probably join themselves with the Churches of the Vallies [sic] of Piedmont . . ." But that Waldo himself retired into Flanders and Picardy. (See Book 1, p. 3.)

NOTES

1. Captain R.M. Stephens, The Burning Bush (Northants, Great Britain: Stanley L. Hunt Ltd., 1950), p. 10. (Hereafter cited as Burning Bush.)
2. McCabe, James D., Cross and Crown (London: Jones Brothers Co., 1873), p. 22. (Hereafter cited as Cross and Crown.)
3. Stephens, Burning Bush, p. 14.
4. Note that English writers use the names Waldensian, Waldenses, and Waldense interchangeably. The name translates to "Vaudois" in French and "Valdesi" in Italian, both stemming from the Latin Vallis densa (a thick or shady valley or the inhabitants of such places). The earliest inhabitants of the Piedmont valleys considered themselves simply "Christians" and not a separate religious sect. They called themselves "Valley men" or "Valley dwellers," thereby identifying the region from which they came. By 1631, however, the name "Waldensian" had become synonymous with heretic or sorcerer. Joan of Arc was charged with being a vaudoise or sorceress. Catholic writers claim the sect took its name from its founder, Peter Waldo. However, this argument is debatable. In The Burning Bush Stephens writes, "It has sometimes been said that the Waldenses derive their name from Peter Waldo, but in all official documents of the period the followers of Peter are never referred to as Vaudois or Waldenses but always as Poor Men of Lyons (p. 11). An even stronger argument against this hypothesis is that the name "Waldenses" (Vallenses) was first used in official Catholic documents in 1179 by Raymond of Daventry, in his sentence of condemnation against two barbes (clergymen) from the Piedmont valleys. This document was written five years before Waldo and his followers were excommunicated from the Catholic church. See Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics ed. 1908-1926 s.v., p. 666. In 1179, Waldo was still in full fellowship within the Catholic Church. In that year, he and some of his followers were received by Pope Alexander III at the third Lateran Council in Rome. See Comba, Emilio, History of the Waldenses in Italy (London: Truslove & Shirley, 1889) pp. 31-36. Bray indicates in History of the Old Waldensians

(London: Joseph Downing, 1712) that "some of Waldo's disciples did probably join themselves with the Churches of the Vallies [sic] of Piedmont . . ." But that Waldo himself retired into Flanders and Picardy. (See Book 1, p. 3.)

5. William St. Gilly, Waldensian researches during a second visit to the Vaudois of Piedmont (London, C. & J. Rivington, 1831) p. 8-9. Leger, Jean, Historie Generale Des Eglises Evangeliques de Piemont ou Vaudoise (Aleycle: Jean Le Carpentier, 1669), Dedication, pp. 2a-2b. Henry Arnaud, The Glorious Recovery by the Vaudois of Their Valleys (London: John Murray, Albemarle-Street, 1898). pp. xxi-xxii. (Hereafter cited as Glorious Recovery.)
6. McCabe, Cross and Crown, p. 22-23.
7. Dr. Alexis Muston, The Israel of the Alps (London: Blackie & Son, 1875), pp. 506-540; also p. 13.
8. Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, n.d. ed., s.v. "Waldenses," by Walter F. Adeney (hereafter cited as Adeney.)
9. "A heretical teaching was one which conflicted with that laid down by the Church, and a heretic was someone who not only fell into error, but on being shown his heresy persisted in it." R. I. Moore, The Birth of Popular Heresy (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1975), p. 3. Will Durant, The Story of Civilization Vol VI, The Reformation (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1957), pp. 153, 169, 382. (It is interesting to note that Will Durant was educated in Catholic parochial schools. See p. 1027.)
10. Adeney, p. 664.
11. Robert Browning, "In This Sign Shalt Thou Conquer," The Fires of Faith (New York: Newsweek Books, 1973), p. 15. See also Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, n.d. ed., s.v. "Constantine the Great," by H. B. Workman.

Note that, of necessity, many of the quotes in this chapter came from secondary sources. As the author is not conversant in French, Italian, or Latin, it was impossible for her to consult primary sources dealing with the early Christian era. Her objective is simply to sketch the events of early Christendom so that the reader might develop an appreciation for the antiquity of the Waldensian community. As most of the Vaudois converts to the Mormon Church trace their pedigrees

back to the seventeenth century and beyond, this chapter provides a foundation for understanding their unique religious and ethnic heritage.

12. Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, n.d. ed., "Jerome" by G. Grutzmacher.
13. Captain R. M. Stephens, Never Failing Light, (Torre Pellice: Claudina, 1957), p. 26.
14. Ibid, pp. 26-27.
15. Giorgio Tourn, The Waldensians, the first 800 years, ed. Charles W. Arbutnot, trans. Camillo P. Merlino (Turin: Claudiana, 1980, p. 183, describes the apostolic origin theory as a legend. See Appendix D, Letter to D. Stokoe from G. Tourn). Earlier pastors perpetuated the theory, some modern pastors disclaim it. But then, other changes have come to the Waldensian Church in the past century. Waldensian temples constructed in the twentieth century at St. Secondo, Pinerolo and Prali are decorated with crosses. The author was told when she was in Torre Pellice that Mussolini required that the cross be displayed on all churches and schools. This may account for their use in modern construction. However, none of the older buildings bear crosses. Waldensian schools side-stepped Mussolini's requirement by displaying a picture of Jesus with the little children rather than a cross. Henry Arnaud, the seventeenth century pastor-soldier-historian, recorded that the cross was a symbol of apostate Christianity. See the prefatory Compendium of Glorious Recovery, pp. xxvii-xxix.)
16. Watts, Waldenses in New World, p. 4.
17. Tourn, The Waldensians, p. 13.
18. Watts, Waldenses in New World, p. 4.
19. Historians who believed in Apostolic origin included Dr. Alexis Muston, a French pastor; Jean Leger, Waldensian pastor-historian; Henry Arnaud, Waldensian pastor-historian and soldier; James D. McCabe, American historian; and William St. Gilly, an Anglican priest, to name some of the more prominent. (Historical publications cited in foregoing notes.)
20. Historians who claim Waldo was the founder of the Waldensian church include Peter Toon who published in The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church, 1974, s.v. "Waldense"; also Will Durant, popular historian; and Giorgio Tourn, pastor and

intellectual leader of the Waldensian Church today; as well as other modern historians too numerous to list.

21. Adeney, p. 666.
22. Ibid., p. 667.
23. William Strong, A Brief Sketch of the Waldenses (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press, 1893). p. 47.
24. Stephens, Burning Bush, p. 12.
25. Marie Madeleine Cardon Guild, "Autobiography," Typescript in possession of author, p. 2. (Hereafter cited as Guild, Autobiography.) ✓
26. The first serious village massacre in the alpine valleys occurred on Christmas Eve, 1386, when armed troops of Inquisitor Borelli descended on the Valley of Pragelato.
 "The inhabitants, forewarned, fled to the mountain at the foot of which their villages [were] sheltered. . . High up on the icy slopes of the mountain fifty little children died [from exposure] with their mothers beside them; no less than 150 people perished that night, whilst the villages were delivered to flames." Stephens, Burning Bush p. 19.
27. The Waldensians claim to be the oldest Protestant church in the world. They believe that their doctrine, emphasizing Bible teachings and the apostasy of the Catholic church, established a foundation for later reform movements. In The Waldensians (p. 76) Tourn indicates that the Reformation, in fact, absorbed the Waldensian church: "The Waldensians had to choose to become a part of the reformation or to be dissolved." Also, from page 74: "The most radical elements. . . insisted that the whole thrust and organization of the old Waldensian movement should be fully integrated into the Reformation effort." As a result of this decision, the Waldensians adopted their "Confessions of Faith," a statement of beliefs that aligned them with the Protestant movement at the Synod of Chanforan in 1532 (p. 73.)
28. The preface reads in part, that the Waldenses "give thanks to God that having received the Bible from the Apostles or their immediate successors, they have always preserved to themselves the enjoyment of the blessings." Stephens, Burning Bush p. 13. Strong quotes the preface in A Brief Sketch of the Waldenses, (Lawrence: University Press, 1893) p. 37-38: "It is to thee alone I present this precious treasure, in the name of a certain poor people, thy friends, and

brethren of Jesus Christ, who ever since they were blessed and enriched with it by the apostles and ambassadors of Christ, have still possessed and enjoyed the same." Note difference in translations.

29. Adeney, p. 669.
30. Captain R.M. Stephens, Never Failing Light, (Torre Pellice, Italy: Libreria Editrice Claudiana, 1957), p. 95.
31. McCabe, Cross and Crown, p. 54.
32. Ibid., p. 39-40. McCabe lists the methods by which the heretics were eliminated: "Jordan Tertian was burned alive at Suza; . . . Ugon Chiamps, of Fenestrelle, was taken at Suza, and conducted to Turin, where his bowels were torn out, and flung into a basin, without his suffering being terminated even by this frightful torture. Peter Geymonat, of Bobi, died at Lucerna, with a living cat in the interior of his body; Mary Romaine was buried alive at Roche Plate; Madeleine Fontane suffered the same fate at St. John; Michel Gonet, a man almost a hundred years of age, was burned alive at Sarcena: Susanna Micheline, at the same place, was left in a dying state upon the snow. Bartholomew Franche, having been hacked with sabres, had his wounds filled with quicklime, and expired in this manner at Fenil. Daniel Michelin had his tongue torn out at Bobi, for having praised God. James Baridon died, covered with brimstone matches, which they had fastened between his fingers, and about his lips, his nostrils, and all parts of his body. Daniel Revel had his mouth filled with gunpowder, which was set on fire, and the explosion of which tore his head in pieces. Mary Mounin was taken in the Combe of Lioussa, the flesh of her cheeks and of her chin was removed, so that the jaws were exposed, and in this way she was left to die. Paul Garnier was slowly mangled at Rora; Thomas Marguet mutilated in an indescribable manner at the Fort of Mirabouc, and Susanna Jaquin cut in pieces at La Tour. A number of young women of Taillaret, in order to escape outrages still more dreadful to them than death, flung themselves from a precipice, and perished among the rocks. Sarah Rostagnol was cleft up through the middle of her body, and was left in a dying state on the road from Eyrals to Lucerna. Anne Charbonnier was impaled alive, and borne in this state like a banner from St. Jean to La Tour. At Paesane, Daniel Rambaud had his nails torn out, then his fingers cut off, then his feet and hands were severed by blows of hatchets, and then his arms and legs were separated from his body upon each refusal that he made to abjure the

Gospel. There is not a rock in the Vaudois Valleys which [can] not be looked on as a monument of death, nor a meadow but has been the scene of some execution, not a village but has had its martyrs. No history however complete, can contain a record of them all." ✓

33. At 4:00 a.m. on the Saturday before Easter Sunday, April 24, 1655, a signal from a cannon alerted the troops. They arose and began the systematic slaughter of entire villages. No age was spared. The Waldensian pastor-historian, Jean Leger, gave a detailed account of this day. See McCabe, pp. 71-73. "Little children were torn from the arms of their mothers, dashed against the rocks, and cast carelessly away. The sick or the aged, both men and women, were either burned in their houses, or hacked in pieces; or mutilated, half-murdered and flayed alive, they were exposed in a dying state to the heat of the sun, or to the flames, or to ferocious beasts; others were tied, in a state of nakedness, into the form of balls, the head between the legs, and in this state were rolled down the precipices. Some of them, torn and bruised by the rocks from which they had rebounded, remained suspended from some projecting rock or the branch of some tree, and still groaned forty-eight hours afterward. Women and young girls were violated, impaled, set up naked upon pikes at the corners of roads, buried alive, roasted upon lances, and cut in pieces by the soldiers of the faith, as by cannibals; then, after the massacre, the children which had survived it, and were found wandering in the woods, were carried away; or the children were forcibly taken from what remained of their afflicted family, to be conveyed into the dwellings of these butchers, and into monasteries, like lambs taken to the slaughter house; and finally, conflagration--the monks, the propagandists, and the zealous Catholics running from house to house with resinous torches, or incendiary projectiles, and ravaging in the midst of the fires, all these village now filled with corpses." Leger feared that his account might be suspect and so concluded his narrative with these words: "Let it not be said that I exaggerate things upon account of the persecutions which I myself personally have endured; I have traveled from one village to another to collect the authentic testimonies of the survivors, who deposed what things they had seen before two notaries who accompanied me. In some places fathers had seen their children torn through the midst by the strength of men's arms, or cut through with swords; in other places mothers had seen their daughters forced or murdered in their presence. Daughters had witnessed the mutilation of the living bodies of their fathers; brothers had seen the mouths of their brothers filled

with powder, to which the persecutors set fire, making the head fly in pieces; pregnant women had been ripped up, and the fruit of their womb had been seen taken living from their bowels. What shall I say? O my God!. . .These are the things which I can tell."

34. Stephens, Never Failing Light, p. 144.
35. Tourn, The Waldensians, p. 136.
36. Arnaud, Glorious Recovery, p. 202.
37. Guild, "Autobiography," p. 2. Guild writes about being loyal to the laws of the land. In "Children of the Valleys" Marriner and Stephan Cardon indicate that "The present boundaries of France and Italy follow the highest crests of the Cottian Alps, but in times [past] sovereignty over these valleys shifted many times--from Roman and Holy Roman Emperors to Italian Princes to French Kings to Italian Dukes to French Emperor and then to Sardinian King" (p. 1). The Waldensians were members of a closed community who married endogamously. As the Waldensian converts to the Mormon Church bore French names, it is probable that most were of French rather than Italian or Swiss extraction.
38. Snow, Lorenzo Snow, pp. 170-171.
39. Madeleine Malan Farley, "Autobiographical Sketch and Family Record," LDS Genealogical Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. (Hereafter cited as Autobiography). Stephen Malan, "Autobiography and Family Record" (1893), MS. Archives of the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter Church Archives: Account cited hereafter as Autobiography.) Also accounts of dissatisfaction were cited by children of Malan and Pons. (See Stephen Malan Autobiography and Lydia Pons Farley, "Historical Sketch," LDS Genealogical Library, "Genealogical Surveys, LDS Members," (1911) Autobiographies and ancestors collected by Genealogical Society of Utah, March, 1955, Vol. 24. (Hereafter cited as Historical Sketch.)
40. See Appendix B, "Emblem and Motto of the Waldensian Church."

CHAPTER II

CONVERSIONS TO MORMONISM

A recurring theme in the missionaries' letters and in the records of the Waldensian converts to the Mormon church is the frequent reference to dreams that foreshadowed events to come. This was unusual as none of the general histories of the Waldensians identify prophetic dreams as a common experience among the people. Yet several dreams are carefully detailed in autobiographies and life sketches of the Waldense who became Mormon converts. One of the most dramatic relating to conversion was described by Marie Madaline Cardon some years after her arrival in Utah:

When I was child of but six or seven years old, in the year 1840 or 1841, I received a very remarkable manifestation. I desire to tell it just as it happened. . . I was upstairs in bed. A strange feeling came over me. It appeared that I was a young woman instead of a mere child. I thought I was on a small strip of meadow close to our vineyard, keeping my father's mild [sic] cows. . . It seemed that I was sitting on the grass reading a Sunday School book. I looked up and saw three strangers in front of me. As I looked into their faces I dropped my eyes instantly, being very much frightened. Suddenly the thought came to me that I must look at them that I might remember them. . . [so] I looked them straight in the face. One of them seeing that I was afraid said: "Fear not for we are servants of God and have come from afar to preach unto the world the everlasting Gospel, which has been restored to the earth in the last days."¹

These men told Marie that God had spoken from the heavens and that she would be the means of bringing her

parents and family into the great gathering of saints and that the day was not far off when her family would leave their home, cross the great ocean and travel across the wilderness to a place where they could serve God according to the dictates of their own conscience. They gave her some small books and told her to read them, and then disappeared. Marie was so distraught by this vision that she took clothes in hand and ran down to her mother who was cooking breakfast. Seeing that she was very pale her mother asked if she were ill. "My father took me up, dressed me, and questioned me until I had told him all I had seen and heard."² This unusual manifestation appears to have occurred a decade before Mormon missionaries arrived in Piedmont.

When the missionaries began their work among the Waldensians, they were often surprised by many dream-related experiences. One sister greeted Lorenzo Snow with these words, "Mr. Snow, it is the first time I see you with my bodily eyes, but the Lord gave me a manifestation a few weeks ago, in which I saw you as plain as I see you now."³ On another occasion Elder Jebez Woodard was surprised to find that a member had prepared for his coming:

On Tuesday, the sixth of May [1851], I descended with a teacher from the mountains, above the chapel of St. Lorenzo. We rested for the night near the church of Angevegna. The next morning we pursued our journey till mid-day, when we arrived at the house of a brother. He had told his family and friends that we were coming, although I had not told anyone that it was my intention to pass that way; but, said he, "The Lord made it known to me last night in my sleep."⁴

It appears that dreams played a part in the conversion of the Italian Waldensians;⁵ and that they did not cease after the Italian converts settled in the western frontier. Indeed, there is some evidence that such dreams occurred in succeeding generations of Waldense descendants.^{5/6} However, these unique manifestations were not limited to the Vaudois. Lorenzo Snow reported a dream in the opening months of the Italian mission that, in light of his limited success, seemed prophetic:

I was in company with some friends. . . on a fishing excursion. We were delighted with seeing large and beautiful fish on the surface of the water, all around, to a great distance. We saw many persons spreading their nets and line. . . I discovered that a fish had got upon my hook. . . I drew in my line, and was not a little surprised and mortified at the smallness of my prize. I thought it very strange, that among such a multitude of noble, superior looking fish, I should have made so small a haul. But all my disappointment vanished when I discovered that its qualities were of a very extraordinary character.

Although dreams may have played an important part in preparing several Waldensians for the message brought by the Mormon elders, it was the doctrine of priesthood or "divine authority" that some families found most appealing. Accounts of conversions in the Malan and Cardon families focus on priesthood authority.

John D. Malan was the son of a prominent landowner whose father and grandfather had served as mayors of Angrogne. Several cousins held government appointments and Malan had been offered positions of leadership in his church and community but he had refused these offers. His son Stephen wrote in his personal history that Malan was

dissatisfied with many of the teachings of the mountain church and was often seen in company with some intimate friend engaged in a religious discussion upon the extent that corrupt practices and doctrine had infiltrated the Waldensian Church.⁸ The first real proselyting success in Italy came in January of 1851, when Elder Jebez Woodard walked into the shop of Malan's son-in-law in La Tour.

