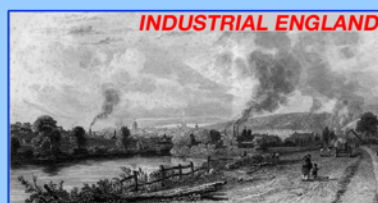


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**The Lives and Times of Our LDS/RLDS Ancestors
by Greg Evans**

**HIS
TRUTH
IS
MARCHING
ON**

The Lives and Times of Our LDS/RLDS Ancestors

Gregory Walter Evans
November 2015

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First Edition
November 2015
Printed in Los Altos, California

For Nancy

*Mine eyes have seen the glory
Of the coming of the Lord;*

*He is trampling out the vintage
Where the grapes of wrath are stored;*

*He hath loosed the fateful lightning
Of His terrible swift sword:*

His truth is marching on.

Julia Ward Howe, 1861
The Battle Hymn of the Republic

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2014 Evans Family Reunion

Back: D.J., Jack, Mack, David Jr., Gary, Joe, Sallie, Jonathan, Shan, Dick, Don, Tripp, Donnie, Waren, Tim Sarah, Jackie, Sam, Cynthia, Bethany, Crew, M.A., David E., Harriet, Makenzie, Sarah, Susie, Suzy, Carol Dan, Nancy, Peggy, Charley, Claire, Reid, Kym, Claire, Hope, Lisa, Evan, Steve, Greg
Front: Kate, Mitchell, Blake, Kyle, Emily, Tara, Brody

Not pictured: George, Tom, Bruce, Sheryl

Absent: John, Shaun, Kara, Aaron, Sophia, Bella, Randy, Glenn, Jennifer



1945 Evans Family Reunion

Sam, Walter, J.Cedric, Alice, Sybil

Figure 1 1945 and 2014 Evans Family Reunions

Author's Preface

In June 2014, at Dan and Nancy Littrell's Lake Tahoe home, thirty-six descendants of Gomer and Sybilia Evans gathered for our seventh family reunion. In attendance were eight grandchildren, 12 great-grandchildren, 16 great-great-grandchildren, and 15 spouses from eight states: California, Texas, Missouri, Florida, Colorado, Virginia, New York, and Illinois. Since 1981, when Sam and Betty Evans hosted our families at Lake Travis, Texas, a generation has passed and a new one has been born.

Toward the end of the reunion, Dick asked me if I could explain why our family seeks to stay connected. Before I answered, I observed our cousins around us: Gary's focus, engaging 12-year-old David in chess; Don's thoughtfulness, collecting our favorite flavors in preparation for a major ice cream purchase; Joe's careful planning, setting up for the evening's entertainment—family movies; and Bruce's animated spirit, voicing his points of view. Our ancestors would feel right at home, I thought. Since our reunion, I have identified many more interests our 21st century family members share with our 19th century ancestors—spirituality, patriotism, music, scholarship, tennis, theater, engineering, and medicine. So, Dick, "It's genetic."

Our Burgess ancestors have a long history of staying connected—celebrating joyous occasions and supporting family members through hard times. In 1845, exactly one hundred Christmases before Gomer and Sybilia's four children's families gathered in St. Louis, her paternal grandfather, Peter Burgess, celebrated Christmas with three siblings—Samuel, James, and Rachel. Unlike the 1945 St. Louis reunion, no photos preserve a record of it, but, thanks to James's journal, it can be re-imagined taking place at Peter's sister Rachel Colemere's home in Nauvoo, Illinois. George and Rachel, with their 15-week-old daughter, hosted Samuel and Elizabeth Burgess, with their 11-year-old daughter; James and Lydia Burgess, with their newborn son; and Peter Burgess, with his 3-year-old daughter. (Peter's wife, Ann, had died in August.) Eight months later, these same four Burgess siblings gathered at Rachel's temporary home in Fort Madison, Iowa, to support each other's recoveries from illnesses.

Years ago, David Hallock, Sr. wrote *A Narrative of the Family History of Sybilia Burgess Evans*. (We better knew Sybilia by David's name for her, *Geemah*—pronounced with a hard "G") He drew upon her father and grandfather's journals, her files of family letters, and her niece Eveline's notes. Beginning in 2011, I picked up where David left off—visiting St. Louis libraries and cemeteries, Nauvoo's Land and Records Office, the Community of Christ Church's Archives in Independence, Missouri, and our ancestors' birthplaces in Great Britain, discovering, in the process, priceless journals and letters, an autobiography, several biographies, overland and ship diaries, church minutes, church membership rolls, and newspaper accounts.

Patient persistence and helpful advice has been key to my successes. Serendipity has struck on occasion when two lines of exploration magically intersected. An example

serves to illustrate my point. When Internet searches yielded an excerpt from James Burgess's diary, I asked the director of a Family History Center where I might find the rest of it. He suggested I check out BYU's online archives. There I found, digitally scanned, the *entire* journal. One page that got my attention was one with a handwritten poem. Who was its author? I wondered. An Internet search led me to a William Clayton. Why would James include this poem in his journal? More searching led to the discovery that Clayton, too, kept a journal. Moreover, a transcription of it is contained in a book, *Manchester Mormons*. I ordered a copy from *Amazon*. In it I found 19 entries documenting Clayton's visits to "Bro. Burgess" and his sick wife Elizabeth, proving that Samuel was, by January 1840, already a Latter-day Saint. My initial search for James's journal had yielded two—both his *and* Clayton's journals, an excellent reference book, *Manchester Mormons*, and a potentially significant link between a very prominent early Mormon, William Clayton, and the Burgess family.

In a second exploration, in March 2014, I spent three days at the Community of Christ Church Archives in Independence, Missouri. There, I found a copy of Sam and Elizabeth's 1832 wedding license. It listed her maiden name as Elizabeth *Clayton*. Might Elizabeth and William Clayton have been related, I wondered? I knew, from my 2012 visit to her St. Louis gravesite, that Elizabeth Burgess was born in January (or June) 1811. After I returned home, I searched on-line for an 1811 parish baptism record. Nothing. However, I did find a June 1811 baptism record for a Betty Wignel, the *out-of-wedlock* daughter of Mary Wignel and Thomas Clayton of Penwortham.

I knew, from *Manchester Mormons*, that William Clayton, born in 1814, was the first child of Thomas and Ann Clayton of Penwortham. These facts were consistent with a possible scenario: Betty Wignel was taken in by Thomas and Ann Clayton, became Elizabeth (Betty) Clayton, and married Samuel in 1832. William Clayton may have met Sam through their mutual bonds with Elizabeth Clayton Burgess. In any event, I learned that Sam was the first Burgess sibling to become a Saint—*itself*, a success.

I continue to discover new sources. As recently as October 2015, I received a biography of John and Sarah Knowles (Gomer's maternal great-grandparents) from Geoff Smith, a recently discovered fourth cousin. However, as David McCullough, a modern master of historical non-fiction, told an interviewer, "There's an awful temptation to just keep on researching. There comes a point where you just have to stop, and start writing." Last March, I suspended research and began writing, in order to share with you what I have learned about our Latter-day Saint ancestors.

In July 1837, the first seven Latter-day Saints arrived in England. These men considered themselves foot soldiers for Christ—delivering a restored Gospel divinely revealed to a Joseph Smith Jr., their modern day prophet. As their horse-drawn coach carried them from Liverpool to Preston, they spotted a banner with the words *The Truth Will Prevail*. The banner was on display because it happened to be an election day in Preston. Elder Heber Kimball exclaimed, "Amen, so let it be!" Within the next few years, Gomer and Sybil's eight grandparents (and three great-grandparents)

became Latter-day Saints in Great Britain, before departing, between 1842 and 1856, from Liverpool, England, on chartered sailing ships.

Has truth prevailed? Family member responses to “mental portrait” questionnaires, first filled out in 1897, show that a “high regard for truth” is a value shared across six generations. Asked to identify the most desirable and least desirable personality characteristic, the most common answer was either *Truthfulness/Untruthfulness* or *Honesty/Dishonesty*.

Generation 0: Eveline Allen Burgess (1930)

Generation 1: Florence Burgess (1897) and Arthur Burgess (1901)

Generation 2: Alice, J. Cedric, Samuel, and Walter Evans (1930)

Generation 3: Barbara Hallock (1962); Dick, Joe, Don, and Greg Evans (2014)

Generation 4: Suzanne Evans (2014)

Generation 5: Emily Moon and Makenzie Moon (2014)

His Truth Is *Marching* On

On June 7, 2015, as I listened to my church’s Oratorio Society sing Julia Ward Howe’s *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*, I had an epiphany—the hymn’s final five words — *His truth is marching on*—are an appropriate title for this book. [The “*Our*” in the subtitle, *The Lives and Times of Our LDS* (Latter-day Saints)/*RLDS* (Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints) *Ancestors*, refers to descendants of Gomer and Sybil.] Howe’s lyrics call upon us to view ourselves as foot soldiers for Christ under the banner of *truth*. When our Mormon ancestors faced persecution from their enemies, two joined the Nauvoo militia and served as real, not metaphorical, foot soldiers. After Brigham Young declared, “This is the right place!” in the Utah desert, several of our ancestors were among thousands of Saint who marched 1000 miles to get there.

Our family loves music that elevates our spirits. Three of my father’s favorite pieces were *Hallelujah Chorus* from Handel’s *Messiah*, *The Stars and Stripes Forever*, and *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*. His Mormon forebearers believed the angel Moroni led Joseph Smith Jr. to buried golden plates that became the basis for the *Book of Mormon*. Neither he nor I accepted their beliefs, but both he and I have been profoundly moved by the Mormon Tabernacle Choir’s 1959 Grammy-winning rendition of *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*. The men’s voices create a dramatic, pulsating drumbeat — *Truth is marching. Truth is marching. Truth is marching. Truth is marching*—as the women’s voices soar above them singing the second verse. All voices unite for the hymn’s jubilant finale: *Glory, Glory Hallelujah! His truth is marching on. Amen! Amen!*

Gregory Walter Evans
Los Altos, California
1 November 2015



A Centennial Toast in England

Nancy Arline Evans Littrell and Greg Evans

10 September 2012

In celebration of the wedding in St. Louis

10 September 1912

Gomer Louis Evans and Sybilia Burgess

Acknowledgments

Historical non-fiction and biography are among my favorite genres in literature. We are lucky to live in a time in which true masters of the art form are alive—Doris Kearns Goodwin, Ron Chernow, Robert Caro, Walter Isaacson, Joseph Ellis, and, my personal favorite, David McCullough. Writing a book in a genre these historians and writers have perfected leaves me in awe of their accomplishments.

Of writing, McCullough said, “Writing isn’t easy. In fact, it can be painfully difficult. Why? Because it’s thinking, but on paper. To write well is to think clearly. That’s why it’s so hard.” His other advice was “Just do it.” Well, I’ve now done it. It was a significant time commitment; I thank my wife, Carol, for her forbearance.

I am grateful to the 19th century journal-keepers whose first-person accounts bring history to life. Without their words this book would be at best a connect-the-dots chronology of sterile facts without stories. Their names appear in the bibliography.

Just as important are archivists and genealogists, without whom the diaries would be lost to history. Three such folk whose names do not appear in the bibliography, but whose help has been invaluable to me are: David Ellison, director of the Family History Center in Menlo Park, Calif.; Barbara J. Bernauer, Archival Assistant, at the Community of Christ Church in Independence, Mo.; and my cousin-in-law, Sallie “Super-Sleuth” Stuart. They encouraged and guided me in researching this book.

I am grateful to relatives who saved family artifacts, including Samuel Allen Burgess, Eveline Alice Burgess, David Hallock, and Nancy Littrell. I extend thanks to my friend Mike Davis, Barbara J. Bernauer, my brother Randy Evans, and my daughter, Suzy Evans. They reviewed, commented, and/or corrected errors in a draft manuscripts.

Were a vote taken among my relatives for “keeper of the family flame,” the winner without question would be my sister Nancy. I may have explored our family further back in time, but she led the way. Especially memorable for both of us was a wild 2012 week we traveled together in Great Britain. Nancy gamely gripped whatever she could reach while I drove our Avis rental car clockwise around hundreds of cringe-inducing roundabouts to get to 12 churches in 12 ancestral towns—Bury, Lower Tottington, Eccles, Barton-Upon-Irwell, Warrington, Liverpool, Preston, Manchester, Barnsley, Holbeach, Whaplode Washway, and Merthyr Tydfil. We paused in the Cotswolds on September 10 for a celebratory “toast” to our father’s parents on what would have been their 100th wedding anniversary.

I now offer a new toast: “To you, Nancy, keeper of the family flame, I dedicate this book to you. Thanks for your loving support, your enthusiasm, and, in truth, just being you.”

In Memoriam

Daniel Evans (1831 – 1917)

Gwenllian Williams (1821 – 1904)

Joseph Knowles (1815 – 1880)

Elizabeth Creer (1819 – 1860)

Peter Burgess (1815 – 1865)

Mary Alice Rostron (1821 – 1903)

James X Allen (1830 – 1911)

Elizabeth Pidd (1832 – 1918)

Gomer Dan Evans (1859 – 1897)

Sarah Ellen Knowles (1855 – 1928)

Samuel Rostron Burgess (1851 – 1918)

Eveline Allen (1856 – 1936)

Gomer Louis Evans (1885 – 1934)

Sybilia Burgess (1888 – 1968)

Alice Evans Hallock (1913 – 1999)

Joseph Cedric Evans (1915 – 1993)

Samuel Rostron Evans (1918 – 2006)

Walter Richard Evans (1920 – 1999)

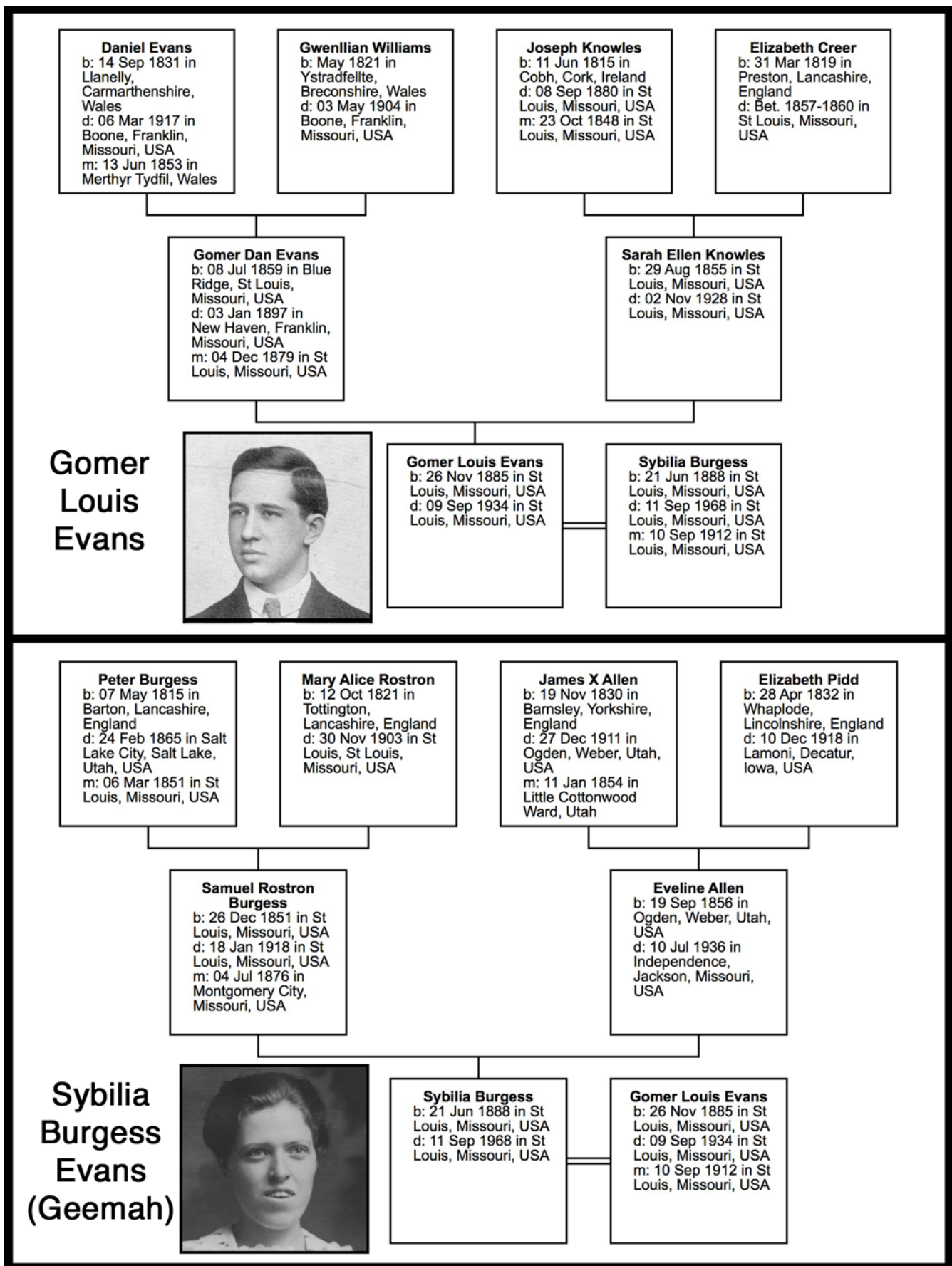


Figure 2 Gomer Evans and Sybilia Burgess Family Trees

Introduction

At 2:30 a.m., Wednesday, the 18th of February 1856, the steamer *Constitution* towed the heavily laden, 1363-ton sailing ship, *Caravan*, away from Liverpool's Mersey Dock, toward the Atlantic Ocean. Under the command of Captain William Sands, the ship set sail for New York. At 8:00 a.m. some of the passengers gathered on deck to sing *Yes, My Native Land*—their Welsh voices building to its final verse:

*Bear me on, thou restless ocean, Let the winds my canvas swell—
Heaves my heart with warm emotion, While I go far hence to dwell!
Glad I bid thee, Glad I bid thee, Native land, Farewell! Farewell!*

Among the 457 passengers were Gomer Evans's paternal grandparents: 24-year-old Daniel and 34-year-old Gwenllian Evans. Sybilia Burgess Evans's four grandparents and Gomer Evans's two maternal grandparents had already emigrated. Each had conferred a final farewell to family members, walked up a Mersey dock gangway, and boarded a ship set to sail from Liverpool for the New World.

Every stage of the trip from England to St. Louis was fraught with risks: storms in the Atlantic Ocean, shallow shoals in the Caribbean Sea, malaria and cholera on the Mississippi River, derailments on early railroads. The *Caravan* faced an additional threat—icebergs. In the 19th century, only 16 sailing ships are confirmed to have sunk after hitting an iceberg. Two collisions—in fact, the two that suffered the greatest loss of life— occurred in the winter of 1856 on the Liverpool to New York route. The *Caravan* sailed that very route within weeks of these two ill-fated ships. Its crew even spotted an iceberg. Moreover, the ship encountered a storm so severe that Captain Sands ordered all passengers to remain below decks for three days.

The *Caravan* was not the only ship to carry a grandparent of Gomer or Sybilia to have a close call at sea. High winds broke three main topmasts of *Golconda* on which James Allen and Betsey Pidd sailed in 1853. During a nighttime storm, in which only lightning illuminated the shoals, Mary Rostron's ship narrowly averted striking rocks near Cuba. Although all eight grandparents survived their ocean crossing, they did not all survive unscathed. Several soon lost loved ones to disease or in accidents. Within four months of the *Walpole's* 1845 arrival in New Orleans, Peter Burgess lost his wife and his 7-month-old son—both victims, perhaps, of malaria.

Why did they leave the safety of their homeland and make such perilous journeys? Possible answers to that question are explored in *His Truth Is Marching On*. It tells the stories of eight ancestral families against a backdrop of two historical events: The Industrial Revolution in Britain and the rise of the Mormon Church in America.

