

CHAPTER 3

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

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 Bertoch (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 Gaydou, her two-year-old daughter, Julia 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, stones mortar and slate rock 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.

His daughter, Madeleine Malan, identified the route taken by all the Waldensian emigrants as they left their homeland:

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 great 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 eventually 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 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 gentile men that could have turned out very 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 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 firearms 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. 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. Harrper 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 oftimes 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. **38**

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:

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 stopped to camp, and she went again to see him, he was dead. **42**

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 someday 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, 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. **49**

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**

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. 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 ever 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 daughter Catherine. 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 one.)
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. x1.