In summer 1850

^ Missionaries had preached for several weeks with no success when the son of their landlord, three-year-old Joseph Grey, became seriously ill. Lorenzo Snow with two companions went up on the mountain side to pray for Joseph's recovery. Snow concluded his prayer by stating that he knew of no sacrifice he was not willing to make for the sick child. Upon their return to Torre Pellice the missionaries ministered to Joseph Gray by the laying on of hands. Within hours he was greatly improved and soon recovered.

However, two weeks later on September 19, 1850, the day the L.D.S. Church was organized in Italy, Snow's wife, Charlotte Squires Snow died suddenly in Salt Lake City. Eliza R. Snow, his sister, noted the coincidence of the prayer and Charlotte's death in her journal concluding that she felt Lorenzo did not realize the possible consequence of the ~~con~~venant he had made at the time he prayed for the sick child. It appears that no conversions were made as a result of the child's recovery.

One candidate, John Antoine Bose, applied for baptism

in late October, 1850. However, it was the chance meeting with Malan that brought the Mormon elders their first real proselyting success. Stephen Malan writes:

My Father and I were at La Tour, one mile and a half from our own place of residence. We called at my sister Mary's, who with her husband, a tailor, lived in town. While there a man of gentlemanly appearance entered. My sister introduced us to him. After a short conversation during which he disclosed his business in our country, my Father invited him to accompany us to our home. . . He told father that inasmuch as he was commissioned to preach the gospel in the same manner as Christ's apostles, and preach the same doctrine, he [determined] to do so if he could obtain a house where he could have the neighbors assemble. We were able to gather some twenty-five or more of the nearest [neighbors] and [thereafter] heard the gospel in all [its light and truth].

We were so edified and elated that we [invited] him to come again. . . Some few days after having at first preached [he] gave us an outline of his commission [from] the Heavenly One. . . Told of his authority to ordain others to the priesthood and that he [himself was duly] ordained. . . As he talked we pondered upon it and were convinced of the truth.

The result of this gathering was that Malan, his wife, four children and eight relatives were baptized into the church on February 25, 1851. John Daniel Malan became the first Waldensian Elder ordained in Italy. His sons John D. and Stephen became the first priests and the Malan home became the mission headquarters. John D. and Stephen were appointed to labor along with the foreign missionaries and John D. later filled a short mission to Switzerland before emigrating to Utah in 1854.

Madeleine Malan records that at the conclusion of one of the early meetings with the Mormon elders "My brother, John D., applied for baptism, walked to the river Angrogne, broke the ice, and was baptized that [very] night. . . The

next day those of the family of proper age were also baptized." Several days later some of Malan's neighbors also applied for baptism.¹⁰

Perhaps it was at one of these early meetings that Barthelemy Pons exclaimed, "This is the church for me; I know it is true!"¹¹ He was baptized less than a month after the Malan clan on March 17, 1851. His wife, Marie Anne Pons, and four of their children were baptized four months later.

The Justet family became the next major family to join the church. Daniel Justet, a stone mason living near Pinache, was baptized April 17, 1851. His wife and children became members the following year. In August of that year, the elders found Michael Beus, a farmer living at Pramol. Michael and wife Marie were baptized on August 14, 1851 by John D. Malan. They had several small children who became members sometime later.¹²

Many Waldensian families developed a serious interest in what they called "the American church." Some joined but later fell away as persecution increased as the Italian saints grew in number. Three branches of the church were established rather early in Angrogne, St. Germain and St. Bartholomew, between August and September of 1853. A small branch at Prarustin developed the following year. As the Waldensians were largely a French-speaking community, there was a need for tracts and other material in that language. Subsequently, Elder Snow wrote a tract called "The Voice of

Joseph", which was translated into French and printed in England. Another, entitled "The Ancient Gospel Restored", was published in Turin, in the French language. This material was widely circulated among the people. Within the year, the Book of Mormon was translated and published in both French and Italian and made available to the people.

Word of the strange men and their peculiar doctrine gradually filtered throughout the valleys and down to the Piedmont plain where it reached the ears of Philippe Cardon. The Cardon family had lived in the village of Cardon prior to the Edict of Emancipation and it had been in that village that Marie Madeleine had her unusual childhood dream. Sometime in the late 1840's, Philippe moved his family down to San Secondo di Pinerolo, on the edge of the Piedmont plains where he worked as an architect and builder. "I well remember my father coming home on Saturday afternoon and asking my mother to get his Sunday clothes ready. He had just heard of three strangers in Palais de La Tour, preaching the same doctrine which the three had taught in my [childhood] dream," Marie Madeleine recorded.¹³ He dressed carefully, then started off in search of the missionaries. He arrived at the Mormon meeting place on Sunday morning, just in time to hear Snow's sermon.

After the meeting Philippe Cardon introduced himself and invited the Elders to return home with him. On the way, he related his daughter's dream. When the Elders

reached the Cardon home that evening, they asked about Marie Madaleine and were told that she was out on the small strip of meadow. Years later she recalled her meeting with the Mormon Elders:

It seemed to be the identical spot I had seen in that vision of childhood. . . I was sitting on the grass reading a Sunday School book. I did not hear them until my father said. . . "This is my daughter who had the vision concerning strangers." Upon being introduced I shook hands with each of them. They took some tracts or small books from their pockets and spoke the very same words I had heard in my vision. . . .¹⁴

Two Cardon descendants wrote that, "So unusual was the word which the missionaries carried that the men stayed up all night learning of the newly revealed truths."¹⁵ The Cardons appear to have been impressed by the fact that these Mormon missionaries claimed the same authority held by the early apostles. Most of the Cardon family were baptized in 1852. The Cardon home became the center of activity in the St. Bartholomew Branch of the mission. This home "was a friendly looking rock structure built of native materials even to the roof which was made of layers of slate. Since Philippe was a mason by trade, his house was probably better than average."¹⁶ Marie Madeleine Cardon recalls that her family had a large brick oven and it was usual each Saturday for them to bake up one hundred pounds of flour to feed the people who came for services on Sunday. Marie Madeleine, a young woman of eighteen at that time, spoke both French and Italian and understood the dialect of the mountaineers. Therefore, she was selected

to travel with the Elders on journeys to the higher reaches of the valleys where she acted as interpreter for Elder George D. Keaton, J. B. Woodward, and other missionaries. Newly converted native Elders were also called to aid the missionary effort. Mission records indicate that Malan, Pons and later John Bertoch, an elderly widower who joined the church in 1853, were sent out to preach and baptize in the valleys. Cardon and Malan also served as branch presidents with Malan taking charge of the mission in the absence of the American Elders.

Few conversions, however, were made as easily as those described. The missionaries found the Waldensians open, frank and willing to listen. However, they felt that the Waldense had been confined to their alpine valleys for so long that they had become grounded in tradition. "Amid the loveliness of nature, I found the soul of man like a wilderness" Snow complained in a letter to President Hyde, dated January 25, 1851.

Every man holds a creed which has been transmitted from sire to son for a thousand years, whether he be Protestant or Catholic; and often he will lay his hand on his heart and swear by the faith of his forefathers, that he will live and die as they have lived and died.¹⁷

Seventeen-year-old Stephen Malan, who aided the missionaries and served as their clerk, reported that the proselyting effort was hindered by lies perpetuated by ministers of the region:

[With] few exceptions [when] preaching to a gathered assembly for the first time. . . they acknowledged that never in their lives had they heard so much

Snow estimated the population at 26,000 when he arrived in 44

truth, nor heard the gospel preached with such purity and principle. . . Then the ministers would revile us and announce that we were hired by Brigham Young to convert them as bait [and] to bring them to the Western Desert of America [where] we would become slaves and our young women would be taken possession of by the infamous polygamist and his associates to satiate their lust and debauchery.¹⁸

Evidently, when the Mormon missionaries made their return visits there was no one to receive them, many people being intimidated by such accusations. Sixty-six year old Henry Chatelain appears not to have been put off by such tales.

Elder Woodard recorded in his diary:

August 19, 1853, I baptized several persons in the river, among them, Henriette Chatelain and most of her father's family. I visited them when the mother was sick and this caused the sectarians around to caution the family against the visits of a polygamist. Finding they were trying to excite prejudice in that way, I went again and preached plurality to the Father and the result was as it will ever be to an honest mind. The house soon became a stopping place for Elders and some of the highest names in the church have ate and slept beneath that humble roof.¹⁹

Missionaries and their contacts faced worse problems than doctrinal differences. The Waldensians had experienced poverty and hardship for generations, but the mid 1850s was a time of serious deprivation in Piedmont as well as in other parts of Europe. The period between the mid and late 1840s was known as the "hungry forties." For this was the time of the potato famine in Ireland and similar blights plagued other countries. The restrictions placed on the Waldense during the previous century had prevented them from leaving their valleys. By the time the Mormon missionaries reached the Piedmont valleys, in addition to famine, the region was seriously overcrowded.

Snow estimated the population at 26,000 when he arrived in 1850--6,000 more than had lived in the region in earlier years. The Edict of Emancipation had lifted restrictions on travel. However, the people generally were very poor and very attached to their homeland. Few had the means or desire to relocate.

Adding to the miseries of the Vaudois were blights that hit the Protestant valleys about the middle of the nineteenth century. During this period, the price of grain increased dramatically due to scarcity, and potato rot destroyed the potato crop. Acres and acres of grapes were covered with a minute fungi and other fruits hung rotten upon the vine. Samuel Francis wrote, "Some of the would-be-wise say that none of these things transpired until the 'Mormons' arrived, and they firmly believe that we are 'Jonahs,' and threatened us that if the plague doesn't stop soon, they will throw us overboard!"²⁰

Pierre Stalle's situation was typical of many who farmed the alpine valleys at this time. Stalle first invested in sheep but a disease killed them. About the same time phyloxera attacked his grape vines. Stalle was compelled to sell his farm in Angrogne and move to Prarustin where he owned a smaller and less productive farm. This property was located higher in the hills and was not as fertile as the one he sold.²¹ The Stalles were among many who joined the church in 1853 and desired to "gather to Zion" with the rest of the saints. However,

because of the economic conditions of the time, disposal of the Stalle farm appeared unlikely.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the poor economic conditions, 1853 was the year of the greatest number of convert baptisms:

TABLE 1
Mormon Convert Baptisms

1850	1	1853	54	1856	8	1859	1
1851	20	1854	26	1857	10	1860	6
1852	16	1855	24	1858	0	1861	5

SOURCE: Daniel B. Richards, The Italian Mission (Salt Lake City: Magazine Publishing Co., 1931), pp. 297-312.

It appears likely that some Waldensians, anxious to escape the poverty and deprivation in their homeland, read glowing accounts of Zion in the mission tracts and looked to emigration as a means to a better life.

The missionaries, perhaps unwittingly, promoted this option. For example, page 16 of The Voice of Joseph reads:

Here [in Zion], we are all rich--there is no real poverty; all men have access to the soil, the pasture, the timber, the water power, and all the elements of wealth, without money or price. In this peaceful country many thousand Saints have already assembled. They have laid out a city called "Great Salt Lake City." In addition to their private dwellings, they have raised several elegant and magnificent public buildings. Many mills are in operation, and factories also in course of erection. . . Having come "up through great tribulation," they are not forgetful in their prosperity of their brethren who are still in adversity, scattered among the nations. Accordingly, they have established a "Perpetual Emigrating Fund" for the emigration of the poor. Many thousands [of] dollars have already been donated for this purpose. As the gathering of Israel from every nation has been decreed by the Lord, this Fund has been so arranged as to be increased to millions, by which the poor and virtuous among men can be assisted, and with perfect

assurance lift up their heads and rejoice, for the hour of their deliverance is nigh!²²

This pamphlet circulated widely among the Vaudois while new converts were being encouraged to sell their land and "gather to Zion."

From 1853 on, the Waldense Branches lost membership-- partly because of emigration and partly because of fewer baptisms and many excommunications. For beginning in that year, the missionaries regularly "pruned the vineyard of the church cutting off some of the dead wood." Reasons for such action were cited in church records as infidelity to the church 43%, negligence 30%, apostasy 11%, cowardice 9%, and one case each of evil and immorality, unbelief and absurdities. By 1862, 72 out of 177 members of record were excommunicated from the church in Italy (a third of the total membership of the Italian mission.)²³

In the case of nine Waldense who joined the church because they believed they would be emigrated to Utah, this action may have been justified. However, some evidence points to the possibility that the missionaries may have been overzealous in cutting off members. L.D.S. Records of the Italian Mission record that the Widow Marthe Gaudin was excommunicated for cowardice. Her daughter Susanna Gaudin Cardon, the only member of the Gaudin family to emigrate to Utah, alleged that the elders encouraged "this poor widow to sell her home and give the money to them." Susanna explained that her mother worked Sundays and so often was unable to attend meetings and "because of this and other

reasons," Widow Gaudin was cut off from the church.²⁴

Elder James Gardiol, his wife Catherine and most of their eleven children were baptized June 14, 1854, by Elder James Predict. The following year, one of his elder daughters, Marie Anne Gardiol, emigrated to Utah with the help of the Perpetual Emigration Fund and became the sixth plural wife of John Dalton. The next year Gardiol's eldest son, Daniel left for France. Elder Gardiol and another son, Jean Jaques, were excommunicated February 1, 1857; the son for infidelity and bad conduct, Gardiol for lying, infidelity and at his own request. A family group sheet and membership records of the Italian mission indicate that the remaining family members stayed in the church but did not emigrate. However, after the Justet family left, they also fell away.²⁵

The list of those excommunicated included Elder J.A. Bose (the first Vaudois convert), David Roman, Louise Chatelain, John Michael Rostan, and several members of the Daniel Justet family (all but Bose came to Utah and returned to full fellowship in the church). Mission records indicate that Elder John Daniel Malan was excommunicated at one point, even though these records are full of praise for his work as branch president and acting mission president in the absence of the full time missionaries.²⁶

Such evidence seems to indicate that at least some of the excommunications may not have been warranted. However,

in the mid-1800s, it was common practice in the L.D.S. Church to cut people off for minor infractions. It appears that in their zeal to "prune the vineyard of the church" the missionaries lopped off a few faithful "branches." One-third seems like an excessive loss. However, this statistic becomes more meaningful when compared with membership records of the English mission during the same period. Larson records in Outline History of Utah and the Mormons 15,000 (about half) of the English Saints were excommunicated during the mid 1800s because they were not spiritually converted.²⁷

For some, the disciplinary action seems to have had little effect on their life as in the case of John Michael Rostan, who was excommunicated in 1857 for deceit and negligence. In 1860, Rostan, then 32, emigrated to Utah with his thirty-year-old wife, Marthe, who remained in good standing on church records. They crossed the Atlantic on the ship "Wm Tapscott" and came to Utah with Captain Oscar O. Stoddard's Handcart Company, arriving in Salt Lake on September 24, 1860. Apparently Rostan was rebaptized upon his arrival in Utah. The couple settled in Ogden and on March 9, 1861 were endowed and sealed in the Endowment House.²⁸

Mission records indicated that David Roman and most of the members of the Justet family were reinstated in Italy before emigrating to Utah. Louise Chatelain's membership problems were evidently resolved in Utah. Excommunicated

just before she emigrated in 1860 by means of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, Louise became the second plural wife of John Daniel Malan in Utah. They were married in the left Endowment House on January 11, 1861.²⁹

By the end of 1857, the Mormon missionary effort in the Protestant valleys was on the decline. Most of the vital leadership had emigrated to Utah leaving many poorer converts who were denied any temporal assistance by the Waldensian ministers unless they renounced their new found faith.

Elder Samuel Francis, who replaced Elder Snow, left the valleys to do missionary work in Turin on July 2, 1856 and Elder Ruban took charge of the mission. Ruban was released from his mission that fall. Francis was unsuccessful in Turin and when he returned to the alpine valleys, he realized that the work was without leadership. The numbers were becoming smaller and of the few Saints that remained, many were in dire poverty. Francis worked for a time with these humble members but evidently became discouraged. He left the valleys permanently on February 13, 1857, declaring "neither the people nor their pastors were any longer worthy of their faithful ancestors."³⁰ The Italian saints were left in the charge of a young Waldensian Elder by the name of Jacob Rivoir.

When John D. Malan returned to the valleys as a missionary toward the end of 1857, he met with little success. By the time he left in 1859, the work was at a

standstill. Jacob Rivoir emigrated in April of 1866, sailing on the "Caroline." Two years later, Daniel and Jane Justet with their five daughters and son Daniel left the valleys for Utah. The Justets were the last of the original Mormon converts to emigrate. They had been advised to seek passage that year as steam ships were replacing sailing vessels upon the ocean and fares were going up. Daniel Justet was rebaptized in October, 1868 in southern Utah.³¹

Jacob Rivoir, who had married a Waldense wife in Utah (July 22, 1872) was called to serve a mission in Italy about 1877. Catherine Young Rivoir went with him and bore a child, Alma Abinadi Rivoir, in Turin, Italy on May 30, 1879. Evidently they had no success either in reactivating the branches or converting new members. They returned on the "Wisconsin", sailing with some nonmember relatives, and arrived in America October 23, 1880.³² This appears to have been the last attempt by church authorities in the nineteenth century to reestablish the Piedmont branches. The Italian mission, as a separate mission of the church, was destined to remain closed until November 10, 1966 when it was reopened and rededicated by Ezra Taft Benson, at Torre Pellice.³³

In conclusion, it appears that a few Waldense were prepared to receive the message of the Mormon elders. Many Vaudois seem to have been moved by the message of restoration but later, when confronted by their ministers

and the scorn of their neighbors, they either refused baptism or fell away. The religious tradition of the Vaudois probably hindered more than helped the Mormon missionary effort in the Protestant valleys. Initially Snow believed that the parallels between the two churches would attract interest. Later he came to feel that these pastoral people had lived apart from the world for so many centuries that many found the adoption of new ideas difficult, if not impossible. The economic circumstances of the period encouraged some to join the church in an effort to escape poverty in their own land. When these were discovered they were cut off from the L.D.S. Church. Many with weak faith probably fell away because of persecution, for several converts lost their jobs, had children expelled from school, and were intimidated by friends, relatives, and neighbors.³⁴ Excommunications took one third of the members of record out of the branches. Another third was lost to emigration. The remaining Saints fell into inactivity and the Italian mission dissolved.