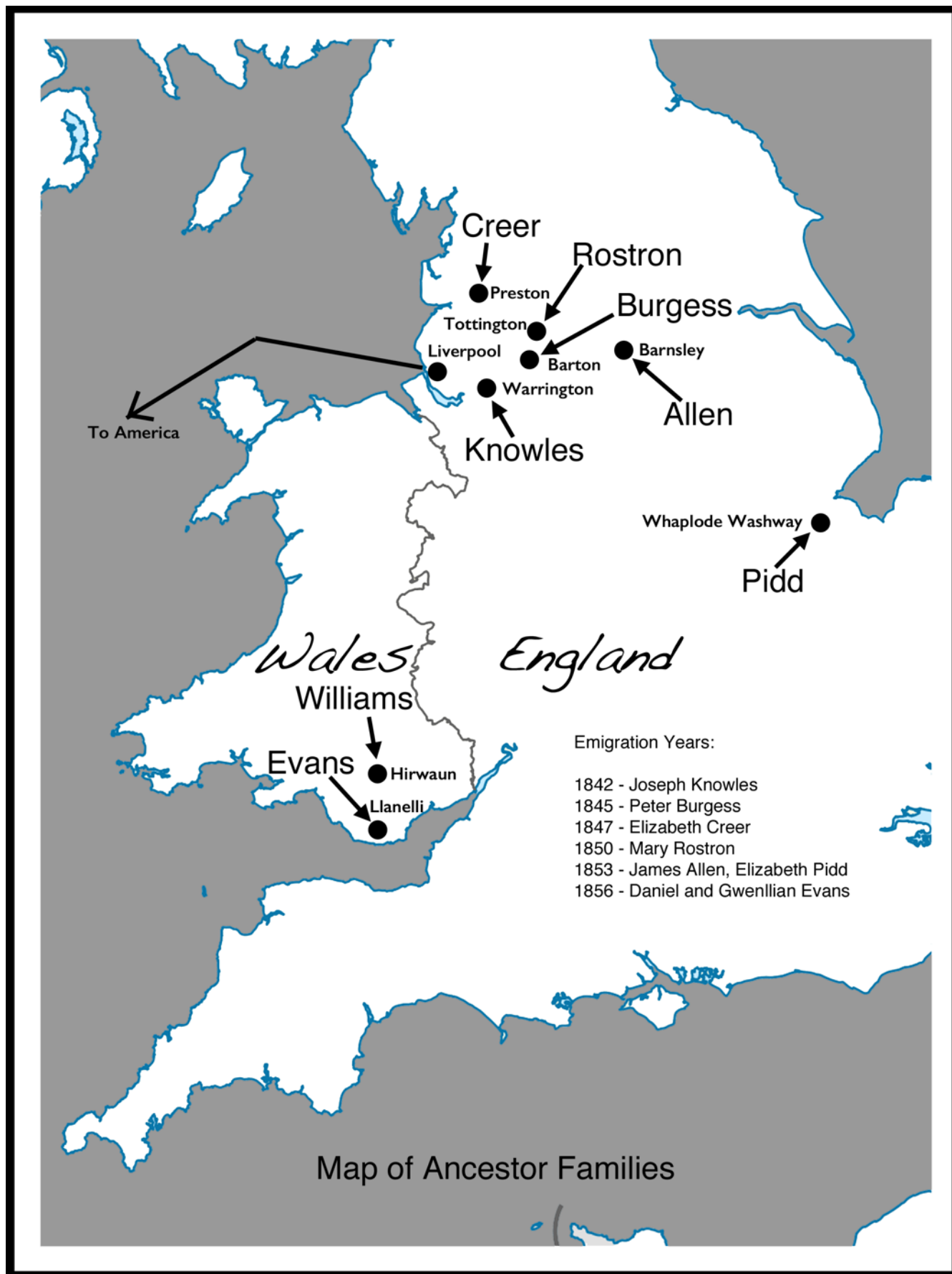


Figure 3 Map of Ancestor Birthplaces

The prologue summarizes the history of the religious movement started by Joseph Smith Jr. from which emerged two organizations: the *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (i.e., the Mormon Church), headquartered in Salt Lake City, Utah, and the *Community of Christ* Church, headquartered in Independence, Missouri. (Note: The author is responsible for the summary. The reader will understand that researchers differ in their interpretation of LDS/RLDS historical and theological information.)

Part I through Part IV describe the lives and times of Gomer and Sybilia Evans's eight grandparents through the mid-1860's, when representatives of the RLDS Church came to St. Louis. The four parts are in order of *grandfather* emigrations. This order supported the most natural sequence of eight, unique narratives that played out within a commonly experienced time period. (See Figure 19 for a timeline, from 1837 to 1872, with annotated family and historical milestones.)

Part I Joseph Knowles and Elizabeth Creer Gomer's maternal grandparents

The Knowles and Creers: two large households with a lot in common—working class families employed in cotton mills. In 1837 each household had seven children living in Preston, England. In 1847, 34-year-old Edward Creer and 32-year-old Joseph Knowles worked in the St. Louis clay mines. Elizabeth, one of Edward's sisters, married Joseph Knowles in 1848, less than a year after she arrived in St. Louis. Their decision to marry was based, in part, upon family ties.

Part II Peter Burgess and Mary Rostron Sybilia's paternal grandparents

The Burgesses and Rostrons: two large families from Lancashire, England. In 1850 Peter Burgess was an educated, 35-year-old widower working as a porter on the St. Louis waterfront, when 28-year-old Mary Rostron arrived, unaccompanied by any family member. He wanted a mother for his eight-year-old daughter; she wanted to marry before aging into spinsterhood. They were both businesslike people; their decision, to marry, in 1851, was a pragmatic one.

Part III James Allen and Elizabeth Pidd Sybilia's maternal grandparents

The Allens and Pidds: two small families from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, England, respectively. Neither James Allen nor Elizabeth Pidd knew their fathers; their mothers were widowed. James was an only child; Elizabeth had one close, older sister, Sarah. They met, in 1853, on an America-bound ship, where James fell in love with Betsey; they were married near Union, Utah, in January 1854. He loved her; she married him to avoid becoming a polygamist bishop's wife.

Part IV Daniel Evans and Gwenllian Williams Gomer's paternal grandparents

The Evanses and Williamses: two large families living in the same small village in South Wales in 1851. The Evans and Williams brothers were all miners. The seven Williams brothers had an older sister, Gwenllian, who had turned 30 years old. Daniel Evans, only 20 years old, in 1851, was probably a fellow miner of one of her younger brothers. Daniel and Gwenllian married in Wales in 1853; three years later, they immigrated to St. Louis. Theirs was the longest-lasting marriage—51 years.

Part V picks up the life stories where Parts I, II, III, IV leave off—in the middle 1860's. Following a history that leads up to the 1860 founding of the Reorganized Church (RLDS) in Plano, Illinois, it picks up the threads of the lives of Gomer and Sybilia's grandparents, describing their re-baptisms, by 1871, as members of this new church. Part V's second chapter is a historical highlights reel. It opens with a summary, beginning in 1872, of their grandparents' final years. It continues with ten short biographical sketches of their parents, themselves, and their four children.

The epilogue returns to the title's message, *His Truth Is Marching On*. In the epilogue, the author shares his personal perspectives. The United Church of Christ (UCC), of which the author is member, and the Community of Christ Church (formerly the RLDS Church), of which his ancestors were members, share a common article of faith, "God is still speaking."

The appendix contains a table of the number of descendants, by generation, of Gomer and Sybilia Evans's eight grandparents and their 17 siblings that emigrated with them. One finding: 2/3 of 1500 great-great-grandchildren were born in Utah.

Re-Imagined Events

"His Truth Is Marching On" contains a number of re-imagined events. They are displayed inside of outlined italicized text boxes like this one. These short, mostly fictionalized, accounts call attention to what were highly emotional moments in Gomer and Sybilia's grandparents' lives. For maximize impact, most of them appear at the beginning of the chapters in which the re-imagined events occurred. Hence, a text box that opens a chapter previews an event described later in the same chapter

The book's first and last re-imagined events occurred in the life of Gomer Evans's great-grandfather, John Knowles: his 1837 LDS baptism and his 1871 RLDS baptism, respectively. I knew nothing about John and Sarah Knowles when I began my research in 2011. Since then, I have learned that John fought Napoleon's army in Spain as a young man, that he struck a ship steward at sea as an old man, and that he was among the first fifty British citizens to become a Latter-day Saints. Moreover, he and his wife, Sarah, walked the entire 1000 mile Mormon trail three times—the third time, when they were in their early 70's, over snow-covered mountain passes. Their marriage endured 61 years! The opportunity to honor their memory by sharing their life stories with you is among my many joys in writing this book.

**HIS
TRUTH
IS
MARCHING
ON**

Prologue

In 1773, Jeremiah Moore was in trouble, having been thrown into a Virginia jail for the crime of “preaching without a license.”¹ Each American colony had its own official church that it supported with taxes. The governing elite considered anyone preaching an unauthorized religion to be a threat to the established social order. The Church of England was the official church in this Virginia colony; Jeremiah Moore was a Baptist. Undeterred, Moore, preaching through the bars of his jail cell to his empowered followers outside, sparked a revolution in Virginia.

In October 1776, Moore brought a petition with ten thousand names to the Virginia Assembly, demanding the right for Baptists to be free to worship without fear of persecution. Thomas Jefferson, a member of the assembly, received it. The ink had hardly dried on the *Declaration of Independence* when Jefferson joined forces with the Baptists—not because he shared their religious beliefs (which he did not), but because he supported their right to exercise those beliefs. “I couldn’t disagree with you more about the substance of all of this. But I will defend your right to say it.”

Intense opposition by Virginians, like Patrick Henry (better known for his defiant declaration, “*Give me liberty, or give me death*”), prevented passage of Jefferson’s bill for ten years, but in January 1786, Jefferson’s *Virginia Statute for religious freedom* passed. In 1791, during the first session of a United States Congress, the words “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof” were enshrined in our Constitution’s first amendment.

Freedom of religion led to freedom from religion for many as the country expanded into the frontier. Church attendance declined in the 1790’s. Many came to share the opinion that America was suffering a spiritual crisis. In August 1801, in Cane Ridge, Kentucky, thousands of people gathered in the wilderness for a “camp meeting.” Charismatic preachers held forth hoping to save souls. The magnitude of the emotional impact on those attending is difficult to capture in words, but suffice it to say that similar revivalist gatherings spread like wildfire across the frontier from New York to Georgia and from the Appalachians to the Mississippi River. Ten years after Cane Ridge, more than a million Americans had attended a revival meeting.

New denominations sprung up like weeds in this new religious “marketplace.” The most successful of them urged their followers to be born again in the spirit. Western New York had so many revivals it became known as the *Burned over District*.² Among those sampling the dozens of denominations with a goal of finding the one “true” church were Joseph Smith Sr., his wife, Emma, and their son, Joseph Jr.³

Joseph Sr. and Emma “tried on” different churches but were conflicted. Joseph Sr. was drawn to the Universalists; Emma preferred the Methodists. Young Joseph Jr. (he was only 15) was confused, but he prayed earnestly for some kind of resolution. One morning he reported to his parents that he had experienced a supernatural encounter. God had appeared to him in a vision, he explained, telling him *that none of their choices* represented His true church. Over time Joseph Smith Jr.’s account of this first vision grew, becoming more detailed and elaborate.

Several years later, Joseph Jr. reported having another vision. This time he reported that an angel named Moroni appeared to him and told him where to find buried golden plates on Cumorah Hill, a short way from his home in Palmyra, New York. Smith asserted that he found these golden plates, brought them to his home, and, with the help of his wife, translated their contents into a 600-page book that would become known as the *Book of Mormon*. The book described two tribes of Israel warring in America, one of them led by a general named Mormon. Jesus Christ returned to earth in America to bring about a peace. With this text, purported to be a second witness to Jesus Christ, Joseph founded a church and set out to establish a social, religious, and political community that operated according to his vision.

Two observations merit insertion at this juncture. First, it was a well-known magical practice in early 19th century America to search for buried treasure using what were called “seer stones.” Joseph Smith Jr. was reputed to be a successful practitioner. Second, it was the very existence of the *Book of Mormon* that conferred credibility on Joseph Smith Jr. among his followers; the substance of the book was secondary.

Joseph Jr. shared his experiences, what he termed *revelations*, with his family and friends, gradually spreading through a wider circle. Recruitment was typically by families rather than just individuals. His followers accepted him as modern prophet. From the very outset, skeptics labeled him as a fraud. They naturally demanded he produce the golden plates, but explained that he had returned the plates to the angel Moroni. Charges of fraud had a mixed impact on his followers. Some left him, but the allegiance of others strengthened. When two highly reputable preachers embraced Joseph Jr. as new prophet—adding their congregations, preaching gifts, organizing talents, and leadership skills—Smith’s movement got a much-needed boost.

By 1836 Joseph Jr. and his followers, derisively referred to as *Mormons* by their opponents, had moved to Kirtland, Ohio and were completing their first temple. The Mormons built a *temple* rather than a *church* because Joseph Jr. had organized his new religion as an extension of the Old Testament’s priesthood and its temple rites. It was in Kirtland that Joseph Jr. first used the term “Latter-day Saints” ⁴ to describe his followers, who by now viewed him as a prophet who had “restored” a gospel that had been lost. Many embraced millennialism; they waited for the day Jesus would return to call his Latter-day Saints home from earth to heaven.

When the nation’s economic bubble burst in 1837, the movement’s fragile finances collapsed. Joseph Smith Jr. found himself in debt to creditors without a means to pay

them off. He and his followers fled Kirtland and headed west to build a New Zion. Their destination was Jackson County, Missouri, at the edge of the frontier. His flight from Kirtland was a low point for Joseph Smith Jr., yet his confidence in his movement was undiminished.

Although he could not have known it in 1837, the salvation for his movement lay across the ocean in England. When one of his followers, Joseph Fielding, received an invitation to preach from his brother, the Rev. James Fielding of Vauxhall Road Chapel in Preston, Smith authorized two elders, Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde, to accompany Fielding to Preston, along with four other members. It would become known as the “first British Mission.” Between their arrival, in July 1837, and their return, in April 1838, Elders Kimball and Hyde baptized more than 1500 Saints, mostly working class young people who were the principal victims of the deplorable working conditions in Preston’s industrial-age mills. Most of the missionaries returned after only nine months, but other Mormons would return two years later.

Smith’s goal of establishing a New Zion in Jackson County met with intense opposition from local Missourians, forcing the Mormons to flee to Caldwell County, where they made plans to build a temple at Far West.⁵ However, they confronted harassment and persecution in Caldwell, too. Mormons were threatened next by an unlikely source—the Missouri governor. In October 1838, Gov. Lilburn Boggs issued an order unlike any issued in the United States before or since. It asserted Mormons had committed “open and avowed defiance of the laws” and had “made war upon the people of this State.” It directed that “Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the State if necessary for the public peace—their outrages are beyond all description.”⁶ (Note: Underlining added.)

Two days after the extermination order was issued, a militia of 55 men attacked 30 Mormon families living on the banks of Shoal Creek. Many escaped into the woods, but those who fled into a blacksmith shop at Haun’s Mill were cornered and shot. Seventeen Mormons died, including young children. No charges were ever brought.

Sympathetic to the Mormons’ predicament, the citizens of Illinois offered them sanctuary across the river in Quincy. The “Missouri Wars” would forever mark rural Missouri in the minds of Mormons as hostile territory. Years later, when Nauvoo’s citizens evacuated, fleeing westward, they stayed north of the Missouri-Iowa border.

Having arrived in Quincy, Joseph Smith Jr. needed a place for his growing following, now a few thousand strong, to settle, at least temporarily. He found what he was looking for on 18,000 acres near Commerce, on the eastern shore of the Mississippi River in Illinois. Founders of Commerce had chosen the site because it was the southern-most cattle fording location on the Mississippi River. (Cattle won’t swim.) Commerce itself occupied the high ground atop a bluff about a mile east of the river. A low-lying peninsula extended west from the bluff toward the river, much of it swampland. In 1839, after the Mormons purchased the land, Smith, viewing it from atop the bluff, named it *Nauvoo*, which he said meant *beautiful place* in Hebrew.

One of Joseph Jr.'s first actions was to call for all Latter-day Saints to gather in Nauvoo, which, at least temporarily, had replaced Jackson County as his "New Zion." Eager to populate it, Smith authorized a second British Mission, this one comprised of his senior leadership team—the Quorum of Twelve—including Elder Brigham Young. Their charge was to expand membership beyond Lancashire⁷ and develop and to execute an effective emigration strategy. After arriving, in April 1840, the missionaries succeeded, despite widespread charges of fraud. The Mormons' organizational skills, their hopeful message of a restored gospel, and their promise of better lives in a *New Zion* appealed to downtrodden workers. The first ship with Saints, *Britannia*, sailed in June 1840. Most of the missionaries left in April 1841.

The Nauvoo Mormons were an energetic, enterprising lot. They drained the swamps (mosquito-borne diseases would continue to plague them) and, on the bluffs above, began construction of a stone temple. The state of Illinois granted an extra-ordinary charter that elevated Nauvoo to the status of a city-state, i.e., they had autonomy to administer justice, to arm an independent militia, and to self-govern. Joseph Smith Jr. formed the Nauvoo militia, appointing himself its Commanding General.

The population of Nauvoo grew from a few thousand, in 1840, to more than 10,000 (rivaling Chicago), by 1844, with immigrants accounting for half of the total. Nauvoo got the attention of politicians; officials sought Joseph Smith Jr.'s endorsement. In 1844 he declared himself a candidate for President of the United States, an action that stoked fear among Nauvoo's neighbors that the Mormons were a real threat.

Joseph Smith Jr. was no stranger to controversy. That said, plural marriage would become the most controversial issue associated with the Mormons. Publically, Smith condemned polygamy as contrary to *Doctrines and Covenants*, his book of insights he said he had received through divine revelation. Privately, Joseph Smith Jr. married dozens of women. The exact number is irrelevant. However, what is relevant was his desire to restrict any knowledge of them to the Quorum of Twelve.

William Law, whose wife told him she had received a proposal of marriage from Smith, published on June 7, 1844, a newspaper called the *Nauvoo Expositor*, setting off a series of events that proved calamitous for Joseph Smith Jr. As its name suggests, the *Expositor's* objective was to expose Smith's plural marriages. On June 10, the building housing the printing presses burned to the ground. Joseph Smith Jr. and Hyrum Smith were charged with arson, arrested, and taken to a jailhouse in Carthage, Illinois. A mob attacked the jailhouse on June 27 and shot both brothers. Hyrum died instantly; Joseph Jr. fell from an upstairs window; he died the next day.

Citizens of Carthage feared attack by the Nauvoo militia in retribution for the assassinations, but none occurred. The Mormon leaders applied well-established processes to deal with the crisis. While it was not a pretty process (senior Saints vanquished by Brigham Young either quit or were ex-communicated), the most noteworthy aspect of the aftermath was *continuity*. Temple construction continued, a steady influx of English emigrants continued, and population growth continued.⁸

Events outside of Nauvoo, in the year after the assassinations, made clear its days were numbered. Opponents of the Mormons agitated for their expulsion from Illinois, vigilantes attacked homes in outlying areas, and politicians repealed Nauvoo's city-state charter. Diseases, especially malaria, would continue to claim the lives of hundreds of citizens annually; deaths peaked in the late summer months.

In the autumn of 1845, Brigham Young began planning a 1300-mile, westward migration to Mexican territory. The first hand-made rafts carrying wagons and oxen crossed the Mississippi River, in February 1846. By September 1846, most Mormons had left Nauvoo. Although the majority headed west with Brigham Young, others Saints rejected his leadership. Some settled in St. Louis; others scattered in the Midwest.⁹ Two vanquished contenders for the LDS presidency, Sidney Rigdon and James Strang, started new churches in Pennsylvania and Michigan, respectively.

Evacuees were scattered across Iowa in the winter of 1846, some as far west as the edge of the Nebraska territory, near present-day Omaha—a place called Kanesville. Young's vanguard company reached Mexican territory in the Great Salt Lake Valley, in July 1847. On July 24, Brigham Young uttered his famous "This is the place!" statement. "It is enough. This is the right place. Drive On," Young declared.

By 1846, 5,000 emigrants had arrived in Nauvoo from England, but, in 1847, after Nauvoo evacuated, emigration almost ceased. Beginning in 1848, emigration doubled its pre-1847 rate. Ten thousand British Saints immigrated to Utah from 1848 to 1854. By 1850 there were more Mormons living in Britain (30,000) than in all of North America. The poorer British Saints had not afforded the trip to Nauvoo. After 1847 the additional cost of the overland trip to Utah put the cost of emigration farther out of their reach. Between 1847 and 1852, the least expensive route was Liverpool to New Orleans by sailing ship, New Orleans to St. Louis by steamship, St. Louis to Kanesville by a river boat, and Kanesville to Utah by foot, via the 1030-mile Mormon trail. Wagons pulled by oxen carried food and supplies. Many Saints stopped either in St. Louis or Kanesville to settle or save money to continue onward.

In order to make the trip affordable, the church established a Perpetual Emigration Fund (PEF). Saints could borrow money if they promised to repay the loan after arriving in Utah. The hope was that repaid loans would keep the fund solvent. The fund loaned money for the first time in 1849, enabling Kanesville Saints to reach Utah. Three years later the funds were made available to British emigrants¹⁰ —but with a catch—anyone accepting a PEF loan was required to make the trip all the way to Salt Lake City from Liverpool. The Saints who could afford the cost of the ocean crossing, so-called *Ordinary* fare holders, were permitted to stop in St. Louis.

The church, in the 1850's, was poorly equipped to manage a geographically dispersed population of Saints. In 1851 President Brigham Young called for Saints in the LDS Diaspora to reaffirm their commitment by re-baptism. Furthermore, he urged all Saints to come to the Great Salt Lake Valley. His call to Saints to gather in Utah had its intended effect. Most of the Kanesville Saints, who had settled there, after fleeing

Nauvoo, completed the journeys, by 1852.¹¹ Several thousand St. Louis Saints, many of whom had lived in Nauvoo, made the trip to Utah by 1855. PEF-supported British Saints¹² were not even allowed to stop in St. Louis or Kanesville.¹³ The Mormons wanted to enable every British Saint, no matter how poor, to reach Utah, but, by 1855, several developments had drained the PEF: overland outfitters in Council Bluffs raised their prices, large numbers of loans had not been repaid, and the demand for new loans had increased from Saints living in England and Wales.

