

## CHAPTER 2

### ***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; 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 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. 7

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.<sup>8</sup> 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.

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 covenant 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. **9**

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 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**  
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. 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. Evidently 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 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 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

1. Guild, *Autobiography*, p. 2.
2. *Ibid*, p. 3.
3. Richards, *Scriptural Allegory*, p. 52.

4. Millennial Star, Feb. 15, 1852, No 4, Vol. X1V, 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 what she described as 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, 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 10, 1891 and May 2, 1892.) In possession of Eva Farley Clayton.

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.