NOTES
 107. Historical Department, LDS Church. (Hereafter by Ann Elizabeth Bertoch Wallace (his daughter), Ann (daughter-in-law), Hunter Camp, Salt Lake County, typewritten in possession of author. (Hereafter cited as "Stalle Cardon" from Louis Cardon family collection. Susette Stalle Cardon acco.)
 34. The author's mother, Jessie Eva Farley Johnson, dreamed, for example, while working on the history of an elderly man who was helping with the history, would die on the exact day she dreamed his death would occur. Jessie Johnson's grandfather, Theodore Farley, oldest son of Lydia Pons, recorded in his diary and autobiography several prophetic dreams. "Some time before my wife died I saw in a dream two men. One came to me and said: 'We want you and your wife.' I replied, 'Well, if I have to die, all right, but I dread it.'" He walked over to the other man and in a few minutes he returned saying "You may remain." Then I dreamed I was in Ogden walking down the side walk near my old home when my father came to me and putting his arm around my neck said, "I want you to work with me." Later, (after my wife's death) I received a letter from my sister Mary Freeman, stating that some of the family had appointed a meeting in Ogden for the purpose of organizing a Farley Genealogy

Society and would I be there. I went and was chosen president. p. 4. "Autobiography of Theodore Farley Sr.," written Dec. 7, 1933, in possession of author. See also Theodore Farley Sr.'s diary, Books 1 & 3 (January 18, 1891 and May 1, 1892.) In possession of Eva Farley Clayton.

7. Richards, Scriptural Allegory, p. 36.

NOTES

8. Stephen Malan, Autobiography, M.S.

1. Guild, Autobiography, p. 2.
2. Ibid, p. 3.
3. Richards, Scriptural Allegory, p. 52.
4. Millennial Star, Feb. 15, 1852, No 4, Vol. XLV, p. 107. Historical Department, LDS Church. (Hereafter cited as Historical Department.)
5. See "Biography of James Bertoch, Utah Pioneer of 1854" by Ann Elizabeth Bertoch Wallace (his daughter), Ann Henrichsen (grand-daughter), Burdette Parker Bertoch (daughter-in-law), Hunter Camp, Salt Lake County, Sept. 5, 1938. Also, Bertoch family papers, typescript in possession of author. (Hereafter cited as Biography of James Bertoch.) See also "Susette Stalle Cardon" from Louis Cardon family collection. Typescript in possession of author. (Hereafter cited as Susette Stalle Cardon account.)
6. The author's mother, Jessie Eva Farley Johnson, a descendant of Lydia Pons, often experienced prophetic dreams. For example, while working on the history of Lake View Ward she dreamed that Christian Jeppeson, an elderly man who was helping with the history, would die on May 12, 1955. She worked quickly so that the history might be completed before that date. He died on the exact day she dreamed his death would occur. Jessie Johnson's grandfather, Theodore Farley, oldest son of Lydia Pons, recorded in his diary and autobiography several prophetic dreams. "Some time before my wife died I saw in a dream two men. One came to me and said: "We want you and your wife." I replied, "Well, if I have to die, all right, but I dread it." He walked over to the other man and in a few minutes he returned saying "You may remain." Then I dreamed I was in Ogden walking down the side walk near my old home when my Father came to me and putting his arm around my neck said, "I want you to work with me." Later, [after my wifes death] I received a letter from my sister Mary Freeman, stating that some of the family had appointed a meeting in Ogden for the purpose of organizing a Farley Genealogy

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7. Richards, Scriptural Allegory, p. 36.
 8. Stephen Malan, Autobiography, M.S.
 9. Ibid.
 10. Madeleine Malan Farley, "Autobiography," p. 2.
 11. Lydia Pons Farley, "Historical Sketch."
 12. See Daniel Justet Family Group Sheet and Michael Beus Family Group Sheet, Genealogical Library Archives. (Hereafter cited as Archives.) Also Charlotte Stevenson Gentry's, Daniel Justet Sr., unpublished life sketch, October, 1969, typescript in possession of author. (Hereafter cited as Daniel Justet, Sr.) See also, Richards, Scriptural Allegory, p. 301-302.
 13. Guild, Autobiography, p. 4.
 14. Ibid., p. 5.
 15. Adams, Ella Vida Cardon and Blondel Cardon Potter Smith, "Philippe Cardon, Pioneer," Typescript in possession of author, p. 2. (Hereafter cited as Adams & Smith, Phillippe Cardon.)
 16. Guild, Autobiography, p. 5.
 17. Richards, Scriptural Allegory, p. 34-35.
 18. Stephen Malan, Autobiography, M.S.
 19. Woodard, Jabez, MS, "Autobiography and Diary, 1853-57." Church Archives.
 20. Richards, Scriptural Allegory, p. 101.
 21. Margaret Stalle Barker, Handwritten History (probably by a daughter) from Louis Cardon family collection. In possession of author. Hereafter cited as Margaret Stalle Barker History.
 22. Lorenzo Snow, The Voice of Joseph (London: S. W. Richards, 1852), p. 16.

23. Richards, Scriptural Allegory, p. 55. See reasons for excommunications given in membership listings, p. 297-312.
24. Watts, Waldenses in New World, p. 40. Reasons for the Widow Goudin's excommunication cited in Rebecca Cardon Hickman, "History of Susanna Goudin (Gaudin) Cardon," p. 6, Church Archives (hereafter cited as Susanna Goudin Cardon History) and in Richards, p. 305.
25. This information was taken from Jaques Gardiol Family Group Sheet, Archives. See also Richards, Scriptural Allegory, p. 303.
26. Richards, *Ibid.*, p. 53: "Elder Malan, president of this branch. . . is a man of God, having labored faithfully. . ."; p. 58: "Elder Malan has faithfully exercised the office of President over that branch of the Church, although some of its members have become refractory." "Malan, Elder J. Daniel. . . excommunicated Nov. 16. (1853?) for infidelity and rebellion," noted on p. 297. There is no entry on a rebaptism. Elwood I. Barker, a descendant, reported in an interview in Feb., 1983, that the family could find no record of disciplinary action taken against Malan, or a subsequent rebaptism, among official records of the church.
27. Gustive O. Larson, Outline History of Utah and the Mormons (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1958), p. 95. Europe also experienced a recession during this period and many joined the church there, apparently for economic reasons. See also Collin Mangum, "Furthering the Cause of Zion: An Overview of the Mormon Ecclesiastical Court System in Early Utah," Journal of Mormon History 10, 1985.
28. John (Jean) Michael Rostan Family Group Sheet, Archives. Also microfilm lists of saints crossing the ocean and plains, Genealogical library archives.
29. John Daniel Malan and Mary Louise Chatelain Family Group Sheet Archives, indicates that Malan and Chatelain were married in the Endowment House in 1861. However, Louise was not endowed until October 17, 1868. Her children (born between 1863-1873) are not listed as "born under the covenant." All five were sealed to their parents in the Salt Lake temple in November, 1886. "Mary Louise Chatelain Malan," life sketch written by a descendant and in possession of the author, includes this passage: Malan and Mary Louise "were married by President Brigham Young at President Young's home. In 1868 she went to the

Endowment House and was endowed but was not sealed to her husband until November 1886 in the Logan temple."

30. Watts, Waldenses in New World, p. 41.
31. Gentry, Daniel Justet, Sr. Account. See also Betty Jean Bradbury, "Daniel Justet, Jr.," May 14, 1985. Typescript in possession of author. (Hereafter cited as "Daniel Justet, Jr.")
32. Microfilm list of emigrants who crossed the Ocean. Archives, Genealogical Library.
33. William T. Sykes, "The Church in Italy," The Era 71 (June 1968), p. 10.
34. Guild, Autobiography, p. 6 and Scriptural Allegory, p. 60.

The Waldensian converts who came to America traveled in three main companies. The first company left Piedmont on February 7, 1854 and comprised the Barthelemy Pons and Philippe Cardon families and the five adult children of John Bartoch (who remained behind to do missionary work.) The second company, which left on March 7, 1855, was led by the Malan family, and included J. Daniel's oldest daughter, Mary Catherine Cayson, her two-year-old daughter, Julia

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CHAPTER III

IMMIGRATION TO ZION

Mature men led the Waldensian families who came to Utah in the mid-1800s; their average age was forty-six at the time of baptism, and half were over fifty when they emigrated. Though none were wealthy, most could be considered economically better off than the average Waldensian of the day and none were in dire poverty. Each family averaged five children, most of whom were nearing adulthood at the time they emigrated. Some adult children did not join the LDS Church and elected to remain in Italy. Most of the men had been ordained elders and held leadership positions in the four branches of the LDS Church in Piedmont prior to their departure. Half had been widowed, however most were married or had remarried at the time of their baptism.¹

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and Malan's brother-in-law, David Roman, a widower with a four-year-old son (Daniel). Elder John Bertoch and seventeen-year-old John James Bonnett also accompanied them. Dominic Brodero, a friend of Roman, and Anthony Gaydou (Catherine's estranged husband) met this party in Liverpool. Malan insisted Brodero and Gaydou be baptized before setting sail.

The third company left Piedmont on November 28, 1855, a little over eight months after the departure of the second group. It consisted of the Michael Beus, the Peter Stalle and the Michel Roshon families. Additionally, two Chatelains, Peter and Henriette, and Peter Lazald with his two children came with this group. Also, three young adults traveled in the company, Marianne Gardiol, Madelaina Malan and Suzanne Goudin. All other Vaudois converts came later.

Mission records indicate that only three families were able to pay all of their own passage. Philippe Cardon and Barthelemy Pons were able to sell their lands to meet their expenses, but both suffered substantial loss in doing so. Daniel Justet also appears to have paid for the passage for his family. Of efforts to sell the Cardon property, Mary Catherine wrote:

When it became known that we were intending to go to Utah, the people became concerned. Many threats were made against us. When father offered our home for sale some wanted to burn us out so that we could not raise money enough to make the journey. We could not get what our property was worth. That which we did sell was sold at a great sacrifice. Father gave

considerable property to my oldest sister as she was to remain in that land. She was the only one of our family who had not embraced the gospel. No doubt she would have done so had it not been for her husband. He was very much opposed to the [church]. . . .²

As the owner of a large vineyard, Barthelemy Pons had problems of a different sort. Elder Woodard, writing from Pinerolo apparently about Pons in September, 1853, recorded the effects of grape blight:

The other day I searched almost half a day in the vineyard of a brother, but could not find grapes enough to make our Sacramental wine. He has now sold all he possessed, to prepare for Zion; but I need not say how immensely the value of this property was diminished.³

John Bertoch had provided for his family by farming the steep slopes near St. Germain. He grew grapes, wheat, potatoes, chestnuts and some vegetables. His home was constructed of chestnut wood, raw hide, and stones. Mortar and slate rock were used for the roof. Typical of the area, it had three levels; the bottom for tools and animals and the upper levels for the family. After selling it, Bertoch found that he had only \$169.50 to put toward the fares of his five children. The total cost for transporting them to Utah was \$296.50. The difference was provided by the Perpetual Emigrating Fund. This left each of the children with a debt of \$25.35 which they were expected to repay upon arrival in Zion.⁴

The Perpetual Emigration Company was in practice an organizational device for recruiting and supplying the laborers that were needed in the Great Basin. Agents in England selected the emigrants to be aided from

applications that were submitted. In selecting those to be emigrated occupation was an important consideration, second only to integrity and moral worth. Those who emigrated under the program were expected to repay their loans as soon as possible after their arrival in the Great Basin.⁵

Since mechanics, artisans, iron manufacturers, metal workers, textile manufacturers and potters were badly needed, converts with these occupations received priority.⁶ As most of the Waldensians were farmers and laborers, it appears that many of their applications were passed over. Far more Vaudois applied for financial assistance than were transported to America by this fund.⁷

Most of the Waldensians who came to Utah after the first company could not have made the trip without the help of the Perpetual Emigration Company. In the period between 1854 and 1868, 35 Waldense received church funds; 27 including the first and last families to leave Italy and several single adults, paid their own passage.⁸ The plight of the Stalle family was typical of most of the Vaudois families who desired to emigrate. They were simply unable to sell their farm.

In 1855, Franklin D. Richards and two other missionaries were hiding from a mob in the high mountain passes on the south slope of one of the mountains near Prarustin. They had been three days without food the morning they arrived at the Stalle house. Susette Stalle, sixteen, ran out and milked the goats while her mother

prepared a meal for the elders. As the missionaries prepared to leave, Richards told Sister Stalle that the family should go to Zion. She did not think it possible. Finally it was decided that Susette and her cousin, Susanne Gaudin would emigrate. As the time for departure drew near, President Richards sent word for the elders to have the entire family of "the girl who milked the goats" brought out. As Daniel, the oldest son, had been drafted into the army, it took Pierre's efforts day and night to secure his release in time to leave with the family.⁹

Evidently Michael Beus, like Stalle, left a farm without receiving anything for it.¹⁰ His wife, Marianne, sewed what few coins she had into her clothing so the family would have some money when they arrived in Utah. The passenger manifest of the John J. Boyd lists Peter Lazald as an "agriculturist," accompanied by his two teenage children. As his wife did not travel with the family, it may have been that he left the farm to her. Or perhaps, he sold it for enough money to pay the children's passage. At any rate, Lasald's fare was paid by the Perpetual Emigration Fund. Michel Roshon was a likely candidate for emigration by the Fund as he was a carpenter. The entire Roshon family were emigrated under the program.¹¹

John D. Malan's daughter, Madeleine, recalls her family as being rather well off:

In Italy our father owned two places of residence. One, the summer residence, was upon the mountain side

where he kept a dairy at La Orchia--meaning "The Ark". . . He owned some meadow land nearby. . . The winter residence was situated toward the foot of the slope near the town of La Tour and not far from the river Angrogne where Father owned an oil press. In the winter, he pressed the oil out of walnuts, hazelnuts, and hemp seed and supplied the whole community with the year's supply of lamp oil and oil for culinary purposes.¹²

This passage implies that Malan was a man of means.

However, passage for the Malan family was provided by the Perpetual Emigration Fund. An American missionary described Malan's circumstances in these words:

The following day we walked some few miles along the side of the mountains, to Elder Malan's, the President of the branch in Angrogna. This brother and his family are all good Saints and are all well grounded in the principles of the Gospel, being always ready with their means, what little they have, to help to roll on the work of God. But they, like the majority of the people in those valleys, or rather mountain sides, are poor.¹³

Family records contain no information on the sale of Malan's property. Apparently Malan was among those who were unable to dispose of their holdings. The statements concerning the circumstances of the Malan family are interesting in that they portray the disparity between how the Waldense perceived themselves and their wealth in Italy, and how the American missionaries perceived them.

It appears that the desire to "gather to Zion" became the primary motivating factor in the Malan home as it did in the households of many others. So despite the fact that their property could not be sold, the Malans, upon receiving word that their application for church assistance had been approved, began preparing for departure.

the Madeleine Malan identified the route taken by all the Waldensian emigrants as they left their homeland. This last

In February 1855, our father's family left their native village and traveled in coaches from La Tour to Pinerole. From there we went to Turin, the capital of Piedmont, where we remained a few days sight-seeing. We traveled through the plains of Piedmont to Suza by railway and then up the steep Mount Cenis in a large padded coach placed on sleds and drawn by large government mules--sixteen of them were required to climb the steep mountainside which was covered with perpetual snow and ice. . . Arriving at Landsburg on the Savoy side, the coaches were taken off the sleds and we continued on in coaches to Lyons, France. From that city, we went to Paris by rail, thence to Calais by rail, then on board a steamer across the channel to London, England. Then again by rail to Liverpool where we remained about three weeks. . . .¹⁴

While in Liverpool, the Malans were visited by President Richards and Pauline Malan was promised "that she would see all her family safe in Zion."¹⁵ The promise was reminiscent of a blessing given to the Cardon family by the Mormon Elders before they left Italy the previous year.

"[The missionaries] prophesied that if we would live as we should. . . every one of our family would reach the end of our journey in health and strength."¹⁶ These were the only recorded accounts of such promises. The Cardon and Malan families were among the three large Vaudois families to survive the journey intact.

The Malan company sailing on the Juventa, made the ocean crossing in thirty-five days and docked at Philadelphia on May 5, 1855. The Cardon group had sailed on the John M. Wood, and had arrived at New Orleans the previous year on May 2, after forty-eight days on the ocean. The families that came with Pierre Stalle sailed on

the John T. Boyd and arrived in New York harbor on February 18, 1856 after a sixty-six day winter crossing. This last group had almost exhausted their water supply when they finally arrived.¹⁷

The three companies probably shared similar experiences while upon the ocean. The conference (British Mission) made all the arrangements for the emigrants after they arrived in Liverpool, the gathering place for converts from all over Europe. Usually they boarded the ships a day or so before departure. A president and two counselors were called before boarding, to preside over the Mormon converts. Robert C. Campbell, a British emigrant, presided over the 397 emigrants who sailed on the Wood. William Glover was the spiritual leader of 573 emigrants on the Juventa and Knud Peterson was the president of the 509 Saints who sailed on the Boyd.¹⁸ The president divided the emigrants into branches with an Elder or Priest presiding over each. The Vaudois saints probably became members of French speaking branches. English lessons were given on board. The emigrants also heard lectures, enjoyed story telling and received instruction on pioneer life.

As Mormon emigrant ships were known for their cleanliness and organization, the death rate aboard these ships was minimal. For example, two adults and four children died during the crossing of the Wood. However there were also two births, one baptism and one marriage during this crossing.¹⁹

When the Cardon company arrived at New Orleans in the spring of 1854, they were met by a church agent who had procured steamboat tickets for them to St. Louis for \$3.50 per person (considered a high price in those days.)²⁰ While awaiting the boarding of the steamboat, several passengers went to New Orleans where a cholera epidemic raged. On May 3rd, the Mormon saints boarded the Josiah Lawrence, a steamboat which would take them to St. Louis, Missouri. The steamboat continued up the Mississippi River as several immigrating Saints began to suffer from cholera.

The letters and diaries of pioneers between 1850 and 1855 contain many references to cholera, an infectious disease acquired by drinking tainted water. It killed thousands.²¹ The steamboat carrying the immigrants was quarantined on an island just outside New Orleans while the dreadful disease ran its course. Philippe Cardon fell ill but recovered. Twenty-year-old Marguerite Bertoch died. This was difficult for John, Antoinette, Daniel and James Bertoch for the sea voyage had brought them close. Dan wrote, "it was the first hard trial I had to pass through."²²

The Cardon company of Vaudois saints continued their journey to Westport, Missouri, about twelve miles west of Independence, the outfitting post for the journey to Salt Lake. They remained there for over two months while preparing to cross the plains.