In 1856 Brigham Young approved a risky, multi-part, cost-cutting solution for British Saints dependent upon PEF loans. Emigrants would sail from Liverpool to America's East Coast—a less expensive destination than New Orleans. They would travel by rail and river to the Iowa City, where outfitting costs were less than those charged in Council Bluffs. Lastly, the overland companies would avoid the expense of oxen altogether. Instead, emigrants would pull handcarts loaded with their belongings. Food and provisions would be strategically placed at sites along the trail. Unfortunately, unforeseen logistical problems delayed the departure of the two handcart companies until September. Then winter arrived early. Saints died of starvation or exposure. Many more had their toes amputated due to frostbite.¹⁴

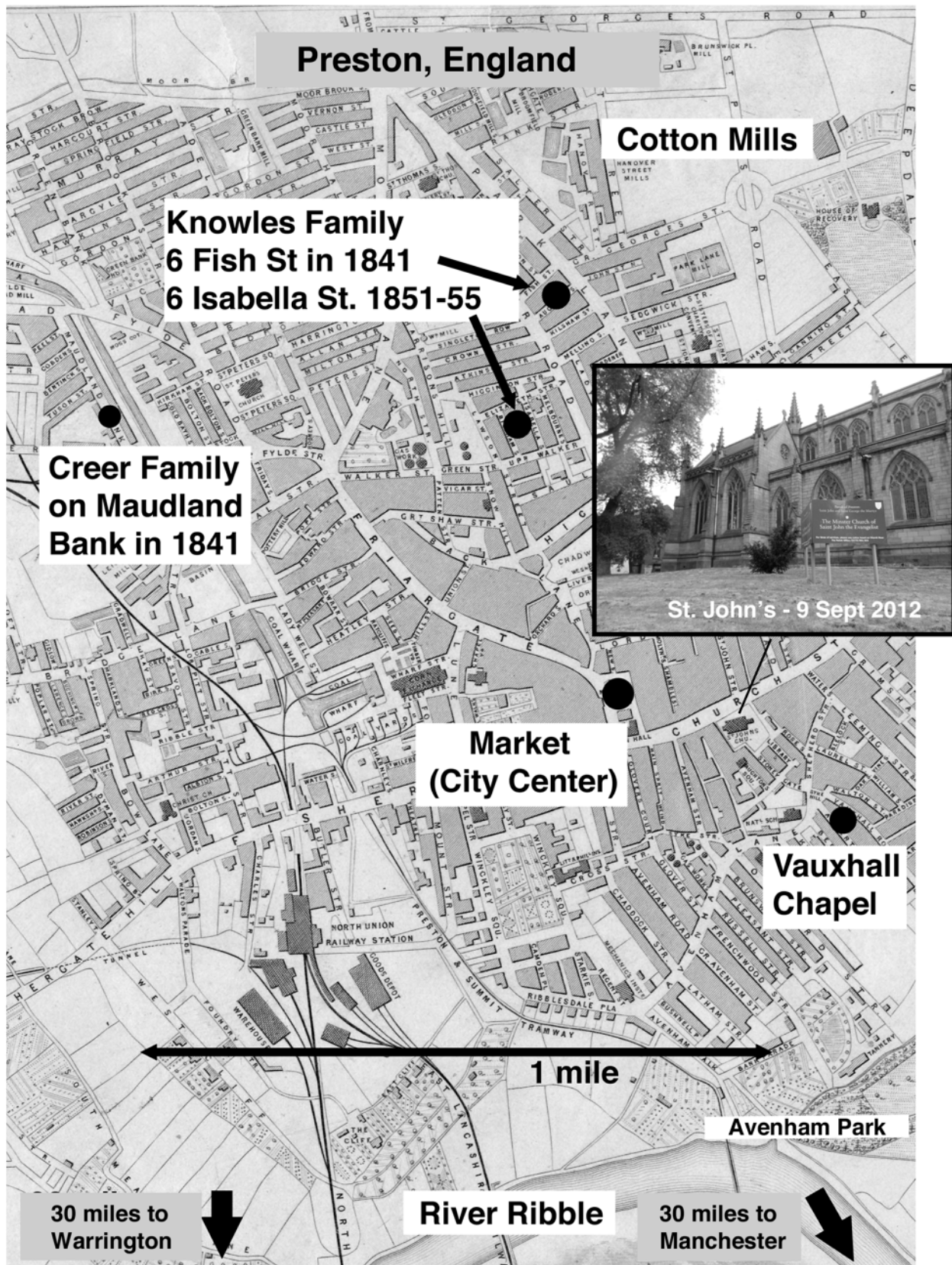
The practice of Mormon-condoned plural marriages began in the 1840's in Nauvoo, but it was not until 1852 that Brigham Young officially sanctioned polygamy in Utah. The change in official policy sparked a firestorm of reaction. Legislation was introduced in Congress to ban polygamy in the United States or any US territory.¹⁵ The Morrill Anti-bigamy Act became law when President Lincoln signed it in 1862. The United States Congress required the Mormons outlaw polygamy as a condition for Utah's entry into the union. In 1890 the church officially banned it; six years later Utah became a state. Polygamous sects broke off from the Utah church, moving south into the Arizona Territory. In 2015 the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, headquartered in Salt Lake City, Utah, has 15 million members, worldwide.

The Community of Christ Church: In 1852 two anti-polygamist Saints, Jason Briggs and Zenos Gurley, vowed to reorganize the scattered Saints, most vehemently opposed to the practice of plural marriage. Their goal was a new organization, founded on their prophet's original principles. In 1860 Joseph Smith Jr.'s 28-year-old son, Joseph Smith III, became its first president, at a conference in Plano, Illinois. It soon became known as the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, or the RLDS. St. Louis, once home to thousands of Saints, had had its number of Saints reduced to several hundred by the early 1860's. Half of these Saints were coal miners in small branches that had formed in the 1850's.¹⁶ There was only one place of worship for Saints¹⁷ living within city limits of St. Louis. By 1871 RLDS representatives had re-baptized most St. Louis Saints into the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints.¹⁸ In 2001, the RLDS church re-identified itself as the *Community of Christ Church*. The headquarters, for its worldwide membership of 250,000, are in Independence, Mo. The Community of Christ respects its past, recognizes Joseph Smith Jr. as its founder, and yet it has become a more mainstream church. It no longer calls its members "Saints." Its president, Stephen Veazey, seeks to be more inclusive of diverse voices.

Part I

The Knowles and Creer Families





Knowles and Creers in Preston, England

Figure 4 Knowles and Creers in Preston, England

Chapter 1 The Knowles Family of Lancashire

August 14, 1837—49-Year-Old John Knowles's LDS Baptism Re-imagined

He was very cold, of that much he was certain. Then he heard Heber C. Kimball's voice speak words that would transform his life: John Knowles, having been commissioned of Jesus Christ, I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. When he emerged from the River Ribble, opened his eyes, and looked up, he saw the underside of Avenham Park's Old Tram Bridge. Sooty black smoke, spewed out of Preston's mills and factories, drifted overhead. The day was Monday, the 14th of August, 1837, less than four weeks since Kimball had preached on July 23, at the Vauxhall Road Chapel, of a "restored Gospel," discovered by an American prophet named Joseph Smith Jr. With his 1837 baptism, John Knowles became the first of my ancestors, and among the very first Englishmen, to become a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The Knowles Family of Warrington

John Knowles's life began 30 miles due south of Preston in Warrington, an ancient market town on the Mersey River —halfway between the Port of Liverpool, 18 miles to the west, and Manchester, Lancashire's industrial heart, 16 miles to the east. Its Roman founders had chosen the location because they could ford the river there.

Much later, after a bridge was constructed in the middle ages, Warrington became a market town. During the late 18th century, at the onset of the industrial revolution, engineers built weirs and locks on the Mersey. Sea-going ships carrying tons of cotton, most of it picked by African slaves in America's southern states, could deliver their cargo directly to Warrington; it became a manufacturing center for textiles.

When John Knowles was born there in 1788, the fifth of ten children, his father was a handloom weaver in the textile industry. His family lived on Winwick Street—a few blocks from Warrington's Anglican Church, St. Elphin's¹⁹, its railway depot, and a Cotton Mill (built in 1831), where his children may have operated power looms.

When John Knowles became a young man, world events well beyond Warrington's borders intervened in his life. In 1809 Britain entered the Napoleonic Wars. In need of able-bodied men to fight in the war, the army formed a 2nd Battalion of its 84th *Regiment of Foot* in Warrington. This battalion supported a disastrous campaign against France in the Netherlands in which 4000 men died, mostly from illness. John probably joined the 84th shortly after the Netherlands debacle.

On June 28, 1812, 24-year-old John Knowles married 23-year-old Sarah Touchett (alt: Tichett) in Daresbury, Cheshire—a few miles south of Warrington. The Touchett family had lived in Cheshire for more than a thousand years. (Note: Sarah Crowther, a great-granddaughter, claimed Sarah was an heiress to a “vast fortune,” amassed by her enterprising, bachelor brothers. She chose not to claim it, however, fearful “her husband might indulge himself too liberally and thus ruin his life.”²⁰)

Sarah and John were already parents of a son, John Jr., when they got married in 1812.²¹ Nine months after their wedding, Sarah gave birth to their second child, a daughter, Elizabeth. Her father was hundreds of miles away when she arrived, however, because, in April 1813, the 84th Regiment had deployed to the Iberian Peninsula. It saw action in the Battle of San Sebastian, in August and September, and the Battles of Bidassoa, Nivelle, and Nive, between December 1813 and March 1814, before the regiment recuperated in Hendaye, France, a coastal border town, halfway between San Sebastian, Spain, and Bayonne, France. In September John arrived with the 84th at Britain’s military installation in Cobh, Ireland, where, nine months later, Sarah Knowles gave birth to their third child, a second son, Joseph, on June 11, 1815.

The 84th regiment was garrisoned in Ireland for two years before its men were permitted to return to England. Upon returning home, John and Sarah had Joseph christened on 18 January 1818, in Halton.²² They settled in nearby Warrington, where Sarah gave birth to eight more children between 1818 and 1832. Only six of these eight children, however, four daughters and two sons, survived their first year.

The Knowles Family of Preston

After the Napoleonic Wars, many demobilized soldiers looked for work as weavers, as evidenced by a parliamentary paper reporting many veterans “exchanged the musket for the shuttle.” The influx of demobilized soldiers, in combination with unemployed farm workers and Irish immigrants, swelled the work force, driving wages down. Wages took another hit when power looms were introduced on a large scale in the 1820’s. Whereas handlooms required skill to operate, power looms did not. Independent, skilled weavers began to be replaced by unskilled, factory labor—mostly women and children. Because there were few other jobs available, wages stayed low, even when demand for British textiles grew. Between 1820 and 1845, the cotton industry’s production quadrupled, yet wages remained unchanged.²³

With jobs hard to come by, more mouths to feed, and many more mills located in Preston, 30 miles north of Warrington, the Knowles family relocated there after their last child was born in 1832. The two older children remained in Warrington, where, in 1834 and 1835, they married and started families of their own. Joseph, 17 years old, in 1832, accompanied his parents to Preston with his younger siblings.

Preston was a major center for cotton manufacture. Its former character as a genteel market town had been completely changed.²⁴ It boasted dozens of factories, with an additional 3000 handlooms in home cellars.²⁵ Poorly paid workers increased the

population to 48,818—crammed into 8,876 houses. The Knowles family lived in the northeast section of the city. Within a fraction of a mile of their home at 6 Fish Street, between Park Lane and Lancaster Road, were half a dozen cotton mills, bearing glamorous names that belied the horrible working conditions within their walls: *Hanover Street, Brookfield, Brunswick Place, Broomfield, and Park Lane Mill*.

The Knowles children added to family income by working in the cotton industry—the older ones in mills as weavers and warpers, the younger ones at home as piece-ers. (The 1833 *Factory Act* forbade the employment of children less than nine years of age in textile mills.)²⁶ Like most working-class children in Preston, they were unschooled. (Note: In 1860 Joseph reported that he could neither read nor write.²⁷)

In the introduction to *Annals of Labor*, a collection of 25 industrial-age English workers' diaries, its editor, John Burnett, wrote: "The picture which emerges from these writings is of men and women who are materially poor by contemporary standards, who are uncomplaining in their poverty, who lead lives of hard work but rarely expect to find fulfillment from it, and for whom the family, interpersonal relationships, and relationship with God are centrally important."²⁸

July 1837—First British Mission Arrives in Preston

The seven LDS missionaries²⁹ who arrived at Liverpool, on 20 July 1837,³⁰ traveled by coach to Preston two days later. It was an election day in Preston. When their coach arrived, the missionaries noted a large banner in bold, gilt letters that bore the inscription "*Truth Will Prevail*," which they took as a good omen for their work. The following day, Heber C. Kimball³¹ preached from the pulpit of the Vauxhall Road Chapel to the congregation of the Rev. James Fielding, brother of missionary Joseph Fielding. "In flat New England tones he declared that an angel had visited the earth and recommitted the ever-lasting Gospel...and gave a brief history of the Restoration."³² A week later, nine congregants received baptism before a large crowd of curious on-lookers. The Rev. Fielding promptly banned Heber C. Kimball, or any Mormon missionary, from ever preaching again at his church.

In September 1837, Kimball bemoaned the horrible living conditions of the people of Preston. "We cannot travel the streets without meeting beggars half naked."

There is betwixt fifty and sixty thousand inhabitants and the most poor people that I ever saw. There are 55 now baptized and it is as much as they can do to live. There is not more than one or two that could lodge us overnight if they should try, and in fact there are some that have not a bed to sleep on themselves, and this is the situation of most of the people in this place, and it is so in the country. We cannot travel the streets without meeting beggars half naked. This gives me feelings that I do not like. We have to live quite short but the brethren are very kind to us. They are willing to divide with us the last they have. They are quite ignorant; many of them cannot read a word and it needs great care to teach them the gospel so that they can understand.³³

Among the “55 now baptized,” whom Elder Kimball was referring to in this letter to his wife, was 49-year-old handloom weaver John Knowles, father of nine and grandfather of four. Baptism³⁴ was a sacred LDS rite that confirmed membership. Joseph Smith Jr. had written in *Doctrines and Covenants* that anyone seeking membership must receive a *full immersion* baptism administered by an elder who had achieved an office in the priesthood.³⁵ The elder must speak the name of the person and the unerringly recite specific text. John Knowles was the first of my father’s ancestors to receive a full-immersion, Latter-day Saint baptism.³⁶

As a member of the Vauxhall Road Chapel, Knowles would have been a *primitive Methodist* when he received his LDS baptism. This non-conformist denomination was popular in Lancashire. Accustomed to open-air preaching, lay participation in religion and governance, and personal religious encounters with God, the primitive Methodists were believers in divine revelation, receptive to Elder Heber Kimball’s preaching style, and impressed by the prominent role of lay leadership.

Mormon Missionary Profile: Elder Heber C. Kimball

Elder Heber C. Kimball, a Yankee Mormon missionary, was no hellfire and brimstone preacher. Stanley B. Kimball, a direct descendent, wrote, “He never did become a calamity howler.”³⁷ He was a working-class man who related well to his audiences, especially “in more intimate gatherings rather than open meetings.”

Brigham Young described Heber C. Kimball’s personal approach. “He would say to someone ‘Come my friend, sit down; do not be in hurry.’ Then he would begin to preach the gospel in a plain, familiar manner, and make his hearers believe everything he said, and make them testify of its truth, whether they believed it or not, asking them, ‘Now you believe this? See how plain the Gospel is? Come along, now’ and he would leave them into the waters of baptism.”³⁸

“[Kimball] was popular. Sometimes people would stay with him all day and were often converted after one sermon. At the right moment, he would put his arm around their necks and say, ‘Come let us go down to the water.’” Kimball himself said, “I said but little, but what I did say went straight to the hearts of the honest.”³⁹

Another factor contributing to the success of the LDS Mission was its advocacy of temperance. Preston was the birthplace of “teetotalism.” The term derived from the declarations of Preston’s reformed drunkards that they were “t-totally” against all alcoholic drinks.⁴⁰ The LDS Church’s policy of abstinence met with approval of leaders of its *Temperance Society*, who invited the Mormon missionaries to preach in their meeting halls. One the halls, called the Cock Pit, accommodated 800 people.⁴¹

John Knowles’s baptism was but one of about 1500 baptisms that took place in the greater Preston region between July 1837 and April 1838. On 8 April, the seven missionaries met for a final time in Preston. Elders Kimball and Hyde asked Joseph Fielding, Willard Richards, and a new English convert, William Clayton, to keep the

movement alive after the other five men returned to America later that month. On 20 April 1838, Elders Kimball and Hyde, accompanied by members Snyder, Russell, and Goodson, left for Liverpool to return to the United States aboard the *Garrick*.

1838 to 1840—Joseph Smith Jr.’s Dream: Creating a New Zion

The elders returned to a church in more dire circumstances than the one they left. In 1838 armed resistance to Mormon settlement in Caldwell County dashed Joseph Smith Jr.’s dreams for a *New Zion* in Missouri. Anti-Mormon sentiment became so intense that, in October 1838, the Governor of Missouri, caving to political pressure, issued an extermination order targeted at Mormons. In 1839 the Mormons found refuge in Quincy, Illinois. They bought a vast tract of reclaimed Mississippi River swampland at Commerce, Illinois, fifteen miles north of Keokuk, Iowa. When Joseph Smith Jr. first viewed it from a high bluff, he named it *Nauvoo*⁴², a word he insisted meant *beautiful place* in Hebrew.

Nauvoo’s size would accommodate thousands of Saints, its relative isolation would support a defensible perimeter, and its bluffs would provide high ground for a temple. Politically, the Illinois legislature, in 1840, granted Nauvoo a remarkably liberal charter that, in essence, gave it the status of a city-state. Its governing council had the authority to “write its laws, conduct courts, and raise a militia.”⁴³

Joseph Smith Jr. understood that the future of his movement was dependent upon growth. The 1500 Saints living in England could swell the population of Nauvoo—if a way could be found to bring them to America. Early in 1840, he directed most of his Quorum of Twelve, including Brigham Young, to return to Preston, Lancashire. The goals of this second British Mission were more ambitious than those of the first British Mission. Smith directed Young to urge newly baptized British Saints to serve in an army of ambassadors—to leave their homes in Lancashire, to spread the word of his “restored gospel” throughout England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and to execute an ambitious emigration strategy with a singular aim—populate Nauvoo. Smith may not have realized that the vast majority of British Saints were dirt poor.

John and Sarah Knowles were among those too poor to pay for passage to Nauvoo. (Note: The “vast fortune,” that Sarah’s great-granddaughter insisted was held in trust for her in the Chancellery, was either never claimed, denied her, or a fiction.) Moreover, John and Sarah were in no position to leave Preston, having recently become grandparents to a baby girl, Merinda, born in November 1838 to their 18-year-old, *unwed* daughter Ellen. The baby’s father is unknown. (Note: Later, in 1845 Ellen Knowles married John Melling, son of Peter Melling. She then moved out of her parents’ home, but 8-year-old Merinda stayed with her 57-year-old grandparents.)

By April 1840, John and Sarah’s unmarried, 24-year-old son, Joseph Knowles, had become a Saint. In fact, he had risen to the rank of *priest*. His service is the subject of the next chapter. The story of his parents and siblings resumes in Chapter 5.

Chapter 2 Joseph Knowles of Manchester

July 8, 1840—Joseph Knowles’s Missionary Call Re-imagined

“Who among you is willing to serve?” hollered Elder Young to the Saints assembled into Carpenter’s Hall in Manchester, England, on a mid-summer day— July 8, 1840. “If you are willing, then stand up and be counted!” Among the young men who rose in response to Brigham Young’s call was Elder Joseph Knowles, the 25-year-old son of John and Sarah Knowles. He knew, at least up to a point, the implications of his decision to stand up: he would be expected to leave home, to share his faith with strangers in a distant land, and to baptize new members as Latter-day Saints. But where would he be asked to serve? The next day he found out. The high council directed him to accompany one of their own, Reuben Hedlock, to Glasgow, Scotland.

1839—Elder Joseph Knowles of Manchester

Joseph Knowles, like his father John Knowles, probably became a Latter-day Saint during the first British Mission, i.e., between July 1837 and April 1838. His earliest documented connection to the church, however, is January 28, 1839, when Thomas Walmsey ordained 23-year-old Joseph Knowles into the elite *Quorum of Seventy*. His ordination occurred after the end of the first British Mission, but before the start of the second British Mission. It was during this period that just three men—Joseph Fielding, Willard Richards, and William Clayton—struggled to keep the nascent LDS movement alive in Britain. In a letter to his wife, in March 1839, Joseph Fielding pleaded with her to “pray for me, my love.”

The moral condition of the world looks worse and worse, and I rejoice the Lord of the harvest has sent me into his vineyard. Pray for me, my love, that I may be faithful and successful, and so shall you do your part in the great and important work, and we will at last rejoice together in the Kingdom of God. Never was anything more needed since the World stood in the Gospel is now.⁴⁴

They were dedicated to their mission, but none was a spellbinding preacher or dynamic leader. Instead, the men carried on a pastoral ministry, visited Saints in their homes, and attended to the “moral, spiritual, and economic welfare of the new converts.”⁴⁵ Absent charismatic leadership, many of the Saints fell away. Offsetting those losses, William Clayton built up membership in nearby Manchester to 240⁴⁶, including Brother [Samuel] Burgess—as is explained in Part II.

