

CHAPTER 4

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. **1**

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. **8**

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 Capius, 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 Isacc'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 the Appendix at the end of this chapter for additional information and a 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 the Waldensians 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 miles north of 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 steers to Logan and had quite a [difficult] time. **39**

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**

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.

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.

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 Waldenses 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.

DATA

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.
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.
11. Beus, Michael, 35, married Elizabeth Harriett Lathrop, 25, on Sept. 24, 1879. Michael farmed in Ogden. He had three children.
12. Beus, Paul, 36, married Catherine Combe, 19, on November 8, 1883. Paul also farmed in Ogden. All seven of his children survived.
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.

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.
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.
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.
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. 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 to prison. 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.

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).