Cattle and wagons and tents and supplies were unloaded (on the banks of the Mississippi above Kansas City, though it was not much of a city then). The men were very busy breaking oxen and yoking them up ready for work. In a few days the cholera broke out again, even worse than before. Some family of nine children and their father died within a few hours; people died about as fast as they could be buried--fifteen and twenty a day. I remember one morning when we were nearly all ready to start. Elder Pons was at breakfast with his family and ours together. He was a fine portly man and jolly. He was keeping us all laughing with his jokes when he was instantly seized with cholera and died within a few minutes.²³

Pons' dying words to his family were, "Be sure to go on to Zion and you will be blessed."²⁴ His 14-year-old daughter Lydia burned with fever and was deathly ill but soon recovered.

The Malan group, arriving a year later, also encountered cholera. They reached Philadelphia on May 5th. A divorce court was held on board ship. Mary Catherine and Anthony Gaudou divorced before disembarking. Gaudou remained in Philadelphia, while Mary Catherine came west with her family.²⁵ From Philadelphia, the immigrants traveled by rail to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, by steamboat down the Ohio River to St. Louis, up the river to Atchison, Kansas, and finally by ox team to Mormon Grove--the place provided for outfitting these immigrants. Madeleine Malan wrote this account:

While at the grove, many were stricken with cholera. Elder Joseph Hall, who was the appointed commissary at the camp, stated that out of over three hundred victims, only three survived. I was one of the three. . . . When [my mother] saw me writhing in agony, she was much distressed and wondered what she had done to forfeit her blessing. However, when one of the dreadful paroxysms of cramps released me so I could speak, I told the weeping ones around me not to fear

but to send for the elders to administer to me and I should get well. . . After the ordinance was performed, Apostle John Taylor, who was one of the three elders who administered to me, speaking in French to my mother, said that through my faith, I would recover. . . .²⁶

Stephen Malan recorded that his sister's attack was so severe that "she completely lost her hair and the skin of her feet and hands and even her nails came out like a pair of socks."²⁷ Twenty-one-year-old Stephen also fell ill along with his mother Pauline. The three Malans were the only ones in the company to recover. Elder Bertoch also contracted the disease but did not survive. He probably died without knowing that his daughter, Marguerite, had died of cholera at the mouth of the Mississippi river the previous year.

Apparently the dreaded disease had run its course by the spring of 1856 for the Stalle group made the trip from New York to Florence, Nebraska by rail without encountering it, though they stopped at Chicago and St. Louis. As there was a three month delay in the completion of handcarts, it appears that some members of the third company remained in St. Louis while others continued on to Iowa City.²⁸

Romance between Peter Chatelain and 21-year-old Madelaina Malan must have bloomed somewhere along the way, for this couple married in St. Louis. This was the first of many endogamous marriages that would occur among the Waldensian converts. Peter, a 30-year-old miller, and his 29-year-old sister, Henriette, were the first members of the Chatelain family to emigrate. Two sisters would come

later--Louis in 1860 and Marie in 1863, following the death of their aged father. Chatelain and his bride became members of the Edward Martin handcart company which reached Utah in November, 1856. The other Waldensian emigrants went to Iowa City where they joined the Edmund Ellsworth handcart company, which left June 9, 1856, with a company of 273 saints.²⁹

Though the experiences of the handcart companies were somewhat different from those of earlier companies who traveled by oxen and covered wagon, the handcart pioneers encountered the same places and social activities as earlier saints. Dancing, denied the Vaudois in their homeland because of religious tradition, became part of their Mormon experience. Where breaking-in oxen and driving covered wagons became the main vocation of those in earlier companies, pulling heavy handcarts across mountains and prairies and through streams became the primary activity of this later group.

The Vaudois men were at a distinct disadvantage when speaking harshly to their animals or condemning the dust of the trail, for their native vocabulary included no swear words. None of the Vaudois had had experience with work animals. Wagons broke down and had to be repaired. Madeleine Cardon and Mary Ann Pons had a frightening experience with some young non-Mormon (gentile) men that could have turned out badly had Madeleine not owned a pocket knife, a gift from a German lady who had died of

cholera. The gentile men must have found the "French"³⁰ girls enticing as the Robert Campbell Company was pursued for miles across the American wilderness by some young men. Offers of marriage had to be fended off by Elder Sergo Ballif, a Swiss convert who had befriended the Waldensian saints. Ballif spoke German, French and English. Failing in their efforts to secure any positive responses to their suits, these gentile men finally made an unsuccessful attempt to kidnap the girls in the Cardon party.³¹

The Cardon group was numbered among the 397 saints who made up Campbell's Company. This company also included 36 wagons, 176 oxen, 97 cows, 11 horses, 1 ass, 3 hens, 1 calf and a dog.³² It took them 3 1/2 months to cross the plains. The weather was so hot that on August 7th the prairie caught fire and burned within a short distance of the wagon train. They also suffered from recurring thunderstorms. The company had to be on constant lookout for Indians for they were very troublesome that season.

The young Vaudois men in this company were beset with accidents. Louis Phillippe Cardon came close to drowning in a whirlpool. John Pons accidentally shot himself in the hand and arm, and blood poisoning set in. James Bertoch fell from a wagon near Fort Kearney and his legs were run over by the wagon wheels. Near the fort, John Bertoch "contracted pneumonia while driving the cattle during a tempestuous rainstorm and died".³³

It appears that the Waldensian crossing of the great plains was typical of many other overland crossings. John D. Unruh records in The Plains Across that drownings, accidents from the careless handling of firearm as well as through the use of other equipment and deaths from cholera were common experiences of pioneers in the mid-1800's. A six percent death rate among the Waldensian immigrants was comparable to the trail mortality suffered by other groups making the overland journey during the same period.³⁴

Despite these many misfortunes there were moments of wonder and awe. On the last leg of their journey while traveling up the South Platte River, the company encountered the first herd of buffalo they had seen on the journey. "They used to make such roaring noises at night as to scare our cattle and scare us sometimes," Daniel Bertoch, who was driving the stock, remembered. The buffalo were so numerous on each side of the road that horses, ponies, and horesmen rode out in front of the wagons to keep the road clear. "The country looked black with them," Daniel wrote, "hundreds of thousands. . . all around as far as the eye could see. The cattle were never unyoked until [we were] out of buffalo country."³⁵

The Pons family, now fatherless, were beset with problems. Eighteen-year-old David fell ill from drinking impure water. He lay for weeks unable to rise from his bed. Thus the burden fell to Lydia to drive two yoke of very unruly oxen. Each time they came to a stream she had to wade through the water, urging the slow animals along. Sometimes the water was waist deep. While crossing the Platte River, she and her mother had to lower themselves into the cold, uncertain water and lead the oxen through. . . Soon

after this, one of the oxen died, and a cow was given the family to use in its stead.³⁶

The Campbell Company finally arrived in Salt Lake on October 28, 1855 after a journey of 102 days. The second group of Italian saints, who traveled with the Charles A. Harper Company, took 94 days to cross the plains and the Ellsworth Handcart Company completed the journey in 109 days. Many of the experiences of the first company of Waldensian Saints were probably mirrored by the two other groups that followed them; however, the sources that exist about these crossings are not as detailed as those available on the first company.

Eight months after the Cardon group arrived in Great Salt Lake City, the Malan group left Mormon Grove. After a false start two days earlier, Captain Charles A. Harper once again led his company onto the plains on July 28, 1856. This company comprised 39 wagons and 305 immigrants. Harper followed the trail across Kansas and various Indian territories. "We were oftentimes terrorized by a band of natives who savagely demanded hostage for our trespassing on their domains," wrote Madeleine Malan. "Thereupon, Captain Harper would wisely propitiate with gifts of various kinds such as flour, sugar, cutlery, and a variety of trinkets, etc., in order to procure and preserve peace with them."³⁷ Madeleine described an experience that occurred during the Malan crossing:

My twin sister Emily and I had walked all day and were very tired. Father said, "We are near camp, but get in." We had just climbed in the back end of the wagon

when we heard Mother exclaim, "Oh God, give me the strength of a Lion!" Suddenly, going down a dugway, the wagon completely capsized. As our goods by some mismanagement had been left at Philadelphia, we had no luggage; so the wagon was laden with freight for the company. The back end was stacked with flour. In the front end was a large box packed with glass and china ware on which Mother had seated her two little children, two and three years of age. We thought she with the little ones would be crushed to death; but when rescued from her perilous position, she was able to resume her domestic affairs as usual. The children were not hurt, but frightened. Sister Emily and I were nearly smothered to death under the flour.

Stephen Malan records that he expected Salt Lake Valley to look similar to his homeland. The day the company was scheduled to arrive in the valley, he left camp before breakfast wanting to be the first to see the beautiful land of promise. He encountered Samuel Burt, the Captain of the Guard for the company who told him to go back and help drive the loose stock. Stephen replied, "I was so near Zion I would not return to camp for all the stock was worth." Burt replied: "Fool, your eagerness will be checked when you see the sagebrush fields." Stephen pressed on and standing upon a slight elevation at the mouth of Emigration Canyon surveyed the whole landscape which opened to his view. Hearing some teamsters on their way up the canyon he inquired, "Where is the great valley of Salt Lake and where is the city located?" With a burst of laughter they asked if he was deprived of his eyesight. Then one of them pointed out the city and the Jordan River and the Great Salt Lake in the distance. Stephen was consumed with disappointment. This was not the valley of

his dreams.³⁹ His sister Madeleine described the scene the morning of October 28, 1855:

Looking down from the brow of the bench on Emigration Street, the city was not perceivable to our view from that distance. The little log and adobe dwellings appeared as boulders scattered over the surface of the ground. We found Zion a comparative desert; but with patient industry, perseverance, and Heaven's blessings, we witnessed it transformed from a desert, to a fertile and most desirable land to dwell upon.⁴⁰

Most of the Vaudois who sailed in the third company with the Stalles came west with the Edmund Ellsworth Handcart Company. They left Iowa City, Iowa on June 9, 1856. There is some evidence that Ellsworth was a poor leader for Susanne Goudin's life sketch written by a granddaughter contains this passage:

Susanne had brought enough clothes to last her for some time but the captain told her that she could not bring them and said she would have to throw them away (because the carts were too heavily loaded. He then permitted some English girls to take the discarded items and wear them. The French saints felt so badly that they burned everything else they were forced to discard). . . Mr. Ellsworth. . . badly mistreated the French saints, even depriving them of food. It is claimed by the children of Pierre Stalle that he died of starvation. It is claimed that Mr. Ellsworth sold part of the food that should have gone to the saints. When Pierre Stalle was dying, his wife [Jeanne Marie] climbed to the wagon to have a last few words with him. Ellsworth came with a rope and cruelly whipped her until she was forced to get down. This was verified by the French families who came: "The captain was a very mean man," they wrote. "At one time a man died and they whipped and kicked him and threw him under the tent. His wife took his shoes to wear and some lady called her a dirty Italian."⁴¹

Hichman's description of Ellsworth's cruelty is verified in an account written by a granddaughter of Susette Stalle Cardon:

Goudin took two-year-old Madelena Neus and placed her in her own handcart pulling her all the way across the

The man in charge of their division seemed to think that he [Pierre] could walk if he wanted to, and also that she [Marie Stalle] was shirking; at any rate, for some reason she couldn't understand, he struck her several times with his black whip. That night when they stopped⁴² to camp, and she went again to see him, he was dead.

James L. Barker, son of Margaret Stalle Barker, softened the episode in an article written for the Relief Society Magazine, "Pioneer Reminiscences of Mrs. Margaret Stalle Baker," which was published July 1926. The article reads:

It was difficult for us because we could not talk English, and the others could not talk French, and we could not make our wants known. The last time mother helped father in the wagon, he told her he couldn't come to the valley, and after they got in, none of them would ever lack for bread.⁴³

Stalle died on the Platte, August 17, 1856.

Evidently Ellsworth felt no discomfort about his treatment of the Stalle family. A little over a month after the incident, Ellsworth gave an account of the journey in a meeting held on September 28, 1856 in the old Bowery. He stated: "I regret that there was a wagon in our company, for I realize that wagons had a tendency to destroy the faith of our brethren and sisters: for if they were sick a little they felt that they could get into the wagons."⁴⁴

The Beuses, because of their large family of small children, had a difficult time. Their youngest son, Joseph, had died in Liverpool before the crossing. Susanne Goudin took two-year-old Magdalena Beus and placed her in her own handcart pulling her all the way across the

plains. Little did she know at the time that some day they would both be the plural wives of John Paul Cardon.⁴⁵ Eighteen-year-old Ann Beus, as the oldest child, had many responsibilities. She pulled a handcart over the entire route and cared for her brother Paul, who was very ill part of the time. A petite girl with very small feet, she bore deep ridges in her shoulders and back made by the straps and harness of the handcart. These were wide and deep and never filled in and she had problems with her feet until her death.⁴⁶ The Ellsworth Handcart Company, with the last group of Vaudois saints, arrived in Salt Lake Valley on September 26, 1856. During the years that followed, a few single adults and the Justet family made their way to the Great Basin where they joined their countrymen.

The trek had exacted a heavy toll from the Italian saints. Four families had lost a father or husband. Five children had died and at least one, perhaps two,⁴⁷ had been lost. Many had suffered illness or accident. Susanne Roshon, who traveled in the last company, paid a terrible price: two of her children, seven-year-old Marie and two-year-old Michel Roshon died and were buried at sea.⁴⁸ Susanne's husband, Michel, died in Echo Canyon within a few hours from the journey's end. Susanne entered the valley as a widow with a ten-year-old son.

Yet for the faithful Italian saints, there was no other alternative to emigration. Marie Madeleine Cardon recorded:

We loved our native land. We had a deep regard for our associates and especially for the Vaudois who had struggled for so many centuries to obtain freedom of worship. Regardless of the strong ties which we had for that land and people, we were willing to sacrifice them for the gospel's sake. The spirit of gathering rested upon us.

It is evident that in the process of migration, the Vaudois immigrants suffered many of the same hardships experienced by others who made their way across the great plains during this same period. Yet the Mormon Waldensians "had crossed more than an ocean and a continent." In the words of John C. Caidi, "[they] had traveled, like every other immigrant 'Across the sprung latitudes of the mind and the blood's longitudes.'"⁵⁰

1. Ibid., p. 97-98.

2. Watts, Waldensians in New World, p. 41.

3. Richards, Scriptural Allegory, Italian Mission records, p. 297-308.

4. Margaret Stalle Barker History.

5. J. R. Beus, "The Michael Beus Family, their conversion and migration to Utah." Genealogical Library. "It appears that the Michael Beus family was one of the neighbor converts who joined the Stalle family as they left for Zion." p. 14. Quoted from Eliza Beus history. "Many of them left their farms and homes without receiving anything for them." p. 18.

6. Information on the Lazald family is conflicting. Name is spelled Lazald, Lazard and Lazear on different records. Anna Mae Ogilvie Corrig's "The Lazears" (typescript in possession of author) does not agree with official records. The family group sheet indicates that Mrs. Catherine Lazear died at sea. The passenger manifest of the John J. Boyd which arrived February 18, 1856 indicates that Pietro Lazald, 49, agriculturist, sailed with two children: Giovanni Lazald, a son, age 14 and Catharina Lazald, a daughter, 16. Mrs. Lazear is not listed among the

NOTES

1. Statical information was compiled from membership records in the Scriptural Allegory, family group sheets and life sketches.
2. Guild, Autobiography, p. 8.
3. Richards, Scriptural Allegory, p. 70.
4. Michael W. Homer, "For the Strength of the Hills We Bless Thee: Italian Mormons Come to Utah," Salt Lake City, Utah, 1977. Paper prepared for D. Davis Bitton, Church Historian's Library. pp. 16 & 19. (Hereafter cited as Italian Mormons.)
5. Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1966). p. 97.
6. Ibid., p. 97-98.
7. Watts, Waldense in New World, p. 41.
8. Richards, Scriptural Allegory, Italian Mission Records, p. 297-308.
9. Margaret Stalle Barker History.
10. J. R. Beus, "The Michael Beus Family, their conversion and migration to Utah." Genealogical Library. "It appears that the Michael Beus family was one of the neighbor converts who joined the Stalle family as they left for Zion." p. 14. Quoted from Eliza Beus history, "Many of them left their farms and homes without receiving anything for them." p. 18.
11. Information on the Lazald family is conflicting. Name is spelled Lazald, Lagaird and Lazear on different records. Anna Mae Ogilvie Deming's "The Lazears" (typescript in possession of author) does not agree with official records. The family group sheet indicates that Mrs. Catherine Lazear died at sea. The passenger manifest of the John J. Boyd which arrived February 18, 1856 indicates that Pietro Lagaird, 49, agriculturist, sailed with two children: Giovanni Lagaird, a son, age 14 and Catherina Lagaird, a daughter, 16. Mrs. Lazear is not listed among the

passengers. Desert News Church Almanac indicates that there were 509 or 512 aboard. (Perhaps some were not counted. This may explain the absences of Mrs. Lazald's name on the passenger manifest.) Demings claims that "Mother Catherine died on board the ship on their way to America and was buried at sea." While this is a possibility, no evidence exists confirming that Mrs. Lazald left Italy. Although mission records list Lazald as married at the time of his baptism in 1852, other family members do not appear on the membership records of the Italian mission. Lazald died in Echo Canyon before reaching the valley. Apparently son John was the only member of the family to reach Utah. Demings writes "The older son (name unknown) got separated from his father and young John in New York City and was never heard from again." The lost child was probably not a son but a daughter, Catherine, age 16. See also John J. Boyd passenger manifest for Pietro Lagaird (sic) and Giovanni Roschon.

12. Madeleine Malan Farley, Autobiography, p. 5.
13. Richards, Scriptural Allegory, p. 65.
14. Madeleine Malan Farley, Autobiography, p. 3.
15. Ibid.
16. Guild, Autobiography, p. 8.
17. Margaret Stalle Barker History.
18. Statistical information on voyages was taken from Conway B. Sonne, Saints on the Seas; A Maritime History of the Mormon Migration, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983) p. 151 and Deseret News Church Almanac for 1977 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1977), p. 273.
19. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 103. See also Homer, "Italian Saints," p. 26.
20. Ibid.
21. Cities in America grew from trading posts and communities developed along waterways. Immigration and industrialization rapidly increased the size of communities and sanitation became a serious problem. As indoor plumbing and sewage treatment systems were unheard of in the mid-1800s, waste was collected and dumped into rivers. When towns were sufficiently small, this system of waste disposal worked well as the natural processes of purification cleansed the water. But as towns grew larger, cholera epidemics

ran rampant and the disease, which was infectious but not contagious, spread rapidly. As high fever and severe cramping were symptoms of cholera, Marie Madeleine Cardon explained that "placing (the victims) in rather hot water and rubbing them as quickly and assiduously as possible and by giving them hot drinks (many were relieved.) We would wrap them in hot blankets and rub them continuously. In this way . . . we saved a great many." Guild p. 11. Many Waldense emigrants fell victim to cholera.