1840—The Second British Mission

On March 9, 1840, six men boarded the ship *Patrick Henry* in New York. The party included Brigham Young, Heber Kimball, Orson Pratt, George Smith, Reuben Hedlock, and Parley Pratt. Their ship arrived in Liverpool on April 6. This *traveling high council* of Saints convened an organizational meeting for April 15 in Preston. On the first day of the meeting, Brigham Young was elected president. At the start of the second mission, there were about the *same* number of British Saints as had been baptized by the end of the first mission—two years earlier. Richards, Fielding, and Clayton had baptized one new Saint for each one who had fallen away.

The high council brought with it an ambitious strategy to grow British membership and to populate Nauvoo. Within the first month, they launched a monthly newspaper targeting a British audience. The *Millennial Star*,⁴⁷ edited by Parley Pratt, its first edition, dated May 1, 1840, was distributed widely. In addition, Young had printed 5000 copies of the *Book of Mormon*, 3000 copies of the *LDS Hymn Book*, and tens of thousands of pamphlets⁴⁸; Elder Amos Fielding was named superintendent of an emigration agency. By dint of their efforts, hundreds of citizens a month received LDS baptisms. New branches sprouted throughout Lancashire, serving those unable to afford the trip or decided to remain, for other reasons, in England.

Three months after arriving in England, the traveling high council convened a General Conference, on 8 Jul 1840, in Manchester's cavernous Carpenter's Hall. Invitations went out to all British Saints who held a church office.⁴⁹ On the first day of the conference, Elder Brigham Young made a request of every able-bodied attendee—leave the comfort of home, accompany another Saint, and become a gospel-preaching missionary. Among the twenty church officers who accepted Young's call was 25-year-old Elder Joseph Knowles. The high council assigned him to accompany Elder Reuben Hedlock, a member of the traveling high council, to Scotland. (Hedlock had already baptized a few dozen Scots in Glasgow.)

Elder B. Young then called upon those officers, whose circumstances would permit them to devote themselves entirely to the work of the ministry, and would volunteer to do so, to stand up, when the following names were taken..."⁵⁰

The following day, the high council convened, voting on his and other assignments.

Moved by Elder [Heber] Kimball seconded by Elder [Brigham] Young that Brother Joseph Knowles accompany Elder [Reuben] Hedlock to Scotland. Carried.⁵¹

Presumably, Joseph Knowles fulfilled his commitment during the summer of 1840. On October 6, another General Conference met in Carpenter's Hall in Manchester to hear reports and to make new assignments. Joseph Knowles was listed among the priests in the conference minutes.⁵² New missionary assignments included: "Joseph Knowles, Priest, to accompany Elder [Thomas] Kington [to Herefordshire]."⁵³

1841 to 1843—A Faithful Decision, a Fateful Crossing, and a St. Louis Winter

On June 6, 1841, the ages⁵⁴, birthplaces, and occupations of person in England were recorded in the first nationwide census in Great Britain.⁵⁵ John and Sarah Knowles, their children, and their grandchildren were living at 6 Fish Street in Preston. (For a map, see Figure 4.) Their oldest two children were married, had kids, and lived in Warrington. Joseph Knowles, unwed, age 25, a woolen dyer, lived nearby in Salford.

Chartism was a working-class movement for political reform, taking its name from the *People's Charter* of 1838. Petitions, signed by millions of working-class people, were presented to the House of Commons. In 1841 Britain suffered an economic depression. Workers wages dropped 25 percent, the government rejected the *People's Charter*, and the workers responded with a general strike. It spread to involve nearly half a million workers throughout Britain, becoming the biggest single exercise of working class strength in nineteenth century Britain. On 13 August 1842, workers struck at Bayley's cotton mill in Stalybridge. A roving cohort carried the stoppage to the whole area of Stalybridge and Ashton, then to Manchester, and subsequently to towns adjacent to Manchester, including Preston. The angry men used whatever force was necessary to bring the mills to a standstill. The Preston strike led to a deadly riot—four men were fatally shot on Lune Street.

Although no evidence exists linking the Preston riots in August to Joseph's decision to emigrate in September, the Mormons' emigration pitch—the promise of a better life in Nauvoo—struck a responsive chord among embattled, working-class people. Other explanations for his decision—the belief that the *end times* were imminent (millennialism), the influence of friends, and/or the desire to join a community of dedicated believers—may have factored into it. He was 27 years old, single, and his older siblings had started families. His parents were tied down with responsibilities: care of his four younger sisters, his two younger brothers, and his four-year-old niece. Joseph Knowles registered as a passenger on the *Sydney*, scheduled to depart September 17, 1842. He would be my father's first ancestor to emigrate. Another passenger, George Cannon, wrote a glowing account of his experience on the *Sydney*.

Perhaps a more agreeable ship's company, both of Saints and seamen, never crossed the Atlantic. The Captain and officers are kind and humane men and so far from disputes or hard feelings that the sailors say they never saw a family who agreed better: and they wonder how a company of people who were many of them strangers to each other can bear and forbear in the manner they do.⁵⁶

Upon arriving in New Orleans, on November 13, George D. Watt⁵⁷ wrote in his diary:

We have had a passage of fifty-six days—fine weather—with a kind captain and crew, who allowed us every reasonable privilege. There have been five deaths out of the company, and one sailor who fell from the yardarm and was killed...We have taken one of the largest and best steamboats in this port...We are all going up [the Mississippi] together.⁵⁸

The *Sydney* was the fifteenth LDS ship to sail from Liverpool; its 180 Saints brought the number of Saints who had emigrated since the *Britannia*, in June 1840, to 2500.

After a three days stay in New Orleans, the *Sydney's* passengers boarded the Steamer *Alexander Scott*. They made rapid progress, until they passed the Ohio River, where the ship ran aground, remaining stuck fast for three days. By the time the ship became unstuck, ice had formed on the river, making the Mississippi impassable beyond St. Louis. The Saints had little choice other than to secure temporary housing and provisions, which they did—mostly without much difficulty. Thus, Joseph Knowles lived in St. Louis from November 1842 until April 1843, by which time the ice had melted. He and about 300 other stranded Saints then boarded the *Maid of Iowa*. Its destination—Nauvoo, Illinois—the *beautiful place*, 175 miles north.

1843 to 1846—Joseph Knowles of Nauvoo

Joseph lived the next 3½ years of his life in Nauvoo—until it evacuated after the *Battle of Nauvoo*, in mid-September 1846, when he returned to St. Louis. (Note: Chapters 7 and 8—the Burgess family—describes the Nauvoo Era in greater detail. Four Burgess siblings lived there; James Burgess kept a journal that is extant.)

1846 to 1847—Joseph Knowles: Single in St. Louis, an “Oasis of Tolerance”

On September 29, 1846, two weeks after the Battle of Nauvoo (September 10-13), *St. Louis Daily Union* reported Joseph Knowles's return to the St. Louis area.

The *New Haven* brought down from Keokuk some forty families of Mormons whose purpose it is to settle in this city. Among these were Joseph Knowles, William Giddings, Thomas and Matthew Kent. Some of the Mormons engaged in digging coal on Rankin's farm over on the Illinois bluffs, eight miles from the city. Knowles and Giddings worked with Elder Thomas digging coal on Dry Hill within the limits of the present Forest Park.⁵⁹

Before Nauvoo's 1846 evacuation, only 403 Mormons lived in St. Louis—a drop in the bucket relative to its population of 60,000. However, the number of its Saints quadrupled to 1478 by January 1847,⁶⁰ as many Nauvoo residents headed south for the relative comfort of St. Louis, rather than west to primitive encampments in Iowa.

St. Louis's reputation for tolerance made it the destination of choice for arriving British Saints, too. Irish and German non-Mormon emigrants arrived in even greater numbers. A century later, in 1949, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported on the Mormons' nineteenth century experience in St. Louis. “It was the only town in the Middle West large enough to give Saints some degree of anonymity, cosmopolitan enough to be tolerant of the new and strange religion and prosperous enough to provide work for newcomers.”⁶¹ An 1847 appeal from Peter G. Camden, Mayor of St. Louis, serves as an example of the city's openness to the newly homeless Mormons:

THE MORMON SUFFERERS: In the recent expulsion and flight of the Mormons from Nauvoo and its vicinity, many of the poorest, most friendless and helpless have been left behind ... How or why these unfortunates are in their present condition, there is no time now to enquire ... It should suffice that we have the highest authority and encouragement for believing it is always “more blessed to give than to receive” ... it is hoped that the people of St. Louis will, on this occasion, maintain their former high character for sympathy and liberality.⁶²

Former followers of Joseph Smith Jr., especially those who had contested Brigham Young’s right to succeed Smith, found St. Louis an ideal place to foment trouble. In the words of a local Saint, St. Louis was “the first [place] where apostates vomit their venom and explode their spleens.”⁶³ Sidney Rigdon, excommunicated after he lost his battle with Young, gave virulent anti-Mormon speeches—undermining the faith of St. Louis Saints. Utah’s LDS leadership viewed St. Louis as a place to *leave*, not *live*.

Preview of Chapter 3

Despite the chaotic conditions for Mormons in America, a large, extended English family (ten adults and seven children), led by its matriarch and her son, arrived in 1847. Its members discovered, to their dismay, that St. Louis was not only a place to *leave* or *live*, but to *die*. Within two years of arriving, four of its ten adults were dead, including its matriarch. Their story is about joy as well as loss, however. Within one year of her arrival, for example, one family member became Mrs. Joseph Knowles. This multi-headed, disputatious, unusual family is introduced in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 The Creer Family of Preston

May 1838—Nellie Creer's Angry Reaction Re-imagined

Matthias Creer's drunkenness was bad enough, but his arrest, in May 1838, for beating his daughter-in-law Ann—well, that would have been the last straw for his wife, Nellie. "Thank God for my responsible son Edward," she thought. "After I divorce that no-good Matthias, my six daughters and I will be welcome to stay with him, my daughter-in-law Ann, and my ever-growing number of grandchildren."

Matthias Creer of Whitehaven

The name "Creer" first appeared in the 1500's on the Isle of Mann.⁶⁴ Two centuries later, John Creer, a fisherman and shoemaker, crossed the Irish Sea, landing at Whitehaven, west of Cumbria's Lake District. Matthias Creer was born October 15, 1791, and christened on November 20. "Matthias, son of John Creer, of the Quay Whitehaven was baptized on this 20th day of November 1791."⁶⁵ The identity of his mother, the number of his siblings, and details of his early life are all disputed.

Nellie Greenhalgh of Bolton

Nellie⁶⁶ Greenhalgh, a Bolton native, was born to a weaver, Robert Greenhalgh, and his wife, Jane (nee Taylor) Greenhalgh, on May 2, 1788.⁶⁷ She was baptized in a non-conformist Congregational Church on St. George's Road—the same church in which her three siblings, all brothers, were baptized—Robert, John, and a second Robert.

The Greenhalgh's membership in a non-conformist church is consistent with Nellie's positive response to the Mormon message. Latter-day Saints had great success converting members of non-conformist churches, especially primitive Baptists, Wesleyan Methodists,⁶⁸ and Congregationalists. Parley Pratt, editor of *The Millennial Star*, printed an article, in 1841, entitled *John Wesley a Latter-day Saint*.⁶⁹ He quoted from Wesley's sermon #94 in order to support Mormon teachings. In this particular sermon, Wesley emphasized the need for an *apostasy* (i.e., a renunciation of formerly held religious beliefs) and *spiritual gifts* (i.e., blessings or abilities received from God through the power of the Holy Spirit)—two features of their message that early

Mormons used in establishing their identity as God's one true church.

In 1810 Matthias Creer, age 18, married 22-year-old Nellie Greenhaigh in Bolton—about 100 miles south of Whitehaven, one of many Lancashire towns in which hundreds of working-class folk worked in coal-powered cotton mills. Between 1811 and 1829, Nellie bore Matthias two sons and six daughters. Some of the baptisms took place in Bolton, others in a non-conformist church in Chorley, and still others in Preston. The changing locations of these baptisms suggest that the Creers moved from mill town to mill town, probably to enable Matthias to find work as a weaver.

The Edward Creer Family of Preston

Edward, the only surviving son of Matthias and Nellie Creer,⁷⁰ married Ann Morris, a skilled designer of silk and lace products, in Preston's St. John Parish Church in 1835. By the start of the first Latter-day Saint Mission in July 1837, the Creers had become parents of a son, William, and daughter, Ellen. Anne Rowe Beck, in a biographical sketch about her great-grandparents, Edward and Ann Creer, wrote that they welcomed the Mormon visitors as guests in their home. She acknowledged the price the couple paid for their hospitality, writing, "the young couple were severely ridiculed and denounced by both friends and relations."

After listening to one of his first addresses, Ann invited Orson Hyde to take supper with the Creer family. From that time on her home was open to the Elders. Orson Hyde, Willard Richards and President Brigham Young were numbered among the numerous missionary guests of Ann and Edward Creer ... The following year 1838, Edward and Ann were baptized into the Mormon Church. Because of this action, the young couple were severely ridiculed and denounced by both friends and relations. The Morris family even denied them privileges of the parental household.⁷¹

Edward's father, Matthias Creer, may have disinvited himself from ever again entering the Edward's home after Matthias assaulted Edward's wife, Anne, in May 1838. The incident was reported in the Preston *Chronicle*: "Yesterday, at the Town Hall, an elderly man named Matthias Creer, was charged with assaulting his daughter-in-law, Ann Creer. The defendant had nothing to say in justification, and was ordered to [find sureties] to keep the peace."⁷² His inability to manage his anger was not his only issue. Matthias was a drunk—given to drinking in excess.⁷³ Given his despicable behavior, it is unsurprising that Nellie divorced Matthias. Their son, Edward, the sober Saint, became the new alpha male in the Creer's home.

By 1841 Edward and Ann had five children (three sons and two daughters.) The Creer family lived at Preston's western edge, on a road with an unusual name—Maudland Bank. (For a map, see Figure 4.) The household numbered 14 residents—not seven—because living under the same roof as his immediate family were Edward's 53-year-old mother, Nellie, and his six sisters—Jane, Ann, Elizabeth, Catherine, Margaret, and

Phoebe! The disgraced 53-year-old Matthias Creer was a lodger on North Street, a few blocks east of Maudland Bank.

1841 to 1847 —Emigration: A Dream Unrealized

Poverty is the most likely explanation for Edward and Ann's decision to remain in Preston rather than immigrate to Nauvoo between 1841 and 1847. Edward had to build up savings to pay for fourteen tickets. There was a potential sugar daddy in the picture, Ann's Uncle Edward, a wealthy industrialist— builder of the first European railroad. Edward Morris had promised to pay for his niece's emigration, until Ann's sister Peggy, who was strongly anti-Mormon, convinced him that Ann, a Mormon, was undeserving of his largesse. He reneged on his promise.⁷⁴

The family's size expanded from 14 to 17, pushing the cost of the trip farther out of reach. In 1844, Nellie's 22-year-old daughter, Catherine, married John Singleton; in 1845, Nellie's 34-year-old daughter, Jane, married William Snalem, a 38-year-old widower with a four-year-old daughter. Edward and Ann had three more children — Matthias Mormon, in 1843; Jane, in 1845; and Ellenor Ann, in 1847. Two deaths, 18-month-old Matthias, in 1842, and eight-year-old Ellen, in 1845, reduced the family size. (Ellen died of third-degree burns. Left alone in the kitchen, her clothing caught fire.) Overall, the size of the extended family increased by three between 1841 and 1847—from nine adults and five children to ten adults and seven children.

Across the Atlantic, evacuation of Nauvoo precipitated a drop in British emigration. Only two ships, carrying 200 Saints, sailed from Liverpool in 1846. Most Nauvoo evacuees followed Brigham Young. They wandered westward and lived through the winter of 1847 in primitive camps (euphemistically called *Winter Quarters*) that lay scattered across Iowa between Keokuk in the east and Kanesville in the west.

1847 —Emigration: A Dream Fulfilled

In July 1847, Brigham Young's vanguard company arrived in Utah.⁷⁵ Two months later, the *Charlemagne*, the *only* 1847 Saint-carrying ship, sailed from Liverpool. Although no ship manifest survived, circumstantial evidence⁷⁶—LDS membership baptism records in Preston and birth records in St. Louis— lead to one conclusion: the 17-strong Creer family¹ was on board the *Charlemagne*—including Nellie Creer, my father's great-great-grandmother, and Elizabeth Creer, his great-grandmother.

Several members of the Knowles family might have bid them a fond farewell from Preston in September 1847, because Nellie and Edward Creer surely knew the John and Sarah Knowles family. However, only *one* member of the Knowles family could have welcomed them to St. Louis in November 1847—Joseph Knowles, because he

¹ Nellie Creer (59), Jane Creer Snalem (35), William Snalem (40), Elizabeth Snalem (6), Edward Creer (34), Ann Morris Creer (33), William Creer (11), Mary Creer (8), Willard Creer (6), Matthias Creer (4), Jane Creer (2), Ellenor Creer (6 mo.), Elizabeth Creer (28), Catherine Creer Singleton (25), John Singleton (22), Margaret Creer (22), Phoebe Creer (18).

alone had immigrated. The city's 1847 welcome would be overshadowed by its unwelcomed epidemic in 1849. Its tragic impacts are described in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4 Joseph and Elizabeth Knowles of St. Louis

October 1857—Elizabeth Knowles's Reactions Re-Imagined

"It's over," Elizabeth told Joseph in October 1857. "They have now cut me off, too." Surely she felt something, but what? Anger? Relief? Embarrassment? Sorrow? Joy? Whatever the feeling, it was short-lived. In a matter of months, Elizabeth was dead.

When the Creer family arrived at St. Louis in the fall of 1847, Joseph Knowles may have welcomed them. Within a year of their arrival, on the 23rd of October 1848, the 29-year-old Elizabeth Creer married the 33-year-old Joseph Knowles. The newlyweds settled in the city's north side, where Joseph worked as a brick maker. Elizabeth's mother and siblings probably lived just outside the city. According to family accounts, its breadwinner, Edward Creer, worked in the Gravois coal mines.⁷⁷

1848—The Gateway to the West

After Meriwether Louis and William Clark returned from their exploration of the Louisiana Territory, St. Louis experienced dramatic growth in its population. St. Louis became known as the *Gateway to the West* for good reason. Located at the confluence of two great rivers, during a period of history in which rivers served as modern civilization's least expensive transportation arteries, anyone and anything moving through the continent's interior passed through St. Louis. As James Primm wrote in *Lion of the Valley*, his landmark history of the city:

St. Louis in the 1840s was a city in motion ...It was becoming a melting-pot city, having grown 1500 percent and 550 percent in area in two decades, its sewage still running in open gutters; its water supply was untreated and delivery uncertain; its vehicles were denied direct access to its southern section; its fire and police protection was largely voluntary and unprofessional; and its priceless harbor was threatened with extinction by encroaching sand. ... To counter these liabilities the city was bursting with vitality; it was the promised land for a diligent, determined, intelligent, and self-disciplined people; it had achieved a commercial supremacy predicted by its early boosters and an industrial future was in the offing. To its residents, the thousands who came every year, and to most visitors, it was an exciting place of unlimited opportunity.⁷⁸

In the spring of 1848, St. Louis was well on its way to becoming the commercial metropolis of the entire river basin above New Orleans. Its population of 63,000 lived within a $\frac{3}{4}$ mile-wide strip along three miles of the Mississippi River. About 2½ percent of the population were Saints—either Nauvoo evacuees like Joseph Knowles or recent British arrivals like the Creers. After gold was discovered in the Sierra Nevada's foothills, in January 1848, news spread rapidly worldwide. Men seeking their fortune came through St. Louis before continuing on to California.

1849— The St. Louis Cholera Epidemic and Fire

St. Louis, in 1848, had a population almost twice that of Pittsburg and more than twice that of Chicago— two other fast growing cities. By December 1848, almost half its population had arrived since 1845. Many recent immigrants came from Germany and Holland— where cholera was raging. They huddled below deck across the Atlantic, arriving in New Orleans dehydrated. The Europeans rehydrated with contaminated water before transferring into cramped steamship quarters, disembarking on the St. Louis docks. The city's investment in its infrastructure, especially sewage treatment, had failed to keep up with its population growth. Bacteria-laden diarrhea infected the city's water supply because citizens casually tilted their chamber pots out into the streets. Heavy storms washed the raw sewage into the city's numerous limestone caves and sinkholes. The first eight cholera deaths came in January 1849. The disease quickly terrified St. Louis, but, after several hundred deaths, the epidemic stopped—at least temporarily.⁷⁹

At 9 p.m. on May 17, a fire started on the steamship *White Cloud*. It quickly spread to 23 other steamers, then to huge piles of freight on the levies. A strong wind blew through the night, spreading the burning embers from building to building. Then the water supply failed, denying firefighters the means to douse the fire. Six buildings were blown up to stop the spread of the flames. By 8 a.m. the fire reduced 430 commercial buildings to ashes, decimating 14 city blocks; three fire fighters lost their lives.⁸⁰ Property losses exceeded \$6 million and thousands lost their jobs.