22. Daniel Bertoch Account.
23. Guild, Autobiography, p. 15.
24. Lydia Pons Farley, Historical Sketch.
25. Interview with Elwood I. Barker, Grandson of Mary Catherine Gaydou Barker, Salt Lake City, Utah, February 26, 1984.
26. Madeleine Malan Farley, Autobiography, p. 3.
27. Stephen Malan, Autobiography, M.S.
28. Frank Esshom, Pioneers & Prominent Men of Utah vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneer Book Publishing Co., 1913) p. 800.
29. "Members of the First Handcart Company," Typescript from the Louis Cardon family collection. In possession of the author.
30. Because the Waldensians spoke French, they and their descendants often referred to themselves as being "French". Most bore French names. However, when questioned by census takers in Utah, they listed Italy as their country of origin. See also Guild, Autobiography, p. 17.
31. Guild, Autobiography, p. 25.
32. Perpetual Emigration Fund General Files, HDC, CR376-1, Box 1, File 6.
33. Daniel Bertoch Account
34. John D. Unruh, The Plains Across (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1982) p. 345-347.
35. Daniel Bertoch Account.

36. Eva Farley Clayton, "Biography of Lydia Pons Farley," in Church Archives (hereafter cited as Lydia Pons Farley.)
37. Madeleine Malan Farley, Autobiography, p. 3.
38. Ibid., p. 4.
39. Stephen Malan, Autobiography, M.S.
40. Madeleine Malan Farley, Autobiography, p. 4.
41. Hickman, Susanne Goudin Cardon History, p. 8.
42. "Susette Cardon Stalle", Unpublished manuscript from the Louis Cardon family collection. Typescript in possession of author. (Hereafter cited as Susette Stalle Cardon.)
43. James L. Barker, "Pioneer Reminiscences of Mrs. Margaret Stalle Barker," Relief Society Magazine (July 1929) pp. 342.
44. Speech given by Edmund Ellsworth, September 28, 1856, in the old Bowery as quoted in An Enduring Legacy (Salt Lake City: DUP, 1983), p. 175-176.
45. Hickman, Susanne Goudin Cardon History, p. 8.
46. Thelma Holland Arerett, "Ann Beus Byrne of Piedmont, Italy, who arrived in Utah 1856", Typescript in possession of author.
47. After her arrival in New York, Elizabeth Rochon, 18, disappears from the records. She did not cross the plains and there is no evidence that she died. As Catherine Lasald, 16, disappeared in New York at this same time it is possible that both girls were lost. However, this is pure speculation by the author. (See note 10 on page 77.)
48. Michel Rochon Family Group Sheet, Archives.
49. Guild, Autobiography, p. 8.
50. William Mulder, Homeward to Zion (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1957), p. xl.

CHAPTER IV

SETTLEMENT AND MARRIAGE IN THE GREAT BASIN

Establishment of pioneer communities in the western desert was not left to chance. Settlement was centrally directed from Salt Lake City by Brigham Young. Seasoned scouting parties were sent out to determine the best locations for communities. Primary consideration was given to areas with the most abundant natural resources so that Mormondom could become, for the most part, self-sufficient. Church leaders often chose sites for towns as they visited and considered new areas for colonization. The selection of Ogden for settlement is described in the Journal History of the Church under the date August 28, 1850:

Accompanied by Elder Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde, the brethren of the Twelve, Bishop Newell K. Whitney, General Daniel Wells and others, President Young left Great Salt Lake City for Weber County where he located a site and gave a plan for the city of Ogden. He counseled the brethren not to settle in the country, but to move on to the city lots, build good houses, school houses, meeting houses and other public buildings, fence their gardens and plant fruit trees, that Ogden might be a permanent city and a suitable headquarters for the northern country.

The Mormon pioneers generally followed President Young's counsel against scattered settlement outside the city. During a period of Indian troubles the community was advised to "fort up." So Mound Fort was erected in an area

where a great natural mound of earth rose above the surrounding terrain and Bingham's Fort was built about one mile north of Mound Fort.² Brigham Young visited the community again in 1855 or 1856, after the danger of an Indian attack had passed. At that time he advised the people to abandon their forts and build a real city between the Ogden and Weber Rivers.

It is not known why Phillippe Cardon and the Pons family chose to locate in this budding northern community. The missionaries who had converted the Waldensian saints all lived in the vicinity of Salt Lake. Ballif, the interpreter, located in Big Cottonwood. Perhaps the Waldensian emigrants were directed to Ogden by Brigham Young, or possibly someone in the company convinced Cardon that Ogden would be a good place to live. Regardless, the choice of this area for settlement had a direct effect upon nearly all other emigrating Waldensians, for most initially chose Ogden for their home.

Daniel Bertoch recalls that Antoinette and James joined William Empey's Perpetual Fund Company midway through the crossing. "I [stayed] with Campbell of the Independent Company,"³ Daniel wrote. Empey and Campbell traveled together through the warring Indian territory but separated at the South Platte River with Empey's Company going on ahead. When Daniel reached Salt Lake, a few days after the arrival of Empey's Company, "A man named Toronto came and took me to his home where I met my brother and

sister. In a few days we went to Antelope Island to work for President Young."⁴ Unlike the Cardon and Pons families, the Bertoch children owed a debt to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund. It was probably determined best that they remain in the care of Toronto until they worked off their debt and their father arrived.

Over a period of years the Toronto family employed several Waldensian youths. The young people probably felt comfortable in the home of this former Italian missionary and fellow countryman. One source indicates that James Bertoch almost became a member of the Toronto family and changed his name to Jack Toronto until his marriage in 1866.⁵

Though some young adults remained in Salt Lake where they found employment, most Waldensian families settled in Ogden. Cardon built a home there, patterned after the one he had left: "a high funny house with a stable by it. . . built, side by side, like the houses and stables [in Italy,]"⁶ recalled Marguerite Stalle.

Of their first winter in Utah, Adams records that "The Cardon family lived at Mound Fort until spring when they moved to Marriot where they farmed," until the general exodus south.⁷ Eva Clayton, a grand-daughter of Lydia Pons, gives a more detailed account of the Pons family's first winter in the Great Basin:

They had come from near wealth to direst poverty. Their home consisted of a one-room house with only the bare necessities, and there they endured many hardships. For days at a time they never tasted

bread. Often for weeks they lived on bran biscuits, pig weed and dandelion greens which had been boiled in water with a little flour thickening to make them more nourishing. Once Joseph Harris, a nephew of Martin Harris, [who later became the husband of Marianne Pons] gave them a sack of white flour which was a luxury indeed.

The following year the Pons family planted wheat and other crops for their subsistence but these were destroyed by grasshoppers. Thereafter, family members accepted any kind of work that could provide some income. Barthelemy's lieutenant uniform had to be sold so that money could be provided to send for David who had remained at Fort Kearney to recover from his injuries. Lydia went to work for the Wells Chase family. In later years she recalled that this family enjoyed white biscuits. She had been instructed that leftovers were to be fed to the chickens. Instead, she often hid them in her apron for her own hungry family. When she told her mother, Mrs. Pons exclaimed, "Oh well, God knows we need them more than the chickens do; there are plenty of bugs and worms for them."⁹

On the first anniversary of the arrival of the Pons, Cardon and Bertoch families in Zion, the second group of Waldensian saints entered Salt Lake Valley. During the summer of 1855 Daniel had run away from Antelope Island and found work on the foundation for the Salt Lake Temple. Later, he worked on the canal that ran from Big Cottonwood to the mouth of City Creek, under the supervision of a man named Sharp. "The Mormon Company [Harper's] arrived the day I left Sharp and [I was] told my father had passed

away. My brother and sister were living on the island. I felt pretty blue and alone in the world."¹⁰ Perhaps Elder Malan told Daniel of his father's death in Ohio.

Regardless, he returned to Antelope Island to inform James and Antoinette of their father's passing. Daniel remained on Church Island during the hard winter of 1855 and 1856. Of that time he wrote in a letter to James:

I think very often of our early days in Utah especially on the island. When we eat that big ox, Toronto said the Grando' Bovo will die. We better kill him and eat him. Oh, how tough he was. I would have good teeth yet if it hadn't been for eating that ox and many other things we did eat, make me sick to think about now.¹¹

Madeleine Malan recorded that her mother was overjoyed to find her eldest son in Great Salt Lake City for she had not heard from him since he left England in the spring of 1854.¹² She felt that the promise of safety given in Italy had been fulfilled to the letter. The day after their arrival and reunion, the Malan company continued their journey to Ogden, where they settled at Mound Fort.

As we came in the year of the grasshopper war, breadstuff was very scarce and a hard winter followed. The family suffered much from cold and hunger. I was sent to Salt Lake City to be a help and company to sister Helen Toronto [Madeleine recalled]. . . . We subsisted almost entirely on weeds and bran bread. Father made traps of willow twigs and caught fish in Ogden River.¹³

The single men who had come with the Malan company, James Bonnett, Dominic Brodero and David Roman with his small son Daniel, also settled in Ogden in the growing Waldensian community. The Waldensians probably cooperated to survive the hard winter of 1855-56. Daniel Bertoch

later left Antelope Island and joined the Waldensian community. He too lived at Mound Fort and worked for the George D. Grant family.¹⁴

The spring of 1856 was another season of serious deprivation for both man and beast. Many cattle died on the range because of the severity of the winter. Skins of wolves and mountain lions that had starved to death were sold in Ogden. The hard winter prompted church leaders to move some cattle to Cache Valley. Joseph Toronto moved his stock to Point of West Mountain (Oquirrh Mountains).¹⁵ James Bertoch remained there with the animals and acted as Toronto's herdsman for the next twelve years. Antoinette Bertoch moved into Toronto's home until she married Louis Chapius, a Swiss immigrant, in February of 1856.¹⁶

One month and two days short of the second anniversary of the arrival of Cardon's company, the third group of Waldense immigrants pushed their handcarts into Great Salt Lake City. Hickman writes:

Upon hearing of the arrival of the handcart company, he [John Paul Cardon] and his brother Phillip immediately went to Salt Lake City and brought Susanne and the Stalle family back to Bingham's Fort, where they assisted [Widow Stalle] in building a crude dug-out in which to live this first winter. [Susanne lived with the Cardons.] The winter was very severe and at times the Cardons had to go and dig them out of the snow as they were completely covered up.¹⁷

No doubt the Beus family also traveled to Ogden with the Cardon sons as they too settled at Fort Bingham.¹⁸ The Chatelains, with Peter's new bride, arrived on November 30, 1856, with the Edward Martin Handcart Company. They also

settled in Ogden.¹⁹

As in the case of the Bertoch children of the first company, two Waldensian youths from the handcart company were taken into the homes of Saints in Salt Lake City. John Lazear (Lazald), almost ten, had been orphaned during the journey. Once in Salt Lake, he was taken in by the Almon family. He remained with this family until his marriage in 1873. During his youth John had an accident that resulted in a permanent injury.

While living in Salt Lake he [John] was working in a salt mine, mining the salt for the cattle and horses when a cave-in caused a team of horses and wagon to run over him breaking his back. He walked very stooped the rest of his life due to the injury.²⁰

Marianne Gardiol, then twenty, was a small woman. Like many of the Waldensian women, Marianne weighed 90 to 100 pounds and stood just five feet tall.²¹ Upon her arrival she probably went to work in the home of John Dalton in Sugar House, on the outskirts of Salt Lake City. Dalton had been called by Brigham Young to manage the church farm. Although Dalton, then 56, already had four plural wives, he married Marianne four months after she came to Utah. She and three sister wives accompanied Dalton to Southern Utah in 1862 when he was called to settle first at Virgin and later at Rockville in Washington County. Marianne and her large family including the sister-wives spent their lives in Southern Utah.²²

Marriage patterns developed within the framework of the Mormon settlements. Many who settled in the Waldensian

community tended to marry Waldensian mates. The Mormon practice of plural marriage encouraged a larger number of endogamous marriages, with Waldense husbands sometimes taking more than one Italian wife. Living in a community where there was great emphasis on marriage and family life, virtually every one of the Waldensian emigrant-converts married. Even those who, because of their age, may have been considered bachelors or spinsters, married. The Waldensian converts reared large families--approximately seven children per family, whether polygamous or monogamous. This practice of having large families (which appears to have been consistent with customs in Italy) allowed for large numbers of descendants in succeeding generations. Only about eight percent of the Waldensian converts divorced; those who did remarried within a short period of time.

Paul Cardon proposed to Susanne Goudin though he was six years her junior. Susanne had a difficult time agreeing to the marriage because she had fallen in love with a young Englishman while working in Florence, Nebraska. However, as the Englishman was not of her faith, Susanne felt she could not marry him. Father Cardon encouraged her to marry Paul but she grieved over the matter for years. One account indicates that when she went to the Endowment House, "she wept bitterly. Brigham Young, seeing her, sensed her trouble and told her to go through [with the marriage to Paul] and all would be well."²³

Other endogamous marriages occurred as the years passed. David Roman married the widow Susanne Roshon within a year after her arrival in Utah. When that marriage failed, he took another Waldensian wife, Lydia Chatelain. Lydia's sister, Henriette, married Dominic Brodero in 1868 after a polygamous marriage to Charles Holling Rammell ended in divorce. As the years went by, other Waldense moving into the community provided mates for the maturing children of the original Italian converts. For example Paul and John Beus married Waldensian girls who settled in Ogden after the first wave of Italian converts. Jacob Rivoir married Catherine Young and John James Rochon married first Louise Long, then later Susanne Bert, both Waldensians who came to Utah with later groups.²⁴

A factor that directly influenced marriage patterns in Ogden was the Mormon practice of polygamy. Community leaders preached the doctrine of plurality from the pulpit and Church leaders encouraged worthy men to take more than one wife. John Daniel Malan and Philippe Cardon had acted as spiritual leaders in Italy and were looked upon as leaders of the Waldensian community. They were probably encouraged to enter the principle by church authorities. They both selected second wives from among their countrywomen.

Philippe Cardon had assumed some responsibility for the Stalle family since their arrival in Utah. He made shoes for the children, gave the Stalles flax and hemp to

weave into clothes and encouraged them to migrate to Cache Valley when the Cardons settled there in 1860. It was natural that Cardon would select the widow Jeanne Marie Stalle for a second wife. He married her six years after her arrival in Utah; he was then sixty-two, a decade older than Jeanne Marie Stalle. Cardon's son Louis Philippe married Susette Stalle; thus father and son married mother and daughter.²⁵

At the age of fifty-eight Malan took Marie Louise Chatelain, then thirty, for his second wife. Marie Louise, along with Michael and Marthe Rostan, came to Utah with the Oscar O. Stoddard Handcart Company. They arrived September 24, 1860, one month and a few days short of the fifth anniversary of Cardon's arrival. Marie Louis Chatelain and John Daniel Malan were married three and a half months later.

In two cases non-Waldense husbands married more than one Italian wife. Moses Byrne, a Scot, married Mary Catherine Cardon and Ann Beus. Isaac Farley (himself a twin), married the Malan twins. Of Isaac's marriages, a daughter wrote:

Father had proposed marriage to Madeleine who accepted his offer. When he went to Salt Lake with Madeleine to be married, he was told by Brigham Young to go back and get the other twin. . . and he would perform the marriage. They returned to Ogden where Isaac proposed to Emily Pauline who accepted his proposal. The three returned to Salt Lake City where they were married. It was something to see so young a man with two wives-- he being only four days past his twenty-first birthday and the girls between eighteen and nineteen years of age. He was told at the time of his marriages that he was the first young man to go into the principle of

plural marriage in the church.²⁶

Isaac's twenty-four year old brother, Winthrop Farley, claimed nineteen-year-old Lydia Pons as his third plural wife. A granddaughter described Lydia as "a beautiful young girl with olive skin, coal-black hair and dark brown eyes that fairly sparkled as she talked."²⁷ As Winthrop's first and second wives were in their thirties, the choice of and apparent preference for young Lydia caused some disruption in the Farley household. Mary Ellen Reed, the second wife, promptly divorced Winthrop. Angelina, the first wife, had great difficulty adjusting to the new Waldensian wife.²⁸

There are twenty instances of single exogamous marriages among the Italian converts and six instances of endogamous marriages. Polygamous marriages among the converts numbered eighteen including the five endogamous polygamous marriages that were contracted. There are six instances of divorce among the Waldensian converts. Two women, Henriette Chatelain and Emily Pauline Malan divorced polygamous husbands. The other four divorcing spouses sought the dissolution of monogamous marriages. Emily Pauline was later resealed to Isaac Farley. (See Appendix C for additional information and statistical analysis of Waldense marriages.)

The percent of Italian converts who engaged in plural marriages exceeded the average for plural unions church-wide. Thirty percent of the Italian converts practiced

polygamy. This unusually high percentage might indicate the devotion of the Waldensian emigrant to his new faith and his willingness to abide by counsel from church leaders. Also, some evidence points to the fact that there was a higher number of polygamous households in Ogden than in other cities during the same period.²⁹ It appears that the selection of Ogden for settlement by Waldensians, or from here to Texas. They were within easy reach Mormons may have affected marriage patterns.

The tranquil life of the pioneer community was disrupted in 1857 and 1858 by the Utah War. On July 24, 1857, Mormon leaders learned that an expeditionary force led by Albert Sidney Johnston had been dispatched from the east with orders to enter the Utah territory and take control of the territorial government. Brigham Young, determined not to submit, ordered the territorial militia to proceed to "Echo Canyon to maintain it by force of arms."³⁰ Many of the Waldensian converts were numbered among the 1,250 men who were called to serve under Lieutenant General Daniel H. Wells.

The Waldensian militiamen participated in constructing fortifications in Echo Canyon similar to those their ancestors had constructed in the Alpine mountains of Piedmont. James Bertoch related "how rocks were piled up ready to roll down on the army as they approached."³¹ Most of the company spent the greater part of the winter in the Canyon preparing the "Narrows" for an attack that did not come.

Brigham Young, apparently well pleased with the fortifications, addressed an assembly of saints in Salt Lake on Sunday, October 18, 1857. Comparing the plight of the Mormons with that of the early Waldensians he asked,

Did their enemies ever overcome the small band of Waldenses in the mountains in Piedmont? No! They slaughtered army after army sent against them, and maintained their position, notwithstanding to reach them was only like sending an army here from Sanpete, or from here to Sanpete. They were within easy reach of their enemies.³²

The following spring, the Waldensian community in Ogden, along with other northern communities, prepared their homes to be torched and joined the general exodus South. Margaret Stalle records that "We had no team, but we went as far as Spanish Fork on the move. Provo River was alive with fish, and they were easily caught."³³

Madeleine Malan Farley records that they "located on what was then called the Provo Bottoms. We selected a very pretty plot by a creek with a mound rising in the middle into a small island which was matted with violets."³⁴ By the end of the summer of 1858 the danger had passed.

Most of the Waldensians returned to their Ogden homes "in late August and helped to harvest the crops which the bounteous rains had preserved and matured during their absence."³⁵ Evidently Roman and Bonnett found Provo to their liking for they remained there. Susan Roman, who probably married Charles David Roman before the move south, bore a daughter, Louise, in Provo on March 2, 1859.³⁶

John James Bonnett, twenty-three years old at the time of the exodus, remained to homestead land in sections 19 and 30 in Provo. He farmed approximately 20 acres in what is now Indian Hills.³⁷ In 1860 he married. He and his wife Ann Hughes spent the rest of their lives in Provo where they farmed and raised eleven children.

Cache Valley, an alpine valley approximately 25^{air} miles north of ^{Ogden} Logan, first attracted the attention of Mormon settlers in Ogden when a scouting party went there in search of cattle which had been stolen by the Indians. These Ogden scouts must have been impressed by the fertility of the region. Their description probably interested Philippe Cardon because the Cardons were among the first settlers of Logan in 1860. Serge Ballif, who had acted as interpreter for the Cardon company of Waldensian saints, joined them in this pioneering effort.³⁸ Margaret Stalle records that:

The Cardons went to Cache Valley and coaxed mother and Dan to go with them. By this time Dan had a yoke of year-old steers, a wreck of a wagon and two heifers. He drove the steers³⁹ to Logan and had quite a [difficult] time.

Two years later Philippe Cardon married the Widow Stalle. Cardon's decision to pioneer in Logan had little or no effect on other members of Ogden's Waldensian community. Though Cardon was probably looked upon as one of the leaders, the Malan, Pons, Chatelain, and Beus families were by then, so well established in the Ogden

area that they had no desire to relocate. They remained there to form the nucleus of a growing Waldensian community.

However, about that same time, another member of the group decided to relocate. "In 1860, I moved to Weber Valley (Morgan County) with the Grant family," Daniel Bertoch recalled: "We fought grasshoppers about seven years. While working for Grant I took up a claim and made me a house."⁴⁰

The Daniel Justet family arrived in Great Salt Lake with Captain Thomas Smart and his company on September 1, 1868. Family records indicate that forty-five-year-old Smart fell in love with twenty-year-old Marguerite Justet en route, and the couple married shortly after their arrival in Utah. Marie Mooseman, Justet's eldest daughter who had arrived some years earlier, lived in Washington County. It is probable that the Justet family chose Southern Utah as their home so that they could be close to the Moosemans. In any case, Daniel Justet with his wife Jeanne and their six daughters and son Daniel all located in the same region of Southern Utah. Three daughters married into polygamy. Son Daniel married the adopted daughter of James Leithead, an Indian girl who had been left as a child with the Leitheads. The tribe had indicated that they would return for her and when they did not, the Leitheads adopted her, raised and educated her as their own.⁴¹

The migrations of the Justet family were typical of many pioneer families. They settled first in the Muddy Mission (St. Thomas) on October 1, 1868. There they worked hard to make a living. They were accustomed to rainfall and plenty of water for crops. In this area there was little water and often their crops failed. Their courage was tested to the limit. In February, 1871, the Mormon settlement was found to be in Nevada. Taxes were raised and living in Muddy Mission became such a hardship that Brigham Young released them from their call to that area. Next they moved to Santa Clara where Daniel died. The widow Justet then moved forty miles east to Pine Valley.⁴² *in Ariz* From Pine Valley she moved to Panguitch in the Spring of 1872. Panguitch was a little town on the Sevier River in Garfield County. Five years later widow Justet joined her son Daniel and his family at Escalante Creek, sixty miles east of Panguitch, in what was called "Tater Valley," (so named because potatoes grew there in abundance.) She died there in 1895 at the age of 78, with her family around her:

Daniel's sisters and their husbands all came to live in the valley. Many became well-to-do. They could raise good crops and cattle which thrived in summer on wild grass on the hills and [did well] in the [desert] valleys in winter [for they] stretched sixty miles to the Colorado River. Although Daniel was comfortable he never became wealthy.⁴³

It is evident that generally settlement patterns in early Utah tended to develop along ethnic lines. Often Brigham Young or other Mormon leaders determined the location of a settlement. Then, as wagon trains reached

Great Salt Lake City, certain groups were sent off to settle given areas. Families that were unassigned sometimes sought homes in locations where relatives or friends were already established. The Daniel Justet family is an example of a family that did not join an ethnic enclave but developed its own family community in Southern Utah. The Justet family probably had little contact with countrymen living in the north.

The southern exodus had exposed Bonnett and Roman to the Provo area. They chose to remain there for some years, though Roman eventually returned to Ogden. Some young adults who remained to work in Salt Lake City met and married non-Waldensian mates. Generally these young people settled in areas other than Ogden. However, the majority of the Waldensian emigrant families settled in that northern community and there they remained. Later Waldensian groups arriving after 1869 joined their countrymen in Ogden where they created, within the framework of the larger Mormon community, a little Italy that reminded them of home.

Evidently Brigham Young was well aware of their religious heritage for he spoke of it as he instructed the Saints concerning resisting government troops during the Utah War. President Young played an important role in the lives of most early Utah Mormons. He not only served as their leader in spiritual and temporal affairs; he advised them in personal matters such as the choosing of marriage

partners. His role in the marriages of Isaac Farley and the Malan twins was not unique. There are many similar cases recorded in the diaries of the Utah pioneers.⁴⁴

The Mormon settlement of the Great Basin differed markedly from settlement of the Northwest, Midwest and the Great Plains. The establishment of communities in those regions was generally unplanned. Thus pioneering became a difficult and lonely venture for emigrant women. Joanna Stratton records that isolation was one of the major facets of pioneer life. The daughter of one woman said she remembers that "often mother used to go out and lie down among [the sheep] for company, when she was alone for the day."⁴⁵ The Mormon practices of community settlement and polygamous marriages tended to prevent the loneliness described by emigrant women in other frontier communities during this same period.⁴⁶ Yet similar marriage and settlement patterns were being repeated in other developing Vaudois communities throughout the world.

The Mormon Colonies in the Great Basin typified Waldense communities elsewhere. While the Mormon Waldense were establishing enclaves in Ogden, Logan and in Southern Utah; other Vaudois emigrants were building settlements in Uruguay, Argentina, Florida, Pennsylvania, Virginia and South Carolina and having some of the same pioneering experiences as their countrymen in the west. Overcrowding in the narrow Protestant valleys and several successive years of crop failure in Italy had forced many to leave.

The Mormon Colonies represented only one of countless efforts by the Vaudois to establish colonies in the New World. Like the Mormon colonies in the Great Basin, these colonies developed as ethnic enclaves complete with social and religious activities and a high percentage of endogamous marriages.⁴⁷

However, there was one major difference. The Mormon Waldensians were perceived as disloyal by their neighbors and former clergy in Italy. Unlike later groups who left the crowded valleys with the blessing of the Waldensian Church, the Mormon Waldensians who emigrated between 1850 and 1869 (as well as those who remained behind) suffered persecution. Consequently, L.D.S. converts who remained in Italy, eventually drifted away from the Mormon church. The Justet family was the only exception. By the mid-1860s they were the only family in Italy remaining on L.D.S. Church membership rolls. They finally emigrated in 1869.

Obviously, their new environment in the western deserts seemed strange and somewhat hostile to the Italian settlers. Certain fears could be more easily dealt with if the emigrants were able to settle among others from their homeland. Many Waldensians spoke English imperfectly. Some, like Michael and Mary Ann Beus, spoke none at all and never learned the language. Establishing ethnic enclaves like the Waldensian communities in Ogden and Logan and the Justet family's settlement in the Muddy Mission and in

Escalante enabled the emigrants to make the transition from old world to the new more easily.

The Mormon Waldensians fit the same mold as other ethnic groups who settled in frontier America during this period. First generations clung to old world traditions and languages. The second generation became radically Americanized, often changing their names to fit WASP (white Anglo Saxon Protestant) molds as in the case of Roberts and Lazear. The third generations looked back nostalgically at their heritage, often reviving a longing for the culture and country that their ancestors had called home.

Enclaves tend to disintegrate within two generations and the Mormon colonies were no exception. Large families assumed the role that the enclave had provided. Polygamy raids by federal marshals in the 1880s and vocational opportunity took many of the children of the Vaudois into other regions and the colonies gradually melted into the larger society of the American West.

11. Madeleine Malin Farley, *Autobiography*, p. 4.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Daniel Bertoich Account.

14. Carter, *Tales of a Triumphant People*, p. 271.

15. John Bertoich Family Group Sheet, Archives. See also, Horder, "Italian Mormons," p. 34.

16. Hickman, *Susanne Goudin Cardon History*, p. 9.

17. R. J. Neus, *The Michael Neus Family*, p. 23.

19. Fishery, Frank, Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah (Utah Pioneer Book Publishing Company, 1911) p. 800.

20. Deering, The Deerears, p. 1.

21. Mark Ardeth Dalton, The Long Daltons Book of Genealogy (Long Beach, Dalton Family Association, 1953). p. 158.

NOTES

1. Journal History of the Church, August 28, 1850, Church Archives.
2. Bingham Fort was located west of what is today Washington Avenue, at an area known as "Five Points." Mound Fort was located one mile south of Bingham Fort between 9th and 12th Streets in Ogden.
3. Daniel Bertoch Account.
4. Ibid.
5. Kate B. Carter, Tales of a Triumphant People, (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1947) p. 271.
6. Margaret Stalle Barker History.
7. Adams & Smith, p. 7.
8. Clayton, Lydia Pons Farley, p. 4.
9. Ibid.
10. Daniel Bertoch Account.
11. Letter from Daniel Bertoch to James Bertoch, February 14, 1922, as quoted in Homer, "Italian Mormons," p. 34.
12. Madeleine Malan Farley, Autobiography, p. 4.
13. Ibid.
14. Daniel Bertoch Account.
15. Carter, Tales of a Triumphant People, p. 271.
16. John Bertoch Family Group Sheet, Archives. See also, Homer, "Italian Mormons," p. 34.
17. Hickman, Susanne Goudin Cardon History, p. 9.
18. R. J. Beus, The Michael Beus Family, p. 23.

19. Esshon, Frank, Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah (Utah Pioneer Book Publishing Company, 1913) p. 800.
20. Deming, The Lazears, p. 1.
21. Mark Ardath Dalton, The John Dalton Book of Genealogy (Long Beach, Dalton Family Organization, 1953). p. 168.
22. Ibid., p. 47.
23. Hickman, Susanne Goudin Cardon History, p. 9.
24. Jean Jacques Robert (Also James John) Family Group Sheet, Archives. Indicates both wives born in Piedmont, Italy.
25. Philippe Cardon and Jeanne Marie Gaudin (or Goudin) and Louise Phillipe and Susette Stalle Family Group Sheets, Archives.
26. Madeleine Marriott Harrop, "Isaac Robeson Farley, Life Sketch," February, 1977. Typescript in possession of author. p. 2. (Hereafter Isaac Robeson Farley.)
27. Clayton, Lydia Pons Farley, p. 4.
28. Angelina Calkins Farley Diary, Church Archives.
29. See Utah Manuscript Censuses, Ogden, Weber County, 1850, 1860, 1870. Genealogical Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.
30. B.H. Roberts, History of the Church, Vol. 4, p. 274.
31. Biography of James Bertoch.
32. Journal of Discourses, (Deseret News, Salt Lake City), Vol. V, p. 342. ✓
33. Margaret Stalle Barker, p. 8.
34. Harrop, Isaac Robson Farley, p. 2.
35. Ibid.
36. Charles David Roman and Susan Robert Family Group Sheet, Archives.
37. Mae B. Nielson's notes on John James Bonnet, Orem, Utah. Notes in possession of author. (Hereafter notes on John James Bonnet.)

38. Adams & Smith, Philippe Cardon, p. 6.
39. Margaret Stalle Barker, p. 8-9.
40. Daniel Bertoch Account.
41. Bradbury, "Daniel Justet, Jr."
42. Catherine J. Stevenson, "Daniel Justet."
43. Bradbury, "Daniel Justet, Jr."
44. Pearce, Enduring Legacy gives two examples: Susanna Stone Lloyd writes, "We were both favorably impressed at our first meeting, he having received a very satisfactory recommendation from his bishop, and on advice of President Young we were soon married." p. 48. Laura Ingeman was employed in the home of Nels Mickelsen caring for his invalid wife and two small children. "Brigham Young said to Nels one day, 'Brother Mickelsen, that little Norwegian girl would make you a fine wife and I would advise you to marry her.' Nels immediately talked it over with his family [and the marriage occurred shortly thereafter.]" p. 68.
45. Joann L. Stratton, Pioneer Women: Voices From the Kansas Frontier (New York City: Simon & Schuster, 1981), p. 80.
46. O. E. Rolvaag, "The Heart That Dared Not Let in the Sun," The Private Side of American History, 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1979), p. 380-400.
47. Watts, Waldense in New World, p. 46-49.

The experiences of the Widow Stalle probably best illustrate the effort required in pioneer days to provide food, shelter and clothing for the family. Margaret Stalle Barker writes:

When brother and Dan couldn't glean wheat anymore, they went to work and dug a dugout in a side of a hill. They covered the dug-out with willows, bullrushes and dirt and had a piece of canvas for a window. Of course, it was rather dark inside. They had no furniture and for a bedstead they stuck forked sticks in the ground and made holes in the walls in which to rest the ends and one side of the bed. They [used] bullrushes and straw [for a mattress.] My brother Dan borrowed an ax of Cardon's and a saw. [He] saw[ed] the tree trunk into suitable lengths and [for]

CHAPTER V
WALDENSIAN CONTRIBUTIONS AND LEGACY TO MORMON SOCIETY

The manuscript censuses for 1860, 1870 and 1880 list "farmer" as the vocation most often reported by the Waldense emigrants in Deseret. But this term is not very descriptive. In the early days, practically everyone had to farm to keep body and soul together. What they could not grow or make themselves, they normally did without. "It is our duty first, to develop the agricultural resources of this country," Brigham Young told his followers. "Let others seek the minerals and we will cultivate the soil."¹

Most of the Waldensian families gathered waste wheat and subsisted on that during their first few winters in Ogden. The experiences of the Widow Stalle probably best illustrate the effort required in pioneer days to provide food, shelter and clothing for the family. Margaret Stalle Barker writes:

When Mother and Dan couldn't glean wheat anymore, they went to work and dug a dugout in a side of a hill. They covered the dug-out with willows, bullrushes and dirt and had a piece of canvas for a window. Of course, it was rather dark inside. They had no furniture and for a bedstead they stuck forked sticks in the ground and made holes in the walls in which to rest the ends and one side of the bed. They [used] bullrushes and straw [for a mattress.] My brother Dan borrowed an ox of Cardon's and a saw. [He] saw[ed] the tree trunk into suitable lengths and [by]

splitting it in two and putting legs into the rounded side, he made three stools and a table. Mr. Cardon raised some flax and hemp and managed to divide [it in] two grades; of the roughest he made ropes and himself a loom. Mother spun the rest and together they wove cloth for the bedticks and underwear. Mother worked all day and continued to work spinning all night. We had no candles but we gathered sunflowers and while mother spun, we lighted them one by one in the fireplace for her.

The most effective means of bringing cash or products into the pioneer home that could not be gotten otherwise was to engage in some kind of home industry. For example, wheat could not be grown in Virgin where Marianne Gardiol Durant had gone to settle; but fruit grew there in abundance. So the settlers learned to dry fruit in their homes and then take it north, where the growing season was brief and fruit was always in short supply. There they traded it for wheat and the other products they needed. Susette Stalle Cardon became an expert in growing and preserving dried fruit, especially strawberries. A few years after she settled in Arizona, she was contacted by the Home Economics Department of the University of Arizona asking for samples of her dried berries. To their knowledge no one else had ever attained the degree of success Susette did in drying and preserving strawberries.³ Another Waldensian, Daniel Justet, Jr., had a fine orchard in Escalante and "sold hundreds of pounds of dried fruits."⁴

Desiring that the saints become self sufficient, Brigham Young encouraged home industry. Silk production was among many industries that he attempted to establish in

Zion. Seeds for mulberry trees and silk worms were imported from Italy and France as early as 1865. Governor Young had twenty-five to thirty acres of mulberry trees under cultivation on the church farm at Forest Dale (just south of the Salt Lake City boundary) and superintended the construction of a cocoonery north of the Beehive House at the city center. Seven hundred pounds of cocoons were raised in six weeks and President Young's early success may have encouraged silk production throughout the territory.⁵

The Waldensian saints were familiar with the silk culture for it was carried on in their native land. Many had worked in the industry and knew how to care for silk worms and spin silk. While laboring on a silk farm, Pauline Combe Malan had experienced what she believed was a prophetic dream foreshadowing her conversion to the restored church.⁶

Two Waldensian families produced silk before President Young encouraged others to try. The Michael Beus family raised and spun silk and were among the first to raise flax and make linen⁷ in that area. "Sister Marianne Combe Beus, an Italian Lady, has an acre of mulberry trees, keeps worms, has knit silk stocking, and has nearly enough silk to weave two silk dresses,"⁸ reported President Jane S. Richards of the Ogden Relief Society in the spring of 1875 when that society initiated the industry.