The great fire's horror proved to be a mere distraction from the cholera epidemic that took off in its aftermath. By the end of June, about 100 people a day were dying. People wrote of finding five dead bodies in one house, of burying young mothers and of placing their children in an asylum. Estimates of the death toll for the 1849 epidemic varies, but the most common is 6,000—one in every 11 St. Louisans.⁸¹

Several adult members of the Creer family died of cholera. Margaret died four days shy of her 24th birthday on June 21. Three days later, the matriarch Nellie Creer died at age 61. The same day, her youngest child Phoebe died at age 20.⁸² Only four Creer family adults survived the epidemic: Jane, Edward, Elizabeth, and Catherine.

1850's—Joseph and Elizabeth Knowles of Dry Hill

Both the 1850 US Census and the 1851 St. Louis City Directory listed Joseph Knowles's occupation as *brick maker*. (Given all the construction in Nauvoo, Joseph may have learned brick making between 1843 and 1846.) He and Elizabeth lived in North St. Louis's Ward 6, on the southwest corner of 10th Street and Biddle Avenue, 11 blocks north of Market Street. An 1850 St. Louis map shows clay pits, brickyards, and stone quarries located at 18th Street and Cass Avenue, about 0.8 of a mile from the Knowles's residence. Their neighbors—mostly recent emigrants from Ireland, Scotland, England, and Germany, were skilled laborers—tanners, tailors, stonemasons, clerks, seamstresses, grocers, and “river men.”

Joseph and Elizabeth had another occupation—parenting. Elizabeth gave birth to a son, named Joseph Isaac Knowles, in January 1850. She had been pregnant during the cholera epidemic. The joy of a new life may have helped rescue her from grief.

In 1852 Joseph moved the family west of St. Louis to an area called Dry Hill. (Known today as “the Hill,” it is home to popular Italian restaurants.) Joseph may have moved to find work as a brick maker,⁸³ because, in the 1850's, fire clay and coal deposits were mined there. According to their great-granddaughter, the Knowles lived two miles south of the Forest Park, one mile south of the Hill, and a half-mile east of Hampton Avenue.⁸⁴ In her book, *The Coal Diggings of Gravois*, Mary Joan Boyer describes an idyllic pastoral landscape cultivated by the miners.

[T]he early coal miners acquired small homes and planted their land to fruit bearing trees, beautiful shrubbery, and flowers and vegetable gardens. Being home-loving people, improving their land and homes was their chief pleasure. The results of their loving care of their homes brought about the beauty in that mining community.⁸⁵

1850 to 1854—Hellos and Goodbyes to Knowles and Creer Family Members

In 1850 Elizabeth's sister Catherine left to go to Utah with her husband and daughter. They settled in American Fork, a few miles south of Salt Lake City. In 1851 Joseph's sister Eliza, her husband, Thomas Salisbury, and her infant son, Heber, arrived and settled in St. Louis. Edward Creer was working in Gravois, a community of miners, saving to pay for overland trips to Utah for his family. By 1854 Edward had saved enough. He, his sister Jane, their two spouses, seven children, and three stepchildren moved to Spanish Fork and American Fork, Utah. As 1854 came to an end, the only Knowleses or Creers in St. Louis were Joseph and Elizabeth Knowles, their infant son, Joseph Isaac, and Joseph's sister's family: Eliza, Thomas, and Heber.

1855 to 1859— Joseph and Elizabeth Knowles: In or Out?

After Elizabeth's siblings moved to Utah, in 1854, she and Joseph retained their affiliation with the LDS Church in St. Louis. In 1855 they were members in good standing of a recently founded Dry Hill Branch. In August 1855, she gave birth to a daughter, Sarah Ellen Knowles, whom she named for her grandmothers, Sarah Knowles and Ellen Creer. The Dry Hill Branch logbook's second entry, right under the

heading *Blessings of Children*, was Sarah Ellen Knowles — dated 9 September 1855. Sarah was just 12 days old. Two months later, the branch council minutes recorded, “Jos. Noles (sic) gave the opening prayer at the meeting.”⁸⁶ About a year later, Joseph’s name appeared again in its minutes: “Moved and sec. and carried that J. Knoles (sic) and C. Grayson ‘visit together’.”

The Knowles’s standing began to sour at Dry Hill a year and a half later. The first indication that Joseph was falling out of its good graces appeared in its December 1856 council minutes: “6 Dec 1856: Moved and seconded that Joseph Knoles (sic) be suspended from all church fellowship meetings for disobeying council.”⁸⁷ Within a year, both Joseph and Elizabeth were dropped from the church rolls. Three months after his suspension, the Dry Hill council minutes stated: “1 Mar 1857: Elders Allen and Gettings were appointed to visit Elder Knowles and request him to renew his covenant if he wishes to have standing in this church.” Just three months later, on May 21, 1857, “Joseph Knowles was cut off for his wickedness” and, on October 2, 1857, “Elizabeth Knoles (sic) was cut off for disobedience.”⁸⁸

During this period, the Dry Hill minutes listed several other members as cut out for “wickedness,” but Joseph’s dismissal was different. No other member received a suspension, a visit by the branch founder, William Gettings, or the branch president, Isaac Allen. Perhaps Joseph received such special treatment in recognition of his service as an Elder, as a missionary, and as a member of the Quorum of the Seventy.

Several plausible explanations for the Knowles’s dismissal exist. In the 1850’s, Brigham Young gave Saints two choices: renew their covenants by being re-baptized or be cut from the rolls. Perhaps Joseph and Elizabeth simply rejected their re-baptisms. Another possibility, suggested by events described in the next chapter, is that members of Joseph’s family expressed to him their reservations about the church. By 1856 Joseph’s parents and siblings had arrived in Utah, but they had become disenchanted with their lives there. Joseph’s brother-in-law, George Greenwood, was repulsed by experiences of Preston friends—members of an 1856 handcart company: severe frostbite, amputations, starvation, exposure, and death.

1860’s—St. Louis Widower: Joseph Knowles

Joseph’s next documented appearance is the 1860 US Census. He lived in St. Louis County’s *Central District*, his occupation was *laborer*, and he checked the box *cannot read or write*. The Central District was an undeveloped area west of Grand Avenue, where more than 6000 immigrants from England, Ireland, Wales, and Germany lived—mostly on farms. Coal miners lived in its southeast corner, called Rock Hill.⁸⁹

The name missing from the Joseph Noles (sic) household in the 1860 US Census is Elizabeth Knowles. She died of unknown causes between 1857 and 1860, leaving Joseph with a nine-year-old son and a five-year-old daughter. His sister and brother-in-law, Eliza and Thomas Salisbury, lived in St. Louis, and thus were at least in a position to help. It seems unlikely, however, that they did. The Salisburys lived

downtown; Joseph lived outside the city. Moreover, Thomas Salisbury had advanced to the office of High Priest, served as a Bishop⁹⁰, and presided over two LDS Wards.⁹¹

Elizabeth's untimely death may have prompted Joseph to rejoin the Dry Hill Branch, where two new members, Daniel and Gwenllian Evans, may have helped Joseph. The Evans family is introduced in Part IV; the Joseph Knowles saga resumes in Part V.

By 1857, the earliest year of Elizabeth's death, Joseph's parents and siblings from Preston had already relocated from England to Utah. They came through St. Louis, in 1855, *staying only one day*. By 1860 his parents had returned to St. Louis, but they lived next door to Joseph's sister, Eliza, and his brother-in-law, Thomas Salisbury. In 1861 the Salisburys left for Utah; in 1862 her parents followed them. Joseph and his two young children stayed behind in St. Louis, choosing to go it alone rather than join the rest of his family in Utah. The next chapter, the last in Part I, has an account of these family members' remarkable adventures from 1855 to 1863. Joseph Knowles's brother-in-law, Edward Creer, makes an appearance, too.

Chapter 5 The Knowles Family of Utah

1855 —John Knowles Vents His Anger at Sea on the Siddons

"[67-year-old John Knowles] hit the steward with his pan which was resented by the other with a blow with a fire poker."

1855—The Voyages of the *Siddons* and the *Polar Star*

A wealthy young Preston businessman, George Greenwood, wanted to marry Mary Knowles, John and Sarah's youngest daughter, but she was indifferent. George approached Mary's parents, John and Sarah, with a proposition:⁹² if they would intercede with Mary on his behalf, then he would pay *all* the emigration costs for the Knowles family² — \$19,950⁹³ in 2010 USD. In February 1855, two weeks before the departure of the *Siddons*, Mary Knowles married George Greenwood in Preston. Nearly four decades after John and Sarah Knowles crossed the Irish Sea from Cobh with their toddler, Joseph, in 1818, imagine their emotions, when, at ages 67 and 66, respectively, they anticipated another voyage—this one across the Atlantic Ocean!

Thirteen ships, carrying 4225 Saints, sailed in 1855, far exceeding the 3167 Saints who had sailed in 1854, the previous record-setting year. Several factors account for the emigration surge. Brigham Young's fervent worldwide appeal to Saints—to gather as soon as practicable in the Great Salt Lake Valley—was one. In addition, the LDS emigration agency introduced a route that dramatically reduced risk. The previous 75 companies of Saints, over a 14 year period (1841–1854), had reached St. Louis via New Orleans, because the least expensive route was by water: a sailing ship to the mouth of the Mississippi and a steamship up the river. The greatest risks associated with this route were waterborne diseases endemic to New Orleans and the Mississippi River. By 1855 the westward growth of railroads from the eastern seaboard made it less expensive to reach St. Louis via a seaport on the Atlantic coast.

The *Millennial Star* reported on the departure from Liverpool of the *Siddons*: "February 27, 1855: The ship *Siddons*, Captain Taylor, sailed from Liverpool, England, for Philadelphia, having on board four hundred and thirty Saints, of whom 197 intended going through to the Valley that season, 97 being P.E. Fund immigrants."⁹⁴ The Saints on the *Siddons* were the first ones to take this new route.

² Mary's parents (John and Sarah), three siblings (Ellen, William, and Isaac), brother-in-law (John Melling), sister-in-law (Mary Ann Knowles), and two nieces—Merinda (16), Peter (5)

The Atlantic Crossing had its moments for at least one member of the Knowles family—its patriarch, John Knowles. Long since retired from the British Army's 84th Regiment of Foot, the 67-year-old former soldier displayed a fighter's spirit when he got into a heated argument. It caused quite a stir. Captain Taylor, the ship's LDS leader, recorded an account of a fight between John Knowles and the ship's steward.

I had a little difficulty to settle today between the steward and an aged brother, Father Knowles of Preston. The latter, considering himself imposed upon by the former in the upsetting of his dish at the cooking galley, hit the steward with his pan which was resented by the other with a blow with a fire poker. Although no great damage was done by way of breaking skulls, still feelings were outraged between brethren and a black mark given. Although both were blamable it was evident, all things, including the age of Father Knowles considered that the steward had not sufficiently restrained himself and had abused the old man and that he must make his acknowledgment to the aged brother and the Saints and humbly solicit their forgiveness. This was done on the spot, that is before the meeting closed, and all made right. But I had to inflict some severe chastisements before this was satisfactorily accomplished.⁹⁵

A Philadelphia newspaper, published on April 23, described the Saints upon their arrival: "They were composed of British families, and all appeared well-dressed, healthy, and intelligent. The women, especially, had that fine, robust, rosy British look about them, of which we hear so much. They were to proceed immediately, by railroad and steamship, to the Western frontier."

The Saints traveled by rail from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh and then on to St. Louis. "After a safe voyage the company arrived in Philadelphia, on 20 April, and from that city the immigrants traveled by rail to Pittsburgh, where arrangements were made for their transportation by steamboat down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to St. Louis, Missouri. This river passage cost three dollars for each adult passenger, children half-price; \$.35 was paid for every 100 pounds of extra luggage."⁹⁶

Any opportunity for Joseph to see his parents and siblings was limited, at best. Based upon an article in the *Millennial Star*, his family arrived in St. Louis on May 7 and embarked for Atchison, Kansas on May 8: "The company arrived in St. Louis May 7, after a pleasant passage...On the day of arrival in St. Louis, the luggage belonging to the company was reshipped on the *Polar Star*⁹⁷, and on the eighth, one hundred and fifty of the company embarked on that steamer for Atchison."⁹⁸

Emigrant companies were discouraged from making St. Louis layovers because too many Saints stayed there rather than continue on to Utah. Brigham Young had issued an 1853 edict requiring all emigrants using Perpetual Emigration Fund loans to stay with their companies from Liverpool to Salt Lake City, Utah. The next year, 1856, emigrant companies bypassed St. Louis altogether, as British Saints traveled by railroad from New York City to a new overland outfitting post in Iowa City, Iowa.

1855 to 1857—The Knowles Families of Utah

Once in Atchison, the Knowles family split up, because all Saints relying upon the PEF were assigned to one overland company, whereas those who had paid for their passage were assigned to a different company. Isaac Knowles's passage was paid for by the PEF fund, and so he and Mary Ann departed Mormon Grove (just outside Atchison) on July 1, three weeks after the others left for Utah on June 7.

Seven weeks into their overland journey, John and Sarah were present for the August 23rd birth of a granddaughter, Mary Ellen Melling, to their daughter, Ellen, on the trail in Wyoming! One week later, on August 29, in St. Louis, while the overland company was still making its way to Utah, Sarah's daughter-in-law, Elizabeth, wife of Joseph Knowles, gave birth to a daughter (my future great-grandmother.) She named the girl for her two grandmothers: Sarah and Ellen. On September 8, the day after the overland company arrived in Salt Lake City, Sarah's other St. Louis-resident daughter, Eliza Salisbury, gave birth to a daughter. It would be weeks before her grandmother, Sarah Knowles, would learn of the birth of Sarah Salisbury, or her first cousin, Sarah Ellen Knowles, both of whom had received their grandmother's name.

After their 1855 arrival in the Great Salt Lake Valley, John and Sarah Knowles and their two daughters' families — the Mellings and Greenwoods — settled in Ogden in Weber (rhymes with *weaver*) County. Their presences there were documented in the Utah Territory Census of 1856. (Note: Also residing, in 1856, in the vicinity of Ogden, Weber County, were Peter Burgess, Mary Burgess, James Allen, and Elizabeth Allen. The Burgess's and Allen's Utah experiences are described in Chapters 10 and 12, respectively. For now our story continues to focus on the adventures of the extended Knowles family.)

By 1856 about 16,000 Mormons lived in roughly 90 settlements scattered along 100 miles of the western slopes of Utah's Wasatch Range in the Great Salt Lake Valley. Food, clothing, and supplies were scarce, and the winters were brutal. In short, life was hard, and premature deaths were an all-too-common occurrence. Especially vulnerable were the very young and very old.

The Perpetual Emigration Fund had made it possible for impoverished British Saints to emigrate, but it did not sustain them after they arrived. Desperate times led some of them to acts of desperation. Confronted with possible starvation, some paid for food with the clothes off their back. George Greenwood wrote to his sister in Preston about the inhumane conditions he witnessed around him.

The people are bowed down with depression and poverty. The times, too, have been hard in the valley while we have been here. ...Through the scarcity of food and severity of the winter sufferings of the lower-class were heart-rending; their clothing was insufficient, having had to dispose of most of it for a mere trifle, which can buy food ... I have known women so impoverished that their breasts have been milk-less, and their little ones have drawn blood from them.⁹⁹

The Knowles, Greenwood, and Melling families were better off than most, but they were not immune from hardship. During their first year in Utah, plagues of locusts ate their crops. Winter snow fell to a depth of seven feet. Greenwood wrote in his letter to England, “I lost nine head of oxen, three cows, and one horse. Two horses I saved by giving them boiled beef—that is, the beef cut from the dead oxen. The horses were so weak, that when they laid down we had to lift them with poles.”

Many of those with the means and desire to leave Utah felt intense pressure to stay. George Greenwood described a dramatic meeting between disenchanted Saints and Brigham Young in which Young expressed surprise that so many wished to leave.

We did not make our intentions public on leaving the valley; it would not have been good policy to do so... An opportunity presented itself when the new governor of the Utah territory came to the valley and someone gave him a letter ‘informing him that there were a number of people desirous of leaving the place, but were prevented by the authorities from doing so.’ A meeting was called with Brigham Young and Governor Cumming attending. The governor publicly read the letter he had received. Brigham Young then rose and desired those who are wishful to lead to standup, when a great number stood up. He observed that there were more than he had anticipated, but they were at liberty to go provided they paid their debts. This was just and right; but he knew he could not bind them any longer, as they had placed themselves under the protection of the new governor.¹⁰⁰

1857—The United States Government’s Campaign Against the Mormons

Historians refer to the period in which this dramatic meeting took place as the “Campaign Against the Mormons 1857–1858.” The United States President James Buchanan had ordered General Winfield Scott to send 2,000 soldiers to Fort Bridger to enforce federal laws in the Salt Lake Valley. Brigham Young viewed this show of military force as an existential threat, ordered the evacuation of Mormons from Salt Lake City,¹⁰¹ and issued orders for towns to be burned if the army approached them. Among those who enlisted was John Knowles’s daughter-in-law’s brother, Edward Creer. He prepared to fight against the Army of the United States with an “old stick.”

He labored [in Salt Lake City] until 1857, when the call came to obstruct the advance of Johnston's Army into the Salt Lake Valley. Edward, accompanied by his eldest son, William, joined the guerilla forces of Lot Smith and went forth to burn the wagons and stampede the cattle of the approaching army. The story is told of how he placed the only available musket on the shoulder of his son in order that the boy might be amply protected, while he, taking an old stick in his hand, went forth to meet the enemy.¹⁰²

Thomas Kane, a non-Mormon, brokered the peace agreement between the newly appointed Utah territory governor from Georgia, Alfred Cumming, and Brigham Young. The negotiated agreement marked the end of Mormon isolation and the beginning of United States government’s authority over the Mormons in Utah.¹⁰³

1858 to 1862 — The Knowles Family's Flight from Utah

On May 17, 1858, a company of settlers with thirty wagons headed east from Salt Lake City. Among those in the company were the Knowles, Melling, and Greenwood families. They walked by day over the snow-covered mountains, gathered by night around campfires to keep warm, and sang songs to pass the time. The members of the party lived in fear of attack by Native Americans. Their fear became reality when a band of Native Americans approached, taking two-month-old John Melling Jr. Fortunately, he was returned safely—with a bead necklace around his neck!

They saw in the distance a band of Indians, on horses, riding wildly toward them, raising a great cloud of dust as they approached. As the Indians rode over a hill nearing the family, their wild yells could be heard and their tomahawks and war paint glistened in the sunshine...The leader of the band took Mary's small baby brother from his bed in the wagon and began undressing him. They consulted each other in their own language concerning him, and turned him around and over and passed him from one to another...In a few moments the Chief put many strands of beads around the baby's neck and put him back into his bed in the wagon. Then consulting each other with their eyes, they gave a wild yell, mounted their horses, and rode wildly away, making clouds of dust in the sunshine. ¹⁰⁴

The Knowles, Melling, and Greenwood families settled in Nebraska City, a small outpost on the Missouri River, a few miles north of present-day Omaha. George Greenwood wrote a letter in Nebraska City to his sister in England on December 7, 1858. The *Preston Chronicle* published it on January 8, 1859. In its introduction, the *Chronicle* called Mormonism "the most demoralizing of all phantoms."

Mr. George Greenwood left Preston about four years ago, buoyant with hope and anticipation of the supposed advantages to be gained in the new "land of promise"; but, like many others, he has gained information by bitter experience, and he is now ... no doubt a poorer and sadder but wiser man. From the known respectability of the writer, few will question the accuracy of his statements, and we trust their publication may have a good effect of deterring others from following that most demoralizing all phantoms Mormonism. ¹⁰⁵

In October 1859, John Melling Sr. was mysteriously murdered by Dan-ites¹⁰⁶ in Nebraska City. Afterwards, John and Sarah Knowles and their widowed daughter, Ellen, moved to St. Louis. They settled into accommodations just two doors away from their daughter, Eliza, and son-in-law, Thomas Salisbury, who, by 1860, were nine-year residents of St. Louis. Sarah Knowles finally met her namesake, Sarah Salisbury, now five years old, whose birth had occurred one day after her grand-mother's 1855 arrival in Salt Lake City. In the intervening five years, the young Sarah had gained new one-year-old baby brother, Thomas, named after his father.

John and Sarah's son Isaac and their daughter-in-law, Mary Ann, did not remain in St. Louis. By 1861 the couple returned to England, where they moved in with Mary Ann's parents. Unable to have children of their own, they adopted a daughter.

In April 1861, the Civil War began. Civil unrest in St. Louis may have been the impetus for 38-year-old Thomas Salisbury, son-in-law of John and Sarah, to take his wife, Eliza, and their four children to Florence, Nebraska, where they joined a Utah-bound overland company of Mormons. East of Independence Rock they met a stage coach carrying Mark Twain, who described the encounter in his book *Roughing It*, “the emigrants had no head coverings, were covered with dust and looked very tired.”¹⁰⁷

One June 28, 1862, in St. Louis, John and Sarah Knowles celebrated 50 years of marriage. They may not only have reminisced about their past, but planned their future, the highest risk adventure of their lives — their upcoming 1030-mile trek to Utah. This one would be different than their first trip; it would threaten their lives.