At the age of nine, Susanne Goudin Cardon had found employment in the silk industry in Italy. She earned 10

cents a day for picking leaves from the mulberry trees to feed the silk worms. At twelve, she learned to reel silk. "To the Italian origin of Paul and Susanne Cardon, Cache Valley owes its mulberry trees and attempts at silk culture,"⁹ a granddaughter claimed. Kate B. Carter wrote:

They were quick to see the similarity of conditions in Cache Valley and their native northern Italy, and as they were both familiar with all of the branches of silk culture they decided to try it here. Mr. Cardon sent to France for mulberry seeds. These were planted and the trees grew well and were the first ones to be grown in northern Utah. When they were large enough to produce leaves, Mr. Cardon sent to France for eggs of the silk worms. These eggs were hatched by putting them in a bag and keeping the bag warm by hanging them around their necks. These worms grew and other were raised and when the supply was sufficient they began to reel silk. Mr. Cardon made the reel and Mrs. Cardon did the reeling. It was the twisted reed and was much better than the flat silk. The silk was sent to Salt Lake to be woven and was found to be of such high quality that President Brigham Young called they Susanne on a mission to Salt Lake City to teach others to reel silk. She left a year-old baby and six other small children and spent three months in Salt Lake City, without pay, in this work.¹⁰

The first mention in the Ogden Relief Society records of silk production was on January 6, 1869. Bishop Chauncy W. West advised the sisters to set aside land for the culture of silk. A committee was organized to visit the people and encourage them to raise silk. Mary Ann Pons Harris served on this committee.¹¹ Some, including David Roman, responded to the call by planting mulberry trees. At one point he had about 6,000 trees under cultivation.¹²

Several Waldensian women were among those who participated in this Relief Society effort to establish a flourishing silk industry in Weber County. For a time

Lydia Pons Farley, her sister Mary Ann Pons Harris and their widowed mother "raised silk rather extensively and reeled it to be knitted or woven into different articles."¹³

Perhaps the amount of time, effort and space required for the care and feeding of the worms discouraged participants in the industry. Louis Harris reported that when they were small the worms required little space, but as they grew they were moved from room to room until they occupied nearly the whole house.

We hardly had rooms to sleep in and very little time for sleep as they had ravenous appetites, eating continuously for the whole six weeks of their existence. They were fed the last thing at night, which would be about 11 or 12 o'clock, and at daylight in the morning. The mulberry trees were almost stripped of leaves and small branches by the time they were ready to spin.¹⁴

The home production of silk probably proved too demanding an avocation for the average pioneer woman with many responsibilities and a large family to care for. It appears that a great deal of effort was required in order to produce a few silk stockings and handkerchiefs. These products probably did not yield enough income to make the venture profitable and the silk industry in Utah died out after a few years. However, its advent had enabled the Waldensian saints to demonstrate a unique facet of their Italian culture. ✓

The Waldensians employed other native talents and abilities in their everyday tasks. Max Dean Bonnett, great grandson of John James Bonnett records:

Jacque Robert and his Mother Susanne [Roman] came to Provo on November 18, 1899. They walked to where they thought my Great Grandfather lived and when they saw a man shucking corn in a homemade basket his mother said, "That is James Bonnett, no one else would have a basket like that." He helped them get settled [in Provo].¹⁵

Many of the biographies and life sketches of the Waldensian emigrants indicate that they had a talent for singing and enjoyed entertaining family and friends with native songs. Several of the women were skilled in dramatization. Members of the Justet family had a talent for imitating others and often did shows together.

Prophetic dreams aided several throughout their lives as in the following examples taken from the lives of James Bertoch and Susette Stalle Cardon. Bertoch writes:

H.D. Spence and I were taking care of Toronto's cattle during the year 1870-1871. It was a hard winter and there had been severe snow storms which drove the cattle into the hollow of the mountains. The snow on the level was up to our knees. We hunted the cattle for several days, but there were still twenty head we could not find. We did not know where in the mountains to look for them.

That night I had a dream or vision. An Indian as straight as an arrow came from the hollow where the cattle were. He said, "Your cattle are in the hollow of Porter's Canyon and if you don't get them in two or three shirips (days) they will all be dead." When the Indian told me this I could see plainly just where they were. The following morning when H.D. Spence came I said, "Come Spence, we will find them today. An Indian showed me last night just where they are." We went and found the cattle snowed in, in the hollow. We had to break trail with the horses and lead. . . them back one at a time.¹⁶

A granddaughter of Susette Stalle Cardon wrote that her grand-mother seemed to have an insight into many things:

I remember the summer after I had been away teaching school, that she came out to the milkhouse where I was tending the milk, and said to me, "You are what you call it--begaged (engaged)," and when I replied in the affirmative she said, "I knew it! I dreamed it!"¹⁷

The Waldensian emigrants lent their talents and abilities to the needs of the community and in so doing strengthened the fabric of Mormon society. Peter Chatelaine was a miller. Daniel Justet, Sr. was the rock mason who built fireplaces and laid the foundations of many of the first homes in St Thomas.¹⁸ John Daniel Malan, Sr. was a born mechanic and carpenter. "He developed a crude machine by which corn could readily be shelled. He assisted in the construction of the Ogden bench canal by building flumes. . . [and] had a saw mill in Ogden Canyon."¹⁹ The Cardon Family helped to establish the city of Logan, with various members serving in public office. John Paul Cardon participated in the Civil War.²⁰ The Beus family became one of the leading agricultural families in Weber County. Assets of "Beus and Sons" totaled almost \$4,000 by 1876,²¹ according to Weber County tax assessment rolls. John Lazear's pioneering effort helped to establish the community of Pine Valley in Arizona.²² David Roman and John James Bonnett were accomplished linguists who gave great service to their communities. Bonnett acted "as an interpreter all over Utah County for friends, neighbors, at court trials and in many business transactions."²³

Pioneering in Deseret went far beyond farming and home industry and the use of native talents to improve

circumstances and meet the challenges of everyday life.

Stephen Malan summed up the experience in these words:

We participated in most of the improvements and changes [of our age]; both of the natural and human element. . . such as building our first tabernacle, opening roads through canyons, [digging] irrigation canals, checking the advance of soldiery. . . [fighting] crickets and grass hoppers. . . [We have witnessed] advancements in arts and science and machinery. [We have seen the construction of] a network of railroads, magnificent public structures, mansions and frame cottages. [We have made] this once forsaken barren [wilderness] the home of a thriving and dense population.

Were second generation Waldensians as committed to their Mormon faith as their emigrant fathers and mothers? Evidence seems to indicate that many were but some were not. Careful assessment of the second generation through the use of family group sheets and a check of Waldensian surnames in the current membership files of the Historian's office indicates that some descendants probably did not remain in the church. The surnames of Pons²⁵ and Rivoir no longer appear on current membership records.

A study of religious persistence based on the number of live endowments taken out by the children of the Italian converts was made by the author. Endowments are "special blessings given worthy and faithful saints"²⁶ in Mormon temples. They are called endowments because Mormons believe that "in and through them recipients are endowed with power from on high. . . These sacred ordinances are administered for the living and on a proxy basis for the dead."²⁷ Seventy-one family group sheets revealed that of 335 second generation descendants, 188 (56%) were endowed

in their own lifetime. One hundred and seven were endowed after death and no information was given for forty. Evidently approximately 147 second generation Waldensians who reached adulthood did not take out their own endowments, a practice generally engaged in by devout Mormons. These figures indicate that perhaps as many as one-third of the second generation Waldensian Mormons could not be classified among the devout, had fallen into inactivity, or possibly, had left the L.D.S. Church.²⁸

In some families, the unique heritage of their Waldensian ancestors was all but forgotten. In Ogden, the daughters of Lydia Pons Farley maintained their mother had descended from French aristocracy, and Barthelemy Pons had been a wealthy landowner living in Piedmont, Italy, but that the family was most certainly French, not Italian.²⁹ To this day, some Farley descendants adamantly deny any Italian blood, though they have pedigree charts identifying their Pons ancestors as Waldensians, living in the Protestant valleys of Piedmont and extending back into the 1600s.

Perhaps this desire not to be identified with Italians (which the author also found in the descendants of other Waldensian families) is rooted in a common prejudice against southern European immigrants. It is permissible to be of Northern European extraction--or a "WASP," but many resent being classified as a "Wop." Philip F. Notarianni's "Italianita in Utah: the Immigrant Experience" indicates

that prejudice against the Italian emigrant in Utah surfaced shortly after World War I and culminated in the 1920s.³⁰ Though society has come a long way in welcoming minorities into the melting pot, attitudes and stereotypes of the past still color our thinking.

Most probably, the Mormon Waldensians were of French extraction as they bore French names and lived in a closed community where they generally contracted endogamous marriages. As their homes were located on the border of modern-day France and Italy in a region where sovereignty shifted many times throughout the centuries, it is difficult to decide whether to consider them French or Italian. Perhaps it is enough to remember that their uniqueness as an ethnic enclave lies not in national origin but in their singular religious heritage. ✓

Descendants of many Vaudois families seemed not to have been bothered by the question of whether their Waldensian ancestors were French or Italian. The family of Henry Barker and Marguerite Stalle were among the foremost promoters of the Waldensian heritage in Utah. Marguerite, who was only seven when she came from Italy, did not have an opportunity to attend school in her youth. However, she placed such a high value on education that she attended school with her children. She sat in the back of the classroom, followed the lessons and attempted to learn as much as possible. Perhaps their mother's example encouraged all seven of her children to graduate from

college. Henry Barker became the principal of Mound Fort School in Ogden. James Louis Barker earned his doctorate and was professor of languages at the University of Utah and at BYU.³¹

The Barker family was one of many second generation Waldensian families to become prominent in Utah. John Paul Cardon with his two Waldensian wives raised nineteen children. He served as Marshall of Logan City. In 1870 church officials asked Cardon to build a large hotel or rooming house which could be used by people who came to Logan to do temple work. He and his family ran "Cache Valley House" for many years. A son reported that the family was

instructed to listen through a thin partitioned wall to the plans of the U.S. Deputies who were trying to track down and punish polygamy offenders. Many plans were revealed this way and many saints were warned in time to save them from being caught. My father has told [us] that many times he went out the back door of a home, after warning the saints, just as the deputies came in the front. They continued to do this work for about ten years. When the deputies became suspicious of father he went into the north-west to work on the railroad, taking part of the older family with him.³²

John Paul Cardon served a mission to Switzerland in 1899. Upon his death in 1915 his grandchildren numbered over one hundred. His son Joseph Emanuel typified many of his descendants. Joseph was born October 28, 1872. He graduated from Brigham Young College, taught school and went on a mission to the northern states. Upon his return he served as a member of the Cache Stake Sunday School Board, Deputy City Recorder, Bishop of Logan First Ward and

then Stake President for many years.³³ Some of John Paul Cardon's daughters intermarried with some of the most prominent families in Utah.³⁴

Mormon society was a fluid society and it became more so in the late 1870's and 1880's. The immigrants that had married into polygamy frequently were forced to move to avoid being arrested for cohabitation. Persecution against plural marriage became so intense that Louis Philippe Cardon traveled to Salt Lake City to ask President Brigham Young what course of action to take to protect himself from arrest.

President Young arose from his chair, smote the palm of one hand with the fist of the other and said, "Brother Cardon, it is about time for the Saints to move to Arizona, as I have been thinking. Be here in a week with your wife and belongings. The Company will be ready to leave."³⁵

This was the first of several moves the Louis Philippe Cardon family would make over the next decade. They moved first to George Lake Camp on the Little Colorado, in Arizona. From there they moved to Tenney's Camp where they practiced the United Order. Next they moved to Taylor, Arizona which they hoped would be their permanent home. Finally in 1885, President John Taylor advised Louis Philippe and his family to move to Old Mexico. They remained there until the Mexican Revolution forced them to leave in 1912.³⁶

Throughout this period family members continued to fill responsible positions in the church. Joseph S. Cardon, son of Louis Philippe and Susette, was a member of

the High Council of Juarez Stake and a Counselor to the Bishop of Dublan Ward. Ernest Elmer Cardon served as the first Counselor in the Bishopric of the Turlock Ward, San Joaquin Stake. As the children of the second generation matured and took their place in Mormon society, the two-thirds that remained devout were called to leadership positions in the areas where they settled.³⁷

In Weber County, James Richard Beus (the son of James Beus and Clarinda Hall) became bishop of Hooper Ward. Lawrence M. Malan served as county clerk and Stake Patriarch of Mount Ogden Stake. Clarence Walter Malan served as second counselor to the bishop of Ogden's 48th Ward (Ben Lomond Stake.) In Salt Lake County, Dean Tracy Malan became Bishop of the Copperton Ward in the West Jordan Stake.³⁸ From this sampling it is evident that many second generation Waldensians played a prominent role in church affairs and made valuable contributions to many different western communities.

Two Waldensian descendants, Archibald Bennett and Dr. James L. Barker, were instrumental in securing permission from the Moderator of the Waldensian Church, September, 1947, to microfilm all the surviving parish and civil records in the Protestant valleys in Italy. (Few such records exist before the seventeenth century because the 1600s were a period of heavy persecutions. Many villages and churches were burned and the Registers of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths of the Vaudois parishes were

destroyed.) The task of filming was completed in September of the following year. These records were then carefully searched, family relationships established and temple work done for the dead. One hundred years after the arrival of the first Mormon missionaries in Piedmont, Italy, Waldensian records were having a dramatic impact on Mormondom's vast genealogical research program as the "Piedmont Project" became the forerunner of the L.D.S. church-wide name extraction program.³⁹ Descendants of the Mormon Waldensians organized in an effort to complete the translation of these records. The Piedmont Family Organization was very much involved in this task.

The author has identified over two hundred young men and women bearing Waldensian family names who have served L.D.S. missions in all parts of the world. This represents only a small percentage of missionaries of Waldensian descent as it is impossible to identify those who have lost characteristic names by marriage. A study of four generations of descendents of Winthrop and Lydia Pons Farley through their eldest son, Theodore Farley, made by the author in 1982, indicates that most of those descendents surveyed considered themselves "very active" in the Mormon church today. In many instances, both husband and wife hold leadership positions. Ninety percent had been married or sealed in the temple and many had fulfilled L.D.S. missions.

In conclusion, ethnic diversity provided the fabric of the Great Basin Kingdom. Though a thread of prejudice sometimes flawed the pattern, ethnicity added depth and breadth overall. A few years in the "Mormon Colonies" in Ogden appears to have ensured the Italian convert an easy transition into communities throughout the western frontier. The Vaudois families differed in talents, skills and native abilities, but these differences tended to enrich their settlements with the diversity needed to sustain life in Pioneer Utah. While the children of some Waldense emigrants fell into inactivity, the children of others became leaders in the Mormon Church and the rich heritage brought to Zion by the original Mormon Waldensians became a significant part of the historical legacy of Utah and the surrounding areas and of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

NOTES

1. Milton R. Hunter, Utah in Her Western Setting (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1944) p. 486.
2. Margaret Stalle Barker History, p.7.
3. Susette Cardon Stalle.
4. Bradbury, Daniel Bertoch, Jr., p. 6.
5. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, pp. 227-228. See also Norma B. Winn, ed., An Enduring Legacy, (Salt Lake City: DUP, 1985) pp. 250-251.
6. Madeleine Malan Farley records, "When Mother was fifteen years of age in the spring of 1820, she went with her father down into the plains of Piedmont to take charge of silk worms on the silk farm for a man that made sericulture [sic] his business. Each had a cot in the large and spacious hall where they were tending the silk worms. One day, about a week before the silk season was over, she had been reading the Scriptures--about the life of Christ and His Apostles and the Gospel as they taught it. At night after retiring to her cot, she lay there pondering upon what she had read and wishing that she had been living in those days, when the whole space of the hall became as light as noon day. She arose in a sitting position as she felt a Heavenly Influence pervading the room. Feeling this influence, she began singing a sacred hymn when twelve personages, dressed in white robes, appeared and formed in a semi-circle by her cot and joined in the singing. At its conclusion, they and the light vanished. This left a vivid impression in her mind and a foreshadowing of things to come. When she returned home, she related the vision to her mother who, besides referring to other passages concerning the latter days, read from the "Acts of the Apostles, the 17th and 18th verses: ". . . in the last days. . . your sons and your daughters shall prophesy and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams. . ." p. 2.
7. J.R. Beus, p. 24.

8. Louise B. Pearce, ed., An Enduring Legacy (Salt Lake City, DUP, 1985). p. 250. Hereafter Enduring Legacy.
9. Hickman, Susanne Goudin Cardon History, p. 5, p. 11.
10. Carter, Kate B., Heart Throbs of the West, vol.3 (Salt Lake City: DUP, 1941-48) p. 131.
11. Pearce, Enduring Legacy, p. 250. See also, Journal History of the Church, 29 July, 1866 and 30 March, 1868. Historical Depart. Archives. Other general sources that discuss the silk industry in Utah include Brigham Young's Journal of Discourses 12:199-200, 6: 172 and Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 227-228, 254 & 347.
12. Ibid., Enduring Legacy p. 253.
13. Ibid., p. 252.
14. Ibid., p. 253.
15. Max Dean Bonnett, "Notes of John James Bonnett" Typescript in possession of author.
16. James Bertoch Account.
17. Susette Stalle Cardon History.
18. Stevenson, Daniel Justet, Sr.
19. John Daniel Malan life sketch from the Elwood I. Barker family collection.
20. Rebecca Cardon Hickman, "History of John Paul Cardon, 1838-1915." Typescript in possession of author.
21. Assessment Roll of Weber County, 1873. Listings of Beus family members, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.
22. Demming, The Lazears.
23. Mae B. Nielsen, Notes on John James Bonnett in possession of author.
24. Stephen Malan, Autobiography.
25. There are some Pons families of Dutch extraction who are active in the church today. However, the author could not find any descendants of John Daniel or David Pons. Family group sheets of second generation Waldensians.

26. Bruce R. McConkie, Mormon Doctrine (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966) p. 226-227. See also Doctrines of Salvation, vol. 2, pp. 252-257 and Doctrine and Covenants, 95:8-9; 124:25-41; Luke 24:59.
27. Ibid.
28. Family group sheets of second generation Waldensians. Notes compiled for these sheets are in possession of the author.
29. This is a tradition which has existed in the Farley family for four generations. It was verified by Eva Farley Clayton of Salt Lake City and Lucille Farley Collins of Logan.
30. Papanikolas, Peoples of Utah, p. 323.
31. Elwood I. Barker interviews.
32. Hickman, Susanne Goudin Cardon History, p. 11.
33. Archibald F. Bennett, "The Vaudois of the Alpine Valleys, and their Contribution to Utah and Latter-Day Saint History." A paper presented to Professor Gustive O. Larson, Brigham Young University, Winter Quarter, 1962. In possession of author.
(Note that the sampling of Vaudois descendants who became leaders in the L.D.S. Church was taken exclusively from this study.)
34. Ibid.
35. Edith Cardon Thatcher, "Louis Philip Cardon and Susette Stalle Cardon." Unpublished life sketch from the Louis Cardon family collection. Typescript in possession of the author. See also Karl E. Young, The Long Hot Summer of 1912 (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1967).
36. Ibid.
37. Bennett, "Vaudois of the Alpine Valleys"
38. Ibid.
39. Notes on the Piedmont Project, compiled by the author from an interview with Genealogical Library personnel and material aquired from Hugh T. Law.