1862 to 1863 — The Knowles Family’s Return to Utah

The recent “golden wedding anniversary” couple, John and Sarah Knowles, accompanied the families of their two daughters, the widowed Ellen Melling and Mary Greenwood, with the last overland company to leave for Utah in 1862. A winter storm arrived in October, bringing below-freezing temperatures. Snow fell in Utah’s mountain’s passes before the Knowles party crossed them in late October.

It was now October and we were nearing the mountains when one night six feet of snow came and we could not go on. They tramped the snow down to find enough brush to build a fire so we wouldn’t freeze to death. Again we ran out of food and had nothing to eat.¹⁰⁸

According to one of the company’s members, of the 195 who left Nebraska, only 160 of them made it to Salt Lake City.¹⁰⁹ Among the survivors were the two oldest members of the ill-fated overland company—John and Sarah Knowles, were some ten years older than any other traveler in the group. These two were tough cookies!

John and Sarah were reunited in Utah with their daughter Eliza, their son-in-law Thomas, and their four Salisbury grandchildren. Sadly, within a year, on 23 July 1863, Eliza died while pregnant. Her sister Ellen was at her side when she passed. When Sarah saw her grief-stricken grandchildren beg Ellen to stay, she interceded with a daughter for a second time (Note: Recall the George Greenwood proposition.) Ellen agreed to take the widower, Thomas Salisbury, as a husband. Thus, two families became one. The Salisbury children and three Melling children, formerly first cousins, became stepsiblings. As each family had a “Mary Ellen,” the two girls became *Big Mary Ellen* and *Small Mary Ellen*. They would always be close friends.¹¹⁰

Part I ends here—in 1863, with John and Sarah and their daughters’ families living in Utah; their son Joseph remained in St. Louis. The Knowles saga resumes in Part V.

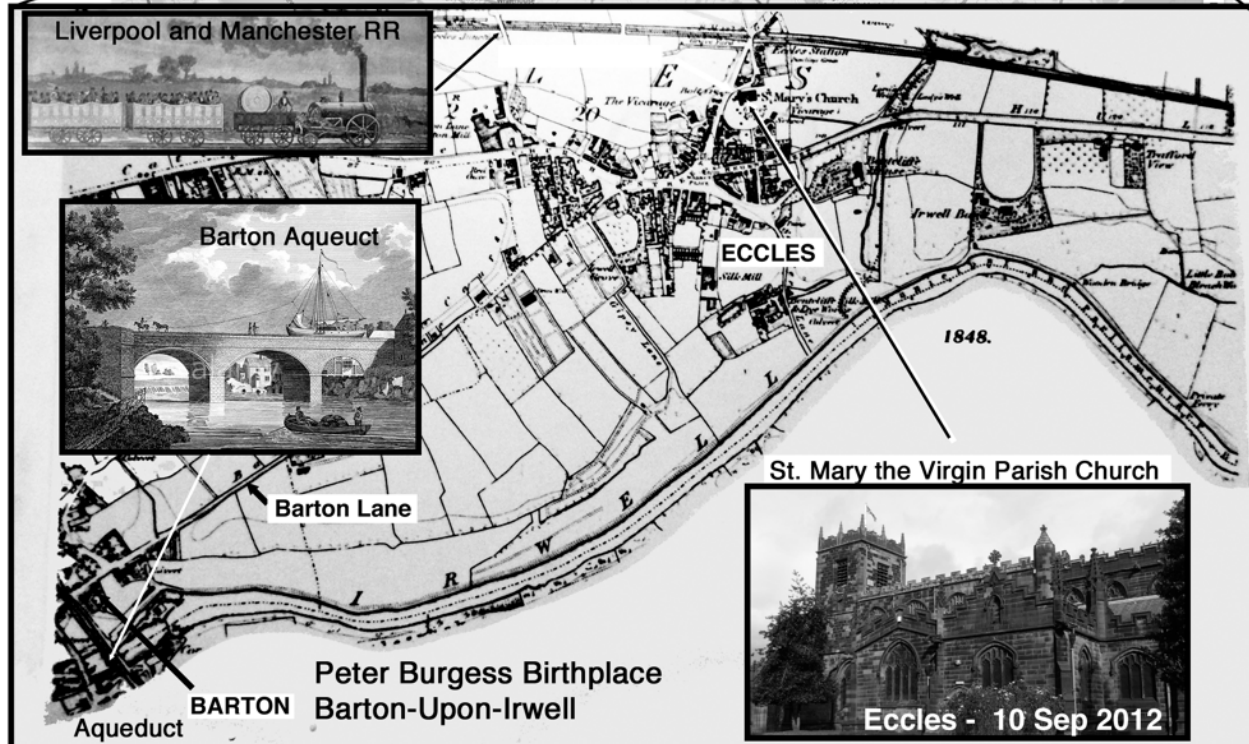
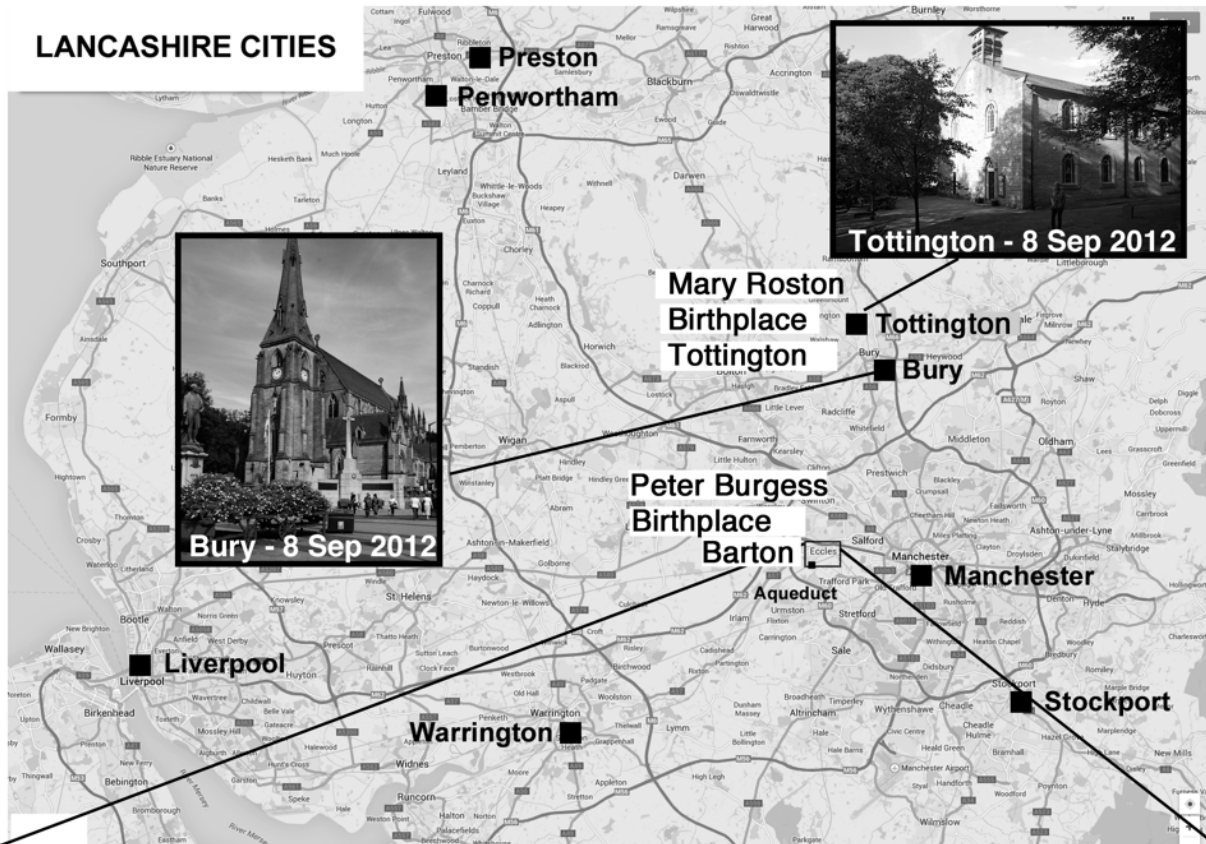
Part II introduces two families: the Burgesses and the Rostrons. As was true of the Knowles and Creer families, these were large families from Lancashire with multiple siblings. Many of them became Saints, too, and immigrated to America in the 1840’s.

Part II

The Burgess and Rostron Families



LANCASHIRE CITIES



Burgess and Rostron in Lancashire, England

Figure 5 Burgess and Rostron in Lancashire, England

Chapter 6 The Burgess Family of Barton-Upon-Irwell

September 30, 1830—A Burgess Siblings Afternoon Re-imagined

"The Rocket is coming! The Rocket is coming!" It is fun to imagine the three teenage Burgess brothers from Barton—Peter (15), his older brother Samuel (18), and younger brother James (13)—skipping school to witness the Rocket, the name given to the steam engine powering the first train in England to offer scheduled passenger service between two cities: Liverpool and Manchester. Perhaps their sisters—Maria, Martha, and Rachel—joined them on that historic, fall afternoon.

"There he is! There he is!" they all might have shouted when they caught their first glimpse of the 1st Duke of Wellington—hero of the Battle of Waterloo, now Britain's prime minister. He had given the signal at a quarter past eleven for The Rocket to pull out of Liverpool station, about thirty miles west of Barton. The train steamed eastward on tracks paralleling the Mersey and Irwell Rivers—the two waterways joining the Port of Liverpool and the City of Manchester, the industrial heart of Lancashire. A new age in transportation had begun: the age of railroads.

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The Parents: William and Martha Burgess of Barton-Upon-Irwell

On April 12, 1801, William Burgess and Martha Barlow were wed in St. Mary's the Virgin Parish Church in Eccles, England. Had only close relatives come, it would still have been a big wedding—the bride was the fourth of eleven children, the groom the fourth of seven children, and all their parents and grandparents were born in Eccles. There may have been more cousins than siblings present for the wedding.

The newlyweds settled in nearby Barton-Upon-Irwell, a village south of Patricroft and five miles west of Manchester on the River Irwell. (For a map, see Figure 5.) William was a miller, probably in either a silk mill or one Patricroft's spinning mills.

Five months later, a son, William, named for his father, was born. More children followed—Maria, in 1803, and John,¹¹² in 1805. These first three children were baptized in the same parish church where their parents had married. Their fourth child, Thomas, received his baptism in the non-conformist Wesleyan Methodist Church in Barton. Several of Martha's siblings were associated with it and their membership may account for the new venue. Five more children followed—Samuel, Peter, James, Martha, and Rachel—raising the count of Burgess children to nine.

Barton-Upon-Irwell

The source of the Irwell River lies 18 miles north of Manchester. It meanders as a stream for 30 miles south, passing through Ramsbottom and Bury on its way to Manchester where its course abruptly changes from south to west. About ten miles west of Manchester, the River Irwell merges with the River Mersey, flows westward toward Liverpool, and empties in the Irish Sea. Barton lies astride the River Irwell, half way between Manchester and the junction of the Irwell and Mersey. Barton-Upon-Irwell was a small, but not insignificant, village. Two historic engineering accomplishments, ones that opened new ages in the transportation of people and raw materials, were achieved in the vicinity of Barton-Upon-Irwell.

Barton-Upon-Irwell's Contributions to the Age of Canals and Age of Railroads

Historians have labeled the region around Barton as the “cradle of the industrial revolution.” The 600 foot long, triple-arched Barton Aqueduct was a civil engineering marvel¹¹³ that enabled coal-carrying canal boats to cross 40 feet above the Irwell River on their way from underground mines in Worsley (north of Barton) to Manchester (east of Barton.) The 17th of July 1761,¹¹⁴ the day water was admitted to the aqueduct, marked the beginning of an age of canal building in England.

The Bridgewater Canal¹¹⁵ system, of which the Barton Aqueduct was a part, provided an economical method of moving coal from an underground mine to coal-burning power plants. The canal solved a second problem: water accumulation in the mine's underground caverns. The excess water drained through the canal. The age of canals continued until a faster, cheaper transportation mode appeared—the railroad. The inaugural run of *The Rocket* on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway (L&MR) on Wednesday, September 30, 1830, was a second major event in the history of transportation that took place near Barton. Crowds had gathered hours before to witness events that would mark this day in the annals of history.¹¹⁶

The Education of the Burgess Siblings

Were the Burgess siblings to have actually witnessed *The Rocket*, as imagined in the text box at the beginning of this chapter, they would have had to cut class, because they were probably in school that day. Their father was educated, too, judging by his occupations, as listed on his children's baptism records¹¹⁷—miller, corn dealer, bookkeeper, and weaver. Moreover, the heads of households of his children's Barton Lane neighbors in the 1841 census included businessmen, skilled laborers, and craftsmen.¹¹⁸ Peter Burgess's journal begins with many pages of long multiplication practice problems that may represent his schoolwork. One example suffices: “How many barley corns will reach round the globe the circumference being 360 degrees supposing that each degree were 69 miles and a half?” Almost five billion! Peter's exact answer: $360 \times 69.5 \times 8 \times 40 \times 5.5 \times 3 \times 12 \times 3 = 4,755,801,600$ Barley-corns.¹¹⁹

The Burgess's children were lucky—they had the opportunity to study. By contrast, the Knowles and Creer children, who lived 30 miles north of Barton-Upon-Irwell in Preston, were unschooled; they worked at home at first and later in the cotton mills.

1824 to 1832—The Burgess Siblings Form Families

In May 1824, Maria Burgess married William Johnson,¹²⁰ a shipwright,¹²¹ in Manchester. The couple moved into a home on Barton Lane, the half-mile-long pathway connecting Barton-Upon-Irwell and Eccles. Five months later, William Burgess married Sarah Fletcher in Manchester, in a ceremony witnessed by Maria and his brother-in-law. They, too, chose to live on Barton Lane. A year later, their younger siblings gained two nieces, arriving *one day* apart—*Rachel*, born to William and Sarah, on September 24,th and *Martha*, the next day, born to Maria and William Johnson. The two nieces were baptized, on November 20, in Barton-Upon-Irwell's non-conformist Wesleyan Methodist Church. Seven years later, on, 18 November, 1832, Samuel became the first of the five youngest siblings to marry, in a ceremony¹²² at St. John's Church in Manchester—¹²³ the same church in which his older siblings had wed. His 21-year-old bride, Elizabeth Clayton, marked an "X" on the wedding record; Sam signed it. They lived just west of Manchester in Salford.

1834 to 1837—Deaths of the Burgess Parents

Samuel and Elizabeth Burgess were about to be blessed with their first child, Elizabeth, when William Burgess, the family's 58-year-old patriarch, died on 25 June 1834. Samuel was 22 years old and Peter Burgess was 19 years old. Samuel became a railway crossing guard; Peter became a railway porter. The brothers may both have worked for the LM&R. If true, it would not be the last time that Samuel and Peter would work for the same firm. They would remain close.

The three youngest Burgess children—James (age 16), Martha (age 13), and Rachel (age 11)—needed support from siblings after their father died. They got it. It would be the first, but not the last, time the Burgess siblings helped each other in tough times. James apprenticed to a carpenter—who was, probably, either his brother-in-law, William Johnson, or one of William's colleagues. James would work as a joiner/carpenter for decades to come in Nauvoo, Vermont, Illinois, Iowa, and Utah.

Two events, coincidentally occurring in the same week, each one transformative in the lives of the Burgess children, occurred in July 1837. The first was on Sunday, July 23, when Heber C. Kimball preached for the first time at the Vauxhall Road Chapel in Preston. Four days later, the Burgess children's mother died. The day of her burial—Sunday, July 30—occurred on the same day as the first baptism of an English Saint, George D. Watt. It would not be very long before one the Burgess siblings became a Latter-day Saint. It would be Samuel. The two siblings most affected by their mother's 1837 death would surely have been the youngest two children— Martha (age 17) and Rachel (age 14).

Manchester Mormons

In his introduction to his classic work *Manchester Mormons*, James B. Allen described the living conditions of working class British in Manchester, where people were both generating and feeling the impacts of the Industrial Revolution. The following five excerpts from Allen's book help explain why my father's great-grandparents were so receptive to the Latter-day Saint missionaries.

In 1837 Queen Victoria ascended the throne and during the early years of her reign England suffered bitter societal cleavage.¹²⁴ When apostles Brigham Young and Willard Richards arrived in England they soon became acquainted with the laboring classes, who made up a large portion of the early Mormon converts. William Clayton and the apostles were highly sensitive to the needs of these factory workers and artisans.¹²⁵

It is not strange that people from the working classes of Manchester should be attracted to Mormonism. By the late 1830s the preaching of fundamentalist, revivalist religion was becoming commonplace. American evangelists regularly crossed the Atlantic and seem to have had a greater appeal in England than in America.¹²⁶

The search for social justice through utopian socialistic movements, together with religious fundamentalism, tended to create interest in faiths that emphasized personal religion and salvation and promised hope for better life here and hereafter. The Mormon emphasis on prophecy, millennialism, progress, apostolic authority, religious ordinances, and universal salvation appealed to the working classes.¹²⁷

The largest city in Britain to host a Mormon congregation was Manchester¹²⁸, which had a branch of some 240 members. In April 1840 there were 33 Mormon congregations represented at the general conference held [there. It] was the chief city in highly industrialized Lancashire, which alone possessed some three-fifths of the British spinning in cotton weaving factories. Over 100 of these were located in Manchester.¹²⁹

The Mormon apostles could well have preached emigration to America not only for the sake of the gospel, but also for the temporal salvation of the distraught masses. Either message would have appealed to the industrial workers of Manchester. For whatever reason, over 62% of the Manchester membership in 1840 eventually emigrated.¹³⁰

Mormon Missionary Profile: Elder William Clayton

In April 1838, when five of the seven missionaries returned to America, Joseph Fielding and Willard Richards were left in charge. Appointed *counselor* was William Clayton, who thus became the first native of England to serve as an officer of the Mormon Church. The 23-year-old Clayton was the eldest of 14 children born to Thomas and Ann Clayton of Penwortham, a village west of Preston on the opposite side of the River Ribble. Elder Fielding, Richards, and Clayton's main challenge was to

sustain the scattered Latter-day Saints. Among the approximately 1500 in England converted by April 1838, about 400 of them lived in Preston.¹³¹

William Clayton committed himself to the task. He quit his bookkeeping job, left his wife and daughters, and devoted himself fully to his pastoral ministry. “New Years Day 1840 found him living in a Manchester boarding house operated by church members and depending on donations from those among whom he labored.”¹³²

In 1839 Heber C. Kimball wrote from America to the three mission leaders, urging them to “feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and visit the widow and the fatherless, and turn not the stranger away empty, feed thine enemy, do good to them that revile you and say all manner of evil, if it be false great is your reward in heaven.”¹³³ Such letters revealed that the three men spent a great deal of time attending to the moral, physical, spiritual and economic welfare of the new English converts.¹³⁴

On January 1, 1840, William Clayton, who by then had become the presiding elder of the Manchester Branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, began one of the earliest daily journals now extant of a native-born English Mormon officer. His diary reveals his genuine devotion to the well being of the members of the church.¹³⁵ The following paragraph, created from nineteen journal entries, is representative of how, in his pastoral ministry, he cared for one family in his flock—Samuel Burgess’s.

Child is very poorly...wife and child poorly. I anointed her breasts and prayed with them...wife very sick...child very sick not very likely to recover...child appears worse ...prayed with and anointed his wife and child...anointed and prayed with his wife... prayed...prayed...anointed and prayed with her...her breast is very bad. I prayed with her...very bad...prayed with her and daughter...some better...prayed with her and daughter...family improving...brought a dress...very sick...went and prayed.¹³⁶

These nineteen “journal snippets” are especially relevant to the Burgess story because the “wife and child” that Clayton visited were none other than Samuel Burgess’s wife, Elizabeth, and child, Elizabeth.¹³⁷ That Clayton referred to Samuel as *Brother Burgess* in his 1840 journal entries is persuasive evidence that Samuel had received a Mormon baptism, making him the first Burgess sibling to become a Saint.

Samuel’s wife, the former Elizabeth *Clayton*, may also have been William Clayton’s half-sister.¹³⁸ If true, she would be the most likely individual to have introduced Samuel to William Clayton, whose journal permits us to affix the exact date he met with Sam’s brothers—February 15, 1840. Clayton made the following journal entry on that day: “Went to Brother Burgess. Had a good deal of conversation with two of Brother Burgess’s brothers. William [Burgess] rejected our testimony. The other¹³⁹ would seek on it. Prayed with and anointed his wife and child.”¹⁴⁰ Maria [Johnson] received a similar invitation on March 7, 1840. Clayton’s entry for that date reads, “Went to see Sister Burgess. Anointed and prayed with her and Maria [Johnson].”¹⁴¹

1840 —The Second British Mission and the First Emigrant Ships

Two years after Elder Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde left Fielding, Richards, and Clayton in charge, in April 1838, and returned to America, dramatic developments led Joseph Smith Jr. to direct Brigham Young and other members of the Quorum of Twelve back to England. The goals of the second British Mission were two-fold: an increased numbers of British Saints and an immigration movement to Nauvoo.

Brigham Young and his leadership contingent, the traveling high council, arrived in April 1840. Their means to achieve growth included the creation of a newspaper, *The Millennial Star*, targeted at a British audience and creation of a missionary corps of zealous young men. Their means to achieve population growth in Nauvoo was an emigration agency to organize immigration to Nauvoo via the lowest cost route available—Liverpool to New Orleans¹⁴² on a sailing ship, New Orleans to Nauvoo via the Mississippi River on a steamship, usually stopping in St. Louis for a ship change. The first sailing ship, *Britannia*, left Liverpool on June 6, 1840. Forty-one Saints were on board. William Clayton sailed, three months later, on the second emigration ship, the *North America*, on September 8, 1840. It was a modest beginning—a mere trickle that would later grow into a flood of migration. Fifty-two thousand Saints on 150 chartered sailing ships would follow them between 1842 and 1868.

1840 to 1841—James Burgess’s Mission to Wales

In October 1840, while the *North America* was en route, at a conference in Manchester, Brigham Young initiated the first Mormon Mission to Wales. On October 6, Henry Royle was called upon to embark on a mission to Flintshire, Wales. By the end of October, Royle had formed a branch in Overton with 32 members.¹⁴³

On October 19, at the same Manchester conference, James Burgess received his Mormon baptism. (James may have been the brother, who, as recorded on February 15 in William Clayton’s journal, said he “would seek on it” when Clayton visited Samuel’s brothers.) Two months later, James was ordained a priest. His first assignment, beginning in January, was to accompany Elder Henry Royle to Wales. This newest Saint picked up his pen and, one year after William Clayton began his journal, James Burgess started keeping a journal, i.e., a diary. It is an invaluable, authoritative information source regarding his siblings’ and his lives from 1841 to 1848. (Note: I have produced an edited transcription of the journal; it is available on request. A digitally scanned version of the original journal is accessible on-line.)

The journal’s first page, dated 7 January 1841, informs us that the Burgess siblings were schooled (*I had a tolerable good education*), that their parents were religious (*my parents were very steady religious characters*), that James was a bit of a prodigal son (*I got a little astray in the world.*), but that he found redemption (*I began to think about my Soul ... I knew he had only one Church...[I] began to serve the Lord.*)

I James Burgess Son of William and Martha Burgess Born in the year of our Lord
1818 February 25 Born at Barton Lancashire England I had a tolerable good
Education my parents were very Steady religious characters the[y] had nine of a

family and I was the youngest but two when my Father died I was put apprentice to a Joiner and Stayed about four years and a half then I left an I got a little astray in the world for a short time then I began to think about my Soul and first to one Chapel and then to another but I did not think that any of them was the Church of God I knew he had only one Church then I heard of the Church of Latter day Saints which I proved to be the Church of God then I joined this Church and began to serve the Lord I was Babtised into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on the 19th of October 1840 and then on the 18 December 1840 I was ordained a Priest to preach and teach the fullness of the Gospel of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ which I proved to be the Church of the living God. ¹⁴⁴

In April, July, and August of 1841, James returned from Wales for short visits. He usually stayed with a sibling—Maria in Barton, Samuel in Salford, or Peter in Stockport. Sometimes his sister Rachel or Maria accompanied him on visits to Peter and Ann. On one memorable occasion in April, he preached to a houseful of curious friends and neighbors in either his sister Maria's or his brother William's home.

The day following I went to Barton again to preach. I proceeded to get a chapel but I could not succeed but I preached in my brother's house. I let the inhabitants know and a great many came to hear me, I being a native of there and always being amongst the Methodists. They came to hear me a many for curiosity. Yea, there was a great many more than the house could hold and preached unto them the Gospel of Jesus Christ and because it came in contact with their opinions they were very much grieved at me because I preached unto them the Gospel and told them that it was a message from the Almighty that he had set his hand the second time to recover the remnant of his people ...which had been scattered among all nations.¹⁴⁵

More than a record of events, James's diary offers insights into his beliefs and character. On July 10, six months into his yearlong mission to Wales, his journal expressed the strength of his commitment. Despite being victim of ridicule, he wrote that he would rather give up his liberty or his life before he would give up preaching the gospel.

I have had much traveling and it has been with great difficulties we can get to the people but the gospel must be preached as the savior has said in all the world for a witness then shall the end come. I feel for my part to do all that lies in my power. If I should have to go in prison or to lose my life I am determined to go ahead by the help of the Lord. Yea [even] if it should cost me to lose my life. ¹⁴⁶

1841—Marriage of Peter Burgess and Ann Margaret Esplin

On May 16, 1841, Peter Burgess married 25-year-old Ann Margaret Esplin, the oldest child of eleven children born to native Scots, William and Elizabeth Esplin. All of her siblings, save one, were sisters. William Esplin, a carpenter, was a Wesleyan Methodist. Peter and Ann's marriage took place in St. John's Church in Manchester. Thomas Burgess—probably Peter's older brother, but possibly his mother's brother-in-law, witnessed the ceremony. The newlyweds settled six miles southeast of Manchester, in Stockport, on an appropriately named street—Love Lane.

In 1841 the two youngest Burgess children, Martha and Rachel, were ages 20 years and 17 years, respectively. Rachel was listed in the 1841 census in her older brother Samuel's household in Salford, a town just west of Manchester, on the opposite side of the River Irwell. Samuel was a railway crossing guard; Peter was a railway porter. Martha's whereabouts are less certain than those of her siblings. The best candidate was a single woman employed as a domestic servant at a hotel in Altrincham, about seven miles due south of Barton, nine miles southwest of Manchester.

On January 10, 1842, on a visit to his brother Peter's home in Stockport, James officiated at the LDS baptism of Peter, Peter's wife, Ann, and two others. His journal entry: "I had the pleasure of baptizing four into the kingdom and body of Jesus Christ." Three weeks later, as part of multi-night visit at his brother Samuel's, he baptized his sister-in-law Elizabeth and his sister Rachel. His journal entry: "The evening following I preached in Ordsall Lane¹⁴⁷ in the usual house. After preaching I baptized two into of the kingdom of our God, this being the 31st of January 1842."

1842—The Burgess Siblings' Emigration Decisions: Some "Yes," Some "No."

In February 1842, at a council meeting in Manchester, James accepted a call to go on a mission 40 miles east, to Bradford, Yorkshire. He returned to Manchester in April, staying again with his brother Samuel before returning to Bradford. The Yorkshire Mission was progressing nicely through the spring and early summer, but after the onset of the Chartist riots in August, James Burgess's journal took an abrupt turn; he announced his intention to immigrate "to the land of Zion" with Sam and his sisters.

Within this last few weeks there has been great rioting in various parts of England even in this town there has been great excitement this morning being the 20th of August 1842. Shortly after this I leaving Leeds came on my way to Manchester being the distance of about 40 miles. When I got here I began with my brother Samuel and my sisters¹⁴⁸ to prepare for emigrating for America to the land of Zion. ¹⁴⁹

The Chartists riots probably determined the timing of the family's decision. After all, James's journal made explicit reference to the riots in nearly the same sentence he announced his decision to emigrate with his siblings. The labor unrest had begun on August 9, when "20,000 strikers gathered in Ashton and set off to Manchester along Ashton New Road, turning out mills and factories along the way."¹⁵⁰ Within a month of the great rioting, three ships sailed for America: the *Sidney* (Sept. 17, with Joseph Knowles), the *Bedford* (Sept. 25) and the *Henry* (Sept. 29, with Samuel, his wife, their daughter, James, and Rachel Burgess.) It is hard to imagine Samuel, the responsible older brother, emigrating without his youngest sister Rachel going, too. After she received her LDS baptism, in January 1842, they, too, may have been waiting for an opportune time to leave. Single, the youngest male, the most zealous Saint, and the officiator of his siblings' baptisms, James may have been influenced by the surge of fellow Saints who also sailed in the fall of 1842.¹⁵¹ (James was most eager to emigrate, but he had a mission and would want to accompany his siblings.)

Three of the Burgess Latter-day Saints—Maria, Peter, and his wife, Ann,—chose to remain in England. Maria’s decision was no surprise—there’s no evidence that her husband, William, became a Saint. Were that not sufficient reason, she had six young children. However, after having served so long as their stalwart, steady, big sister, she was undoubtedly sorry to see her siblings sail. Peter and Ann’s decision to stay was also unsurprising. On August 3, just one week before the Chartist riots and James’s journal’s emigration announcement, Ann gave birth to a daughter. Peter and Ann named her Elizabeth—making her the third Elizabeth Burgess—the first, Peter’s sister-in-law, Elizabeth (nee Clayton) Burgess, and the second, Peter’s niece, Elizabeth Burgess. (Note: Years later, it was Peter’s *niece*, Elizabeth, who Samuel R Burgess called “cousin Lizzie” in his journal—not Peter’s *daughter*, Elizabeth.)

In September 1842, three of Peter Burgess’s siblings left Manchester for Liverpool on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, traveling over the same rails that had carried the *Rocket* on its inaugural run, twelve years before, on 30 September 1830.

September 27, 1842—The Burgess’s Departure Re-imagined

Twelve years to the month after three of the Burgess children—Samuel, James, and Peter— may have witnessed the inaugural eastbound run of the Rocket in 1830, a Liverpool and Manchester Railway (L&MR) train carried them westbound on the same tracks. Five miles into their 35-mile journey from Manchester to Liverpool, they would have passed their childhood Barton home.

The children of their brother William and sister Maria—who would have been about the same ages the departing Saints had been in 1830—may have stood where they may have stood and shouted, “The Rocket is coming!” For Samuel, James, and Rachel it was a bittersweet moment. They were excited about sailing across the Atlantic Ocean to the New World. At the same time, they were sorry to have to say, “Goodbye forever,” to their homeland and family members.

One of them may have been first to spot a nephew or niece—perhaps their brother William’s daughter Martha or son James or their sister Maria’s daughter Rachel or son William—standing exactly where they had stood a dozen years before. “There they are! There they are!” they may have shouted.

As the Burgess family members waved to one another from the railway to the roadway, the same thought may have gone through the minds of the three travelers: “We’ll never see Barton-Upon-Irwell or our family again.”

Chapter 7 The Three Burgess Siblings of Nauvoo

September 1842 to April 1843—Journey from Liverpool to Nauvoo

On September 29, two days after leaving Manchester, the Burgesses boarded the *Henry*. For Saints like James, who believed the 2nd coming was imminent, a sense of urgency to gather with fellow Saints in Nauvoo offset the sorrows of saying farewell.

We left Manchester and bid farewell to our friends and relatives and came on to Liverpool and the day following we bid farewell to our native land, leaving all as it were for the truths sake because we believed that God had spoken from the heavens and began to call his children together from the ends of the earth to prepare for the coming of his Son Jesus Christ.¹⁵²

Alfred Cordon,¹⁵³ James Burgess's good friend, described his feelings upon his departure, "The vessel began to move out of dock, and what feeling of anguish stole upon my mind as I gazed upon my parents and relatives, perhaps never, never to see them again until we meet in an eternal world."¹⁵⁴

The demeanor of a ship's captain had a huge impact on its passengers' spirits. Sam, James, and Rachel Burgess sailed on the *Henry*; Joseph Knowles sailed on the *Sidney*. Contrast the following anecdotes of their captains. (These two ships arrived in New Orleans exactly one day apart: November 10, 1842, and November 11, 1842.)

Sidney (Knowles): "The Captain ... allowed [the children] every indulgence, took pleasure in having them round him on the quarter-deck and would play with them as if they were his own. May the Lord bless him for his kindness!"¹⁵⁵

Henry: (Burgesses): "The Captain swore he would keep us on the ship untill we were starved to death. On the 14th of November 1842 we came to the mouth of the Mississippi river, remaining there six days on account of the evil disposition of the Captain, who was determined to provoke us as much as possible."¹⁵⁶ No one died; the passengers complained about seasickness and the disposition of Captain Taylor.

Upon arriving in St. Louis, Saints from the *Sidney*, *Bedford*, and *Henry* were all stuck. James Burgess wrote, "When we got [to St. Louis] we found the river was froze up."

We left Orleans on the following Thursday. On our way we found it rather difficult to get up being short of water. We saw several steam boats that had been sunk of late with running on [snags]. We were obliged to stop several times on our way being short of water. We were stopped a whole week at Buffalo Island. ...We arrived at St. Louis on the 12th of December 1842. When we got here we found the river was froze up between here and Nauvoo, which is the place where we were destined

to go. Also we found the other Saints here had started before us so we took a house to remain here until the river was open.¹⁵⁷

The winter of 1843 had arrived about two months early. The hundreds of Saints who sailed on the *Henry*, *Bedford*, and *Sidney* suffered the same fate. Alfred Cordon wrote, “We took houses as well as we could get them, they were very dear; about 5 dollar for a poor house. ... We obtained one at the rate of 4 dollars per month.”¹⁵⁸ James Burgess must not have found St. Louis hospitable for he reported in his journal, “After being here some length of time under trying circumstances, amidst our enemies, and a long winter at the latter end of March, the frost beginning to leave us, we began to prepare for our journeys end.”¹⁵⁹

Once the Mississippi became navigable, the Burgesses joined some 300 Saints on the St. Louis docks, all bound for Nauvoo on the steamship *Maid of Iowa*. Its Welsh owner was 33-year-old Captain Dan Jones. He had submerged his body the previous January in the icy Mississippi to receive an LDS baptism. He would emerge a decade later as a prominent missionary to Wales. (Note: Dan Jones is a key figure in Part IV.)

James Burgess characterized the steamship trip as “tedious.” It was followed by a joyous reception in Nauvoo from the “hundreds” of Saints waiting excitedly for their arrival. One can only imagine the relief of the Burgesses when their seven-month journey finally ended. Their prophet, Joseph Smith Jr., welcomed the new arrivals.

We left St. Louis on or about the first of April for the City of Nauvoo. We had a tedious passage upwards of a fortnight in coming up the river the distance of about 250 miles. At length we found ourselves in the place where we had longed to be a length of time. Truly our hearts did rejoice the day after we got here we heard the Prophet Joseph Smith deliver some council and instruction to the Saints; more especially to those that had just arrived which caused them to rejoice and be glad. When our boat arrived at the city there were hundreds to welcome us and assist in getting places to stay.¹⁶⁰

May 1843 to April 1844—James’s Journal Suspended

The Nauvoo Temple symbolized the city’s aspiration to become a New Zion. The 300 Saints who arrived on the *Maid of Iowa* would have seen it rising on the high bluff at the eastern edge of the city. Its completion was Nauvoo’s highest priority; all able-bodied men were expected to work on it. A white limestone quarry provided the stone. The stonework was unlike anything seen on the frontier, measuring 88 feet wide, 128 feet long, and 60 feet high with a spire rising 165 feet.¹⁶¹ Pine forests as far away as Wisconsin provided the lumber for the temple’s structure.

Upon his arrival, in April 1843, James made a disappointingly brief journal entry, before he suspended his journal for twelve months—a period of time he probably worked on the construction of the temple, given that he was a carpenter by trade.

Myself, sister¹⁶², brother¹⁶³, his wife and girl took out residence at the Elder Snider's until we got a house. After a short time we rented a house for 12 months a little out of the City not far from the Prophet's farm to remain until further arrangements be made.¹⁶⁴

April 1844 to April 1845—James Burgess's Mission to Vermont

Just as Brigham Young asked men from Lancashire, in July 1840, to travel on missions to Ireland, Scotland, and distant English counties, so, in 1844, Joseph Smith Jr. assigned men from Nauvoo to travel on missions to distant States. In April James Burgess accepted a mission to Vermont. In May, he and Alfred Cordon began a three-month, 1100-mile walk, from the Mississippi River to the Connecticut River.

Nauvoo's stunning population growth had drawn Smith into politics. In February 1844, he had announced his candidacy for President of the United States. A week into their trip, Burgess and Cordon got a taste of the enmity toward "Joe Smith." Referring to Smith's presidential ambitions, a tavern keeper told them, "He was much opposed to it and said he would not mind shooting Joe Smith and said if there was any chance of him being elected that there was a man not far off that would shoot him. He said there was no chance of him taking his seat at Washington."¹⁶⁵

A month later, such threats became very real—Smith was assassinated on June 27. Elder Burgess and Elder Cordon had reached Utica, New York, before news reports of the assassination of the Smith brothers reached them on July 11. James remarked on anti-Mormon sentiments he had encountered, but insisted "truth will prevail."

At the present there is much excitement in the newspapers about the Mormons at Nauvoo. They say that Joseph and Hyrum Smith have been shot by a mob. There is much prejudice exists among the people against Latter-day Saints as a people but truth will prevail.¹⁶⁶ (Note: Underlining added.)

James and his companion, Alfred Cordon, spent the winter on a Vermont farm, preaching in small towns and villages along the Connecticut River. Among the New Englanders whom James befriended, after he arrived, was Gideon Stiles. Stiles, also a Mormon, had two young, eligible sisters, Minerva and Lydia. James was attracted to Lydia. Two months after he "had quite a good time" with Lydia, celebrating her sister Minerva's winter wedding, James and Lydia married on April 25, 1845.

In April 1845, two Burgess brothers headed toward a common destination: Nauvoo. On April 15, just ten days before his brother James's April wedding, Peter Burgess arrived in New Orleans from England. He steamed north on the Mississippi to St. Louis on the *Julia Chateau*, continuing on to Nauvoo on the *Galena*, arriving May 2. Four days after their wedding, James and Lydia headed west from Vermont. By the time they arrived in Nauvoo, his brother Peter's family had already arrived.

Chapter 8 The Fourth Burgess Sibling of Nauvoo

August 17, 1845—Peter Burgess Loses His Wife, the Love of His Life

All he could do was weep. The loss of sons Zachariah and William was hard, but this—this was unbearable. Days later, when he recorded her death in his journal, he wrote, “Ann Margaret Burgess died Aug’t 17th 1845, Aged 26 years & one Day.”

For all nine other entries of births and deaths of immediate family members, Peter Burgess had recorded the time of day—accurate to the minute. His wife Ann’s death is the *only* one without a time of day. It was as if for Peter, time itself—as well as her life— was stilled.

January 1842 to December to 1844—Peter and Ann Burgess of Stockport

In England, after Peter and Ann had been baptized (by James) in January 1842, Peter became an active Saint. He officiated at five baptisms before he was ordained an Elder on Christmas Eve 1843.¹⁶⁷ A month later (January 21, at 3:00 p.m. to be Peter-precise), Ann gave birth to their second child— a son, Zachariah. Tragically, the boy died on his sixth day of life. A few weeks later, however, Ann conceived again, and, nine-months later, gave birth to a second son, William, on December 10, 1844.

Meanwhile, Peter was busy with his expanding responsibilities as an LDS Elder. In September, and then again in December, he presided at meetings of the Didsbury Branch of the Manchester Conference. His conference records are remarkable documents because of the obvious care he took creating them. First, he prepared a two-page spread in his journal by lightly penciling in ruled lines to form a grid of rows and columns. Second, he inked in the column headings (e.g., Name of member, Age, Month/Day/Year of Baptism, etc.) He completed the tables with his beautiful, script handwriting. When Peter’s journal’s tables are viewed on a computer screen, one is tempted to cut-and-paste them directly into Excel spreadsheets.

1845—Peter and Ann Burgess of Nauvoo

In September 1842, when Peter’s siblings had sailed from Liverpool less than two months after Ann gave birth to Elizabeth, he wisely chose to remain behind. In February 1845, only eleven weeks after William’s birth, Peter and Ann, inexplicably, emigrated with their newborn son and their 2½-year-old daughter. Perhaps Peter felt obligated to accompany other members of the Didsbury Branch, who may have decided to immigrate to Nauvoo, in February 1845. It proved to be a fatal mistake.

In his journal's only narrative passage, Peter described his arrival in America. (Apparently, as far back as 1845, Havana, Cuba was world-renowned for its cigars!)

Sailed from Liverpool on Board the Ship *Walpole*. Captain Thomas, on the 27th day of February 1845, Thursday at 2 o'clock P.M. made Land on the 6 day of April the Island of a Abaco. Thence some other small islands, one the Great Isaac, the hen (?) & chickens (?), on the 10th made the Island of Cuba also we passed the City of Havannah (sic) where the Havannah cigars come from, we next came in sight of the American Land on the 14th, entered the mouth of the Mississippi on the 15th, reached New Orleans on the 16th at — we had a Pleasant Voyage of 6 Weeks & 6 days Sail from Liverpool to New Orleans. Arrived at Nauvoo about the 2 Day of May 1845.¹⁶⁸

Three days before Peter's arrival, newlyweds James and Lydia Burgess left Vermont. Thus, in April 1845, Peter and James were both headed for Nauvoo. They arrived within weeks of one another, reuniting with Samuel, Rachel, and a *new* in-law.

Rachel had married George Colemere, an old family friend, the previous November. George was a Nauvoo landowner, having purchased ¼ acre of land, for \$50, at the corner of Sidney and Fulmer in the southeast section of Nauvoo in May of 1843.¹⁶⁹ Rachel invited her brother James to build on her property—another example of one Burgess caring for another Burgess. James immediately began building a home. On the 25th of July 1845, he and Lydia occupied their new home for the first time.