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX B
 MARRIAGE AND BIRTH PATTERNS OF
 WALDENSE EMIGRANT-CONVERTS
 EMBLEM AND MOTTO OF THE WALDENSIAN CHURCH



The idea of the emblem is drawn from the book of Revelation (chap. 1), while the motto "The light shines in the darkness" is drawn from the Gospel of John (1:5). It appears that the origin of this emblem is to be connected to the seal of the Count Manfredi of Luserna, representing a lamp (Luserna) with seven stars." (From Cartoline Storiche Valdesi, 2a serie, Torre Pellice, Italy.) The Waldensian emblem decorates many of the churches in the valleys.

APPENDIX C

MARRIAGE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF
WALDENSE EMIGRANT-CONVERTS

The following statistical analysis emerges from data compiled on Waldensian marriage and settlement patterns in the Great Basin:

1. Sixty-seven Italian Waldensians survived the trek to Utah. All of them married at least once during their lifetime.
2. One third contracted or engaged in polygamous marriages. These are identified by bold type in the list that follows.
3. Of the polygamous marriages, thirteen (over half the cases,) were exogamous and eleven cases were endogamous.
4. Of the monogamous marriages, twenty-three were exogamous and fifteen were endogamous, including the five marriages contracted in Italy and the one enroute, (underlined in the list.) Only first marriages were counted unless the marriage occurred in Italy.
5. The average age of twenty-eight Waldensian husbands (who emigrated to Utah) was twenty-six at the time of their first marriage. The average age of thirty emigrant wives was twenty-one.
6. Polygamous families averaged 7.7 surviving children per household.
7. An average of six children per family survived among Waldensians who married monogamously.
8. Most, but not all, Waldensian families lost children in infancy or before they reached adulthood. Of the families in this category, each averaged 2.5 infant deaths.
9. There were 5 divorces among the Italian converts. Fewer than 8% of the marriages ended in divorce.

10. Beus, Mary, 25, married Edward Priest, 22, on March 12, 1876. Priest engaged in farming in northern Utah and Idaho. Eight of their nine children survived.

11. Beus, Michael, 35, married Elizabeth Harriett Lathrop, 25, on Sept. 24, 1879. Michael farmed in Ogden. He had three children.

DATA

12. Beus, Paul, 36, married Marguerite Combe, 19, on November 2, 1883. Paul also farmed in Ogden. All seven children survived.

1. Bertoch, Antoinette, 26, married Louis Chapius, 29, about 1857. Chapius engaged in farming in Nephi. Three of their five children survived childhood.

2. Bertoch, Daniel, 31, married Elva Hampton, 18, on Nov. 24, 1866. They had four children. She died and Bertoch then married Sarah Ann Richards, 19, when he was 39, on Dec. 4, 1874. They had five children. Daniel was a farmer in Littleton, Morgan.

3. Bertoch, James, 28, married Anne Cutcliffe, 19, on May 6, 1866. James was a farmer in Pleasant Green, Salt Lake County. Nine of their thirteen children survived.

15. Beus, Philippe, 28, married Marthe Marie Tourn, 22,

4. Beus, Michael, 26, married Marianne Combe, 23, on Nov. 14, 1836. Eight of their eleven children survived and settled in Northern Utah where most engaged in farming, dairy work and stock raising.

5. Beus, Anne, 19, became the second plural wife of Moses Byrne, 37, on Dec. 10, 1857. Byrne was a farmer in Slaterville and Ogden. All seven of their children survived.

6. Beus, James, 27, married Clarinda Cynthia Hill, 19, on Oct. 19, 1867. James was a farmer and stockraiser in Ogden and Hooper. Four of his children died as infants. Six survived.

7. Beus, John, 29, married Margaret Justet, 26, on Sept. 28, 1874. John engaged in farming and stock raising in Ogden, Paradise and Logan in Cache County and in Hooper. All six children survived.

8. Beus, Louis Phillip, 27, married Mary Terry, 13, on Nov. 8, 1876. Twelve of his thirteen children survived. Beus farmed in Ogden and in Soda Springs, Caribou County, Idaho.

9. Beus, Magdalena, 17, became the second plural wife of Jean Paul Cardon on Dec. 19, 1870. Cardon was a farmer and stock raiser in Logan and Richmond, Cache County. Eight of their nine children survived. (See 17).

10. Beus, Mary, 25, married Edward Priest, 22, on March 12, 1876. Priest engaged in farming in northern Utah and Idaho. Eight of their nine children survived. She bore no children. Finally Barthelmy took Ella
11. Beus, Michael, 35, married Elizabeth Harriett Lathrop, 25, on Sept. 24, 1879. Michael farmed in Ogden. He had three children. Cardon and his families lived in Ogden, Idaho and Logan. The 1880 Census lists his
12. Beus, Paul, 36, married Catherine Combe, 19, on November 8, 1883. Paul also farmed in Ogden. All seven of his children survived. Adeline Malan, 21, emigrated to Utah in 1856. This couple raised four
13. Bonnett, John James, 25, married Ann Hughes, 20, in June, 1860. Eight of their eleven children survived. Bonnett farmed and homesteaded in Provo. Well educated, he spoke Latin, German, Italian, French, and Spanish, and acted as an interpreter all over Utah County for friends, neighbors, at business transactions and for court trials. They were divorced a little over a year later, June 28,
14. Bodrero, Dominico, 40, married Henriette Chatelain, 41, on Oct. 17, 1868. They had no children. Bodrero may have lived in Logan. (See 22).
15. Cardon, Philippe, 20, married Marthe Marie Tourn, 22, on Feb. 1, 1821 and Jeanne Marie Gaudin Stalle, 52, at the age of 62, on March 21, 1863. Cardon farmed in Ogden and Logan. He served as the first city treasurer and first policeman in Logan. She bore six children, one stillborn. (See 37).
16. Cardon, Catherine, 25, married Moses Byrne, 34, on Nov. 5, 1854. Catherine bore thirteen children; two did not reach adulthood. Byrne farmed in Ogden, Muddy River and in Piedmont, Wyoming. Dalton farmed in Virginia, Washington Co., Utah.
17. Cardon, John Paul, 16, married Susanne Goudin, 24, on March 15, 1857, and Magdalena Beus, 17 on Dec. 19, 1870, at the age of 31. He farmed in Ogden and Logan. His two Waldensian wives bore a total of twenty children. (See 9 and 28).
18. Cardon, Louis Philippe, 25, married Suzette Stalle, 20, in 1857, and Sarah Ann Wellborn as a second plural wife. Louis Philippe was a farmer in Ogden, Logan and Oxford, Onida County, Utah. The families moved to Mexico during the polygamy raids of the 1880s. Apparently, Sarah had no children, Suzette had five. (See 60).
19. Cardon, Marie Madeleine, 20, married Charles Guild, 28, on February 19, 1854. Guild was a weaver, merchant and rancher in Ogden, Lehi, and Piedmont, Uinta County, Wyoming. The couple had eleven children. Two died in infancy. Cardon children remained

20. **Cardon, Thomas Barthelemy**, married Lucy Smith at age 29. Apparently, no children were born to them. Cardon then wed Amelia Bolette Jensen at age 42. She bore no children. Finally Barthelemy took Ella Clarinda Hinckley, 18, as a third plural wife on June 24, 1885, a year after his marriage to Amelia. She bore him five children. Cardon and his families lived in Oneida, Idaho and Logan. The 1880 Census lists his vocation as "watch maker."
21. **Chatelain, Peter**, 32, married **Madelaina Malan**, 21, en route to Utah in 1856. This couple raised four children to adulthood. One died in infancy. Chatelain married Alice Johns after the death of Madelaina. They had no children. Peter was a farmer and laborer in Ogden.
22. **Chatelain, Henriette**, 30, became the third plural wife of Charles Holling Rammell, 31, Feb. 20, 1857. They were divorced a little over a year later, June 28, 1858. She may have been married to a Temple before her marriage to Dominico Bodrero in 1868. She had no children. (See 14).
23. **Chatelain, Lydia**, married David Roman. They had no children. (See 52).
24. **Chatelain, Marie Louise**, 31, became a plural wife of John Daniel Malan on January 11, 1861. She bore six children, one stillborn. (See 37).
25. **Gardiol, Marianne Catherine**, 22, became the fifth plural wife of John Dalton Jr., 56, on Feb. 1, 1857. She bore seven children; two died in infancy. Dalton farmed in Virgin, Washington Co., Utah.
26. **Gaydou, Julia (Barker)**, 16, married John Shaw, 19, on October 18, 1869. Shaw was an Ogden farmer and trader. They had five children.
27. **Gaydou, Mary Catherine Malan**, divorced Anthony Gaydou in Philadelphia enroute to Utah. She married James Barker, 36, on June 6, 1856 at the age of 26. They had five children. Barker was a farmer in Ogden.
28. **Goudin, Susanne**, 24, married John Paul Cardon, 16, in 1857. Nine of her eleven children survived infancy. (See 17).
29. **Justet, Daniel**, 18, married **Jeanne Rostan**, 19 on May 11, 1836. Justet was a stone mason. They had ten children, three dying before the family left Italy. They settled in southern Utah. Census records of 1880 indicate that Justet and his married children remained

in Escalante area of Iron County, where they were all engaged in farming or worked as laborers.

30. **Justet, Antonett**, 29, became the second plural wife of Edmund Weeks Davis, 47, on May 10, 1870. Antonett had six children.
31. **Justet, Catherine**, 18, became a plural wife of David Stevenson, 47, on July 10, 1876. She had nine children, two dying in infancy.
32. **Justet, Daniel**, 30, married Nellie Leithead, 26, on Jan. 6, 1870. They had nine children, two dying in infancy.
33. **Justet, Madeline**, 19, married John Eaton, 45, in January, 1865. They had four children. One died in infancy.
34. **Justet, Marguerite**, 22, became a plural wife of Thomas Smart, 47, about 1870. Smart was a brickmaker, cattleman and farmer. They had one daughter.
35. **Justet, Marie**, 23, married Christian Mooseman, 27, on October 18, 1861. He was a farmer. They had ten children, of whom two died young.
36. **Lazear, John**, 26, married Margaret Stark, 16, on October 9, 1873. They had ten children. Two died in infancy. Lazear worked on the temple in St. George and pioneered (farming and raising cattle) in the Arizona Territory.
37. **Malan, John Daniel**, 21, married **Pauline Combe**, 20, on April 28, 1825. He took Mary Louise Chatelain, 31, as a second plural wife in 1861 at the age of 57. Malan farmed in Ogden. Malan and Combe had nine children of which seven survived. (See 25).
38. **Malan, Bartholomew**, 23, married Louisa Mariah Hatch, 15, on October 10, 1871. The couple had sixteen children, four dying in infancy. Malan was a builder, laborer and mechanic.
39. **Malan, Emily Pauline**, 18, married Isaac Robeson Farley, 21, in polygamy on March 11, 1858. They had three children together between 1859 and 1862. The Malan family reported that Emily Pauline was approached by Myron Abbott with a proposal claiming that he could take better care of her than Farley. Subsequently she divorced Farley in 1869. She was sealed to Abbott at about age 31. A daughter was born of that union after which the couple divorced. Emily Pauline was then resealed to Farley in 1878 at the age

- of 39. Farley married Martha Cole in polygamy sometime during that period, for he was convicted of unlawful co-habitation and served a six months sentence at the State Penitentiary from Nov. 9, 1887 to May 9, 1888. He was the only polygamist associated with the Waldensian community to be convicted and sentenced. Evidently Cole divorced him after the birth of their son. It appears that because of Farley's conviction, he and Emily Pauline did not live together in later years. (See 42).
40. Malan, Jeanne Dina, married William Edson Hatch. The Census of 1860 indicates that the couple had five children and that Hatch was a farm laborer in Moroni, Sanpete County.
41. Malan, John Daniel Jr., 27, married Elizabeth Ann Cole, 15, on Dec. 10, 1859. They had six children, two dying in infancy. John Daniel was a farmer in Ogden.
42. Malan, Madeleine, 18, married Isaac Robeson Farley, 21, in 1858. Madeleine bore Farley eight children, one dying in infancy. Farley was a farmer in Ogden. (See 39)
43. Malan, Stephen, 34, married Sarah Chesnut, 24, on Dec. 29, 1869. She bore five children, two dying in infancy. Upon Sarah's death, Malan married Martha Ann Andrews on Dec. 17, 1889. Malan and Martha Ann had no children. The Census of 1870 lists Malan as a brickmaker in Ogden.
44. Pons, Barthelemy, 24, married Mary Anne Lantaret, 17, on Nov. 7, 1822. Of twelve children, five died in infancy, five emigrated to Utah. Two remained in Italy. Widow Pons never remarried.
45. Pons, David, married Phoebe Zabriskie. They were divorced and he then married Ester Culter Rice. David was a farmer in Box Elder.
46. Pons, Emma, 17, married Edaly Foster Hampton, 24, on Nov. 11, 1864. They had three sons. Hampton's occupation is listed in the 1880 Census as "lime burner." The family lived in Ogden.
47. Pons, Jean Daniel, married Mary Ann Stowe. Pons is listed on the 1870 Census as a lime burner living in Ogden. Census records indicated Pons had six children.
48. Pons, Lydia, 19, became the third plural wife of Winthrop Farley, 26, on March 24, 1857. Winthrop

Farley was a farmer and blacksmith in Ogden. Of thirteen children, two died in infancy.

- 49. Pons, Mary Ann, 24, married Joseph Mormon Harris, 25, on Feb. 18, 1855. Of ten children, eight reached adulthood. Harris was a rancher. The 1870 census lists him as an Ogden farmer.
- 50. Rivoir, Jacob, 41, married Catherine Young, 19, July 22, 1872. They had one child. Rivoir was a farmer in West Jordan and Provo.
- 51. Roshon, Michael, 44, married Susanne Robert, 25, on Feb. 29, 1844. They had four children. Only one reached maturity. He was:
- 52. Roshon, John James, (later Jean Jacque Robert) who married Louise Long. After her death he married Susanne Bert, 30, at the age of 47. They had two sons. Robert was a farmer in Provo.
- 53. Rostan, Jean Michael, 25, married Marthe Avondet, 17, on Jan. 21, 1847. They were the parents of six children, four survived. They spent their lives farming in Ogden. The Census of 1880 indicates that Rostan was disabled.
- 54. Roman, Charles David, 40, married widow Susanne Roshon, 39, in 1858. Susanne bore a daughter after which they divorced. A few months later Roman married Lydia Chatelain. He was a farmer in Ogden. Later he conducted business in Ogden and Provo.
- 55. Roman, Daniel, 29, married Gertrude Ter Bruggen, 21, on July 22, 1880. Six of their seven children survived. He farmed, had a small vineyard and loaned money in Ogden.
- 56. Stalle, Jean-Pierre, 33, married Jeanne Marie Gaudin, 26, about 1836. They had four children all of whom emigrated. Widow Stalle then married Philippe Cardon in Logan. They had no children together. (See 15)
- 57. Stalle, Daniel, 26, married Anna Christina Christensen, 16, about 1864. He was a farmer in Logan and later in Hyrum. They had ten children, two dying in infancy.
- 58. Stalle, Marguerite, 17, married Henry Barker, 27, Nov., 30, 1867. Barker was a farmer and gardener in North Ogden. He and Marguerite had ten children. Seven reached adulthood.

59. **Stalle, Marie, 22**, became the second plural wife of Elihu Warren, 34, April 5, 1862. Warren was a farmer in North Ogden. She bore thirteen children. Eleven reached adulthood.

APPENDIX D

60. **Stalle, Susanne, 20** became the first plural wife of Louis Philippe Cardon, 25, in 1857. She bore five children, one dying in infancy. Cardon farmed in Ogden, Logan, Oxford, Mexico, and later settled in Arizona. (See 18).

October 4, 1985

Dear Madam:

I thank you very much for your amiable letter, and regret not having answered your question exactly.

The subject of the apostolic descent of the Vaudois movement is very ancient and goes back to the Middle Ages, where the preachers of that era affirmed by demonstrating that they were not heretics, but that their message was derived from that of the Apostles.

More recent and profound studies indicate that the movement itself came from or originated with Waldo of Lyon. It is not possible therefore, to affirm or state positively, that the Vaudois authority descended directly from the Apostles, but it remains evident that their preaching was supported directly by the Bible, and could be considered as an extension of the preachings or teachings of the Apostles.

I hope that I have answered your question, and I am happy to think that you have felt again a link with your Vaudois origins.

Please accept, dear Madam, my sincere best wishes.

President

/s/ G. Tourn

Pasteur Giorgio Tourn

(Translated from French by Melba F. Hacking, reviewed and approved by Dr. John A. & Michelle Green.)

APPENDIX D

LETTER TO DIANE STOKOE FROM GIORGIO TOURN

October 4, 1985

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Please accept, dear Madam, my sincere best wishes.

President

/s/ G. Tourn

Pasteur Giorgio Tourn

(Translated from French by Melda F. Hacking, reviewed and approved by Dr. John A. & Michelle Green.)

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COMMITTEE APPROVAL:

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THE MORMON WALDENSIANS

Diane Stokoe

Department of History

M A. Degree, December 1985

ABSTRACT

The Waldensians are ancient Protestant Sectarians who have inhabited the Piedmont Region of the Cottian Alps for centuries. They claim to be the oldest Protestant Church in the world. Having survived 700 years of persecution, the Waldensians finally achieved religious liberty in 1848. Two years later Mormon church leader Lorenzo Snow and some other Elders entered the Protestant valleys on a proselyting mission for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. One hundred-eighty-seven Waldensians were converted to Mormonism. Twenty years later, one-third of these Mormon Waldensians had been excommunicated, one-third had emigrated to Utah and one-third became inactive or returned to their former faith. This study focuses on the seventy-two converts (primarily members of twelve families) who converted, immigrated and settled in the Mormon Colonies in Utah. Church and civil records, life sketches, diaries, journals and letters were used in this project. The study concludes with an analysis of the contributions of Mormon Waldensians to the L.D.S. church and the American West.

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