The Burgess couples—Samuel and Elizabeth, Peter and Ann, James and Lydia, and Rachel and George—had, at best, a short time to enjoy one another's company in late spring/early summer of 1845. They fell victim to the bane of Nauvoo—disease. Shortly after moving into his new home on the Colemere's property, James wrote:

We felt comfortable when we could live under our own roof none to molest as it were warm or make us afraid, we found ourselves beginning to enjoy life. In fact our health has not been very good since we came here. No sooner had we just got settled in our habitation than the power of sickness enters it and seizes my wife and continued with her about three months or a little more her sickness was principally the fever and ague. Her sickness confined me at home most of the time and in the course of the time my health was not very good.¹⁷⁰

James and his wife were not alone in their suffering during the summer of 1845. When Peter Burgess arrived, on May 2, his family may already have fallen ill. Just imagine the negative impact on the immune systems of a nursing mother and weeks-old baby of their arduous, three-month journey—cramped living quarters, unsanitary conditions, inadequate nutrition, and exposure to numerous germs.

Malaria was the most common cause of death in Nauvoo. The industrious Mormons drained the swamps, but 40 deaths from malaria were recorded, year in and year out. Death rates from mosquito-borne disease peaked during August/September.¹⁷¹

William Burgess died, on July 19, at age seven months; Four weeks later Ann died, on August 17, one day after her 26th birthday. Peter recorded the date, but not exact time, of his wife's death. His omission of her time of death was uncharacteristic.

William Burgess Died July 19th 1845 at 20 minutes Past one o'clock Noon. Buried July 20th 1845 in Nauvoo in... James's Lot South Street, Aged 7 Months & 9 Days.

Ann Margaret Burgess Died Aug 17 1845 Buried Aug't 19th 1845 in my Brother James's Lot South Street / Aged 26 years & one Day.¹⁷²

Peter then recorded the exact the locations of the graves of his wife and son.

Ann Margaret's Grave and Williams / From the East Corner of my Brother James House South Street Nauvoo, Measures by my feet, 123 feet & by the 2 foot is 117 feet to the Centre of her grave.

From the South Corner of ... Rachel's Kitchen South Street Nauvoo, measures by my feet 94 feet by the 2 foot is 90 feet to the Centre of my wife's grave.

The Grave is on my Brother James Lot, South East from his house, from Rachel's Division Fence to the Head of the grave is 20 feet, Rachel's Kitchen is 8 feet 5 inches from the corner of the house to the corner of the Kitchen.¹⁷³

Peter may have blamed himself for the deaths of his wife and only son, as it must have been he that decided to sail from England when his wife was still nursing an 11-week-old infant. He did not have time to wallow in self-pity, however, because he had a 2½-year-old daughter. Fortunately, for Peter, he had three women willing to assist him: his sister, Rachel, and his sisters-in-law, Lydia and Elizabeth. Elizabeth was in the best position to help, as the first two were about to give birth. Elizabeth Burgess Colemere was born to Rachel on September 1; William Gideon¹⁷⁴ Burgess was born to Lydia on Christmas Day of 1845—each a first-born child. Joy at last!

I like to imagine the four young families of the Burgess siblings—Sam, Peter, James, and Rachel—celebrating Christmas at Rachel's home in Nauvoo, because in 1945, exactly 100 years later, Peter's four great-grandchildren—Alice, Cedric, Sam, and Walter—celebrated Christmas at Sybil Burgess Evans's home in St. Louis.¹⁷⁵

October 1845 to February 1846—The Mormons Prepare to Evacuate Nauvoo

After Joseph Smith Jr.'s assassination, in June 1844, Nauvoo's Mormons never sought retribution. Yet their relationship with their neighbors grew increasingly tense. The neighbors feared the *Nauvoo Legion*—its armed militia. Many Illinois residents had once come out to see the militia on parade in May 1843, when the commander of the U.S. Army, General Winfred Scott, visited Nauvoo.¹⁷⁶ James and Sam Burgess were militia members—James was a 2nd Corporal and Sam was a 5th Sergeant in the 6th cohort, 4th regiment, 2nd company, having enlisted in September 1843.¹⁷⁷

In October 1845, the Quorum of Twelve decided on a drastic action—organize a mass migration for the following spring to territory lying beyond the western borders of the United States. Threats of imminent attack by armed mobs led Young to advance the departure from spring to February. They pulled it off. For Brigham Young, the leader elected by the Quorum of Twelve as Joseph Smith Jr.’s successor, the Nauvoo exodus was the supreme challenge to his leadership skills— skills honed between April 1840 and April 1841 when Young presided over the second British Mission. In fact, the success of the 1846 emigration from Nauvoo owed much to the Quorum of Twelve’s first experience working together four years earlier in England.

Winter 1846—Burgess Family Members Face Decisions

Families in Nauvoo now faced a choice: stay or leave. Lydia Burgess’s mother, Lydia Stiles, wrote a letter, urging her daughter to return to Vermont as soon as possible. James stalled for time. “Their desire, in particular [her] mother, is for us to return to the state of Vermont next spring but it is more likely we shall go with the church as soon as it is convenient.”¹⁷⁸ One reason for the delay was the Nauvoo Temple had just been completed and endowment ceremonies had been authorized. James and Lydia received the seal of the covenant in the Nauvoo temple, on 15 February 1846.

On February 4, the first evacuees crossed the Mississippi, beginning a mass exodus of more than 10,000 Saints. When the river froze solid, in late February, Samuel Burgess fled the imperiled city, taking his family to Fort Madison, Iowa— about ten miles north. Peter Burgess, who, with his three-year-old daughter, Elizabeth, may have been living with Samuel’s family since Ann’s death, moved in with James. While Peter worked in the temple office, James’s wife, Lydia, may have taken care of Elizabeth.

By March 1846, the evacuation of Nauvoo was well underway. James recorded, “The first companies that are gone. I believe number from seven to eight thousand souls.” On April 15, traveling with Brigham Young in the vanguard company, William Clayton (the counselor, who, six years earlier in March 1840, paid pastoral calls in England on Samuel Burgess’s sick wife, Elizabeth), learned that his wife had delivered a healthy baby boy. He sat down and joyfully composed the words to what became one of the most beloved hymns of Latter-day Saints—*Come, Come, Ye Saints*.

*Come, come, ye Saints, no toil nor labor fear
But with joy wend your way.
Tho’ hard to you this journey may appear
Grace shall be as your day.
'Tis better far for us to strive
Our useless cares from us to drive;
Do this, and joy your hearts will swell –
All is well! All is well!*

In April James joined the Nauvoo exodus. Like Sam, he chose *not* to follow William Clayton and Brigham Young’s party. Instead, he moved 30 miles north. “On the 23rd

of April 1846 left Nauvoo by steamboat to Burlington [Iowa].” James had found work that used his carpentry skills, joining a fellow-joiner, Miles Romney¹⁷⁹, helping to build a Presbyterian Church. About this time, Peter headed south to St. Louis to find work. He probably left his daughter in Fort Madison with her Aunt Elizabeth.

In July 1846, James returned to Nauvoo, hoping to collect money owed him by a man who had just sold property. Upon arriving he learned his sister had decided to follow Brigham Young. “I also found my sister Rachel and husband living in their own house; they were making preparations for moving west as soon as convenient.”¹⁸⁰ James bemoaned the fate of Nauvoo’s, observing that *almost every house was empty*. “I traveled through the streets of the abandoned city. Almost every house was empty and but few people that I was acquainted with. Here was the place where a short time previous flourished and bloomed with the Saints of the most high God, but now they are banished as exiles in the land of liberty.”¹⁸¹

Rachel’s decision to head west may have been weighing on him when he observed that the “most virtuous” were being forced to exchange the security of home for the insecurity of the frontier. “Thousands of the most virtuous are driven from their lands and homes to seek a home far away in the West amongst the Indians, all this through wicked rulers and the corruptions of the people.”¹⁸²

Summer 1846—A Final Burgess Family Reunion in Fort Madison, Iowa

Sam, Peter, James, and Rachel gathered at Sam’s house in Fort Madison, in August 1846, to care for each other during a second successive summer of sickness. James’s six-month-old son, William, had become sick in July—a year after Peter’s infant son, also named William, had died. James lamented the inability of doctors to help.

The boy was very sick through the summer and fall particularly in the month of July. Medical aid was obtained but not much use. The ordinances of the Gospel proved more effectual. Little hopes of his recovery were entertained by most that visited him, and although he was reduced so low yet it appears he was kept by the prayers of faith and finally he took a turn and began to amend gradually.¹⁸³

When James’s son showed signs of improvement, he brought him by buggy to Fort Madison from Burlington. There, James learned that his brother Peter had been so sick that he, too, had returned from St. Louis to stay with Sam. Moreover, sickness had delayed Rachel and George’s plans to head west. They, also, decided to stay with Sam in Fort Madison. James wrote, “On my last visit I found that my sister, Rachel, and husband had come from Nauvoo. They had been sick and was not fully got well.”¹⁸⁴ Samuel, the responsible brother, and his wife, Elizabeth, comforted the three siblings and their children one last time before they went their separate ways: Rachel, west to Kanesville; James, east to Vermont; and Peter, south to St. Louis. There would be reunions in the future—but *these* four siblings? Never again.

September 1846—Battle of Nauvoo

On September 13th, violence, the fear of which had prompted Nauvoo's evacuation, erupted. By then, Nauvoo's population had dropped from its peak of more than 15,000 Mormons, to fewer than 1,000 inhabitants. James Burgess reported in his journal that a well-armed mob of 1300 of Nauvoo's neighbors attacked a poorly armed citizenry. There were deaths of several Saints in a bloody fight that historians refer to as the *Battle of Nauvoo*. The resolution of the conflict required the Mormons turn over governance of the city. It marked the official end of the Nauvoo Era. Some of the Mormons, including Joseph Smith Jr.'s mother and first wife, chose to remain.

The mob left Carthage and pursued their way for Nauvoo well armed and prepared for a fight. They camped near the city and finally a fight took place between them and the Saints and new settlers. The mob being about 1300 in number and the other party only about 300 in number and not very well armed. There was 3 of the Saints killed, 2 men and one boy. On the other party it is supposed there is upwards of 100 killed and some wounded. Finally there was a compromise made that the Mormons should leave the City right forthwith and give the mob possession of the City. This was made on the 19th of September and on the 20th the mob marched into the City threatening death and destruction if the Mormons, as they are vulgarly called, did not leave right away.¹⁸⁵

September 1846 to December 1849—Re-locations of Five Burgess Siblings

James and Lydia Burgess: James had a choice—head east to join Lydia's family in New England's beautiful Connecticut River Valley or venture west to the North American desert. In the end, it was probably not a very hard decision. He had come to admire New England's natives during the winter of 1845, writing, "There is not that pride amongst the rich as what there is in England. The people ... are far more civil than what they are out west and will on a general thing treat a stranger well."¹⁸⁶

Thus, nine months after initially rejecting his mother-in-law's plea for him to return to Vermont, and less than a week after the mob took possession of Nauvoo, he decided to return to Vermont. He accompanied his wife and child on the steamship *Tempest* to St. Louis, where they boarded the steamboat *Domain*, traveled first to Cincinnati, and then on to Cleveland, where he stopped to earn some money, before continuing. After crossing the snow-covered Green Mountains, "we came along home to Westminster and was (sic) welcomely and joyfully received by our friends, this being the 26th of November 1846."¹⁸⁷

Vermont became James's home. He set up a carpentry shop over his brother-in-law's blacksmith shop, equipping it with tools he had brought with him from England, including some that had been his father's. He made a living as a carpenter, mostly by making sleighs. Lydia gave birth to a second son, Joseph Wyman Burgess, in 1847, and a third son, James Brigham Burgess, in November 1849. Life was good.

George and Rachel (nee Burgess) Colemere: Rachel and George Colemere were among those who chose to head west to Native American Territory. The Missouri River established the border between Iowa and what was called Indian Territory. Once across the river, Brigham Young met one of his exodus objectives—exiting the United States. Thousands encamped along the river’s western shore in what became known as “Winter Quarters.” When the government pressured the Mormons to get off Native American lands, they regrouped on the river’s eastern Iowa shore in a town they named Kanesville.¹⁸⁸ They built 350 log cabins, two log tabernacles, and a business district, establishing it as an outfitting post for the Mormon Trail. Rachel gave birth to two daughters in Kanesville—Maria, in 1847, and Rachel, in 1848.

Elder William Clayton realized that the number of the revolutions of a wagon wheel per mile could serve as the basis of an odometer. (The count was 360.) He had a mechanic build what became known as a *road-o-meter*. It counted revolutions automatically. Using his device, Clayton documented the mileage of landmarks along the 1030-mile-long trail between Kanesville and Salt Lake City. In the spring of 1848, the Chambers and Knapp publishing house of St. Louis printed 5000 copies of *Emigrants Guide*. “Every major stream, hill, swamp, or other landmark was listed... Suggestions were given for campsites, watering places, and forage, ... and where to cross the streams.”¹⁸⁹ A Utah settler wrote, “Five dollars is what they were sold for but twenty-five dollars has been offered for them and they could not be had.”

In 1840 William Clayton’s pastoral ministry had led Rachel Burgess on a step-by-step spiritual journey, leading her to become a Latter-day Saint. Twelve years later, William Clayton’s *Emigrant’s Guide* led her overland company step-by-step on its westward journey, leading her, in 1852, to join her fellow Saints in Kaysville, Utah.

Samuel and Elizabeth Burgess: Sam and Elizabeth made Fort Madison their home until, in 1848, they decided to join his brother Peter in St. Louis. A December 1848 James Burgess journal entry stated that Sam had moved to St. Louis and found work in Hannibal. “My brother Samuel and family have moved to St. Louis and he has gone to work in a flourmill in Hannibal 100 miles up the river from St. Louis.”¹⁹⁰ His wife was pregnant; she gave birth in Missouri in 1848. After two years living with three women, each one an *Elizabeth Burgess*, Sam had a new female name to say: *Emily*.¹⁹¹

Peter Burgess: The 1845 deaths of Ann and William left Peter with a 3-year-old daughter, Elizabeth. In Nauvoo they had lived with Sam, until he moved to Fort Madison. They probably lived, for a time, with James in Nauvoo. Both brothers had a wife at home who could help care for Elizabeth. However, after James and Sam both left Nauvoo, Peter needed a home, income, and a woman to care for his daughter. He decided to head south, in 1846, to St. Louis to find work—and, he hoped, a wife.

Peter Burgess worked in St. Louis in the same occupation as he had worked in Stockport. The 1848 St. Louis City Directory had this listing: “Peter Burgess Porter 9 Commercial res[idence]. 151 Washington Ave.” Commercial Street ran along the waterfront where porters were needed to carry goods on and off the steamships.

In times of need the Burgess siblings looked after each other. In 1834, after their father died, James's sister Maria's husband probably helped James become a carpenter's apprentice. In 1837, after their mother died, Rachel's brother Samuel took her into his home. In 1844, after Rachel married the land-owning George Colemere in Nauvoo, she allowed her brother to build a cabin on her property. In 1845, when Peter needed a gravesite for his wife and son, Rachel provided that, too.

However, after Rachel moved to Iowa and James moved to Vermont, Sam's wife, Elizabeth, was the *only* female family member in a position to help Peter. My guess is that Peter left his daughter in her care when he left to seek employment in St. Louis. Supporting evidence for my guess is found in a December 1848 entry in James's journal. He reported that Peter had made the long return trip to Nauvoo to check in on the James Burgess cabin in Nauvoo. "He says that he has visited Nauvoo this fall and found it a lonely deserted place. My house by some evil disposed person or persons is almost tore all to pieces. He went on to report: my relatives ... are all generally well."¹⁹² My guess is that the real reason Peter made the trip was to pick up his daughter in Fort Madison before returning to St. Louis—not to visit Nauvoo.

Martha Burgess: In 1846 Martha was the only one of the five youngest Burgess siblings still in England, having *not* become a Saint. But that was about to change; this "non-Saint" was about to become a "saint" to her brother Peter. She was probably a single, 26-year-old domestic servant in England when her four siblings evacuated Nauvoo: Peter to St. Louis, Rachel to Kanesville, James to Vermont, and Sam to Fort Madison. His and his siblings' 1846 re-locations left Peter without any adult, female, family member to help care for his 4-year-old Elizabeth.

In November 1847, the (non-Mormon) ship *Liverpool*, arrived in New York from Liverpool, England. One of the passengers on the *Liverpool* was a 25-year-old¹⁹³ Martha Burgess, traveling alone, or, at least, without a companion named Burgess. Whether this passenger was Peter's sister is less important than the contents of a letter that James received from Peter on December 5, 1848. Upon receiving the letter, James, in what was his very last journal entry, wrote seven words that convey *all we know*, with certainty, about Martha and *all we need to know* that matters: "Sister Martha is keeping house for Peter."¹⁹⁴ She was, indeed, a saint—Peter's saint.

Apparently Peter sublet his apartment to earn additional income. On 20 November 1848, Peter wrote in his journal, "Rented 2 upper Rooms to Benjamin F. McKinny." More significant is a second entry, one he made two days later. "Elizabeth Burgess Commenced to Board with us." Peter had a daughter, sister-in-law, and niece with the name "Elizabeth Burgess." Presumably the boarder was one of these three. One scenario, based upon the two dates known with certainty—November 22 and December 5—is that, in November 1848, Martha offered to help care for 6-year-old Elizabeth. Peter then traveled to Fort Madison to retrieve his daughter. Father and daughter arrived in St. Louis on November 22, at which time Peter made his journal entry. He then wrote James a letter that arrived in Vermont on December 5.

Martha's fate is a bit of a mystery. Circumstantial evidence supports the conclusion that she was an 1849 cholera victim. Her last documented appearance was in 1848. One chronicler of the St. Louis cholera epidemic wrote, "The main streets of the pestilence were on St. Charles Street and Washington Avenue, west of 8th Street."¹⁹⁵ The best available information for the Burgess's 1849 address is their 1851 St. Louis City directory listing. If the Burgesses lived at (or near) their 1851 address in 1849, then Peter and Martha were living in the bull's eye of the epidemic, i.e., its hot zone.

1850—Peter Burgess: Single Father in St. Louis

A gaping hole existed in Peter's life that needed filling. He had lost his wife, in 1845, his sister Rachel went west to Kanesville, in 1846, and his saintly sister Martha was now gone, too. Fortunately for Peter, a strong woman—from Lower Tottington, a few miles upstream from his birthplace, Barton-Upon-Irwell—capable of filling the gaping hole in his life, was about to arrive in St. Louis. Her name was Mary Rostron.

Chapter 9 Mary Alice Rostron of Lower Tottington

1850—Mary Rostron at the Liverpool Docks Re-imagined

Women power! How else can one characterize the sight, on a cold January day, of twenty-one young, single women, unaccompanied by any family members, bravely wading through crowds, famously thick with pick-pockets, on Liverpool's crime-invested docks toward an America-bound sailing ship. Among the determined women in the group was 28-year-old Mary Rostron. It was a scene befitting the squalor of Oliver Twist, and it took place in the real world—not a fictional one.

The Rostron Family of Lower Tottington

Mary Alice Rostron was born in October 1821 in the Village of Lower Tottington, a village dating to 1212, when records of *Totinton* appeared. It lies 2½ miles northwest of Bury¹⁹⁶ and two thirds of the way—on the 30-mile line a crow flies—between Preston and Manchester. (For a map, see the upper panel of Figure 5.) Its population of a few hundred remained stable until the Industrial Revolution when, like other Lancashire settlements, a large industrial presence developed—largely under the influence of John Gorton, builder of *Tottington Mill* next to Kirklees Brook, a small tributary of the River Irwell.¹⁹⁷

Among Tottington's skilled handloom weavers was Miles "the Elder" Rostron, born in 1798. His Tottington roots went back at least a generation—probably more. In 1819 he married Alice Howard,¹⁹⁸ a native of the adjacent hamlet of Elton. They settled in a rural crossroads, *Four Lane Ends*—just west of Tottington. The couple had children—lots and lots of children. The 1841 census listed the names of ten,¹⁹⁹ ages one to 21, at their home on *Clubrow* in *Tottington Village*. The six oldest worked as cotton weavers or cotton dyers; they may never have attended school. Their Clubrow neighbors were employed in the manufacture of cotton garments.

Mary Alice was the second oldest child. Her mother, born Alice Howard, gave her first daughter more than her middle name, *Alice*, she made her forever proud of her surname, *Howard*. In nineteenth century, class-conscious England, a person's sense of self was influenced by one's surname. The surname *Howard* was (and is) among the most celebrated in England. The Howard family is one of the leading dynasties of English aristocracy. Many English monarchs were members of the Howard family. Moreover, the Duke of Norfolk, the premier duke of England, is always the head of the Howard family.²⁰⁰ Mary Alice was proud of that.

1840's—Mormons in Tottington

In 1841 little Tottington made a big splash in the *Millennial Star* in this swagger-infused blurb: “In Tottington, near Bury, a flourishing society of near 80 members has been gathered in a short time. Their meetings there are crowded almost to suffocation. Thus rolls the mighty engine of truth, and none can hinder.”²⁰¹ Among the “80 members” referred to were two siblings of Mary Rostron’s—16-year-old Richard and 18-year-old Sally. Richard had been baptized in August and Sally would be baptized in November. Mary’s future brother-in-law and Sally’s future husband, James Cooper Holt, had been baptized in September in Tottington.

In March 1847, Sally Rostron became the first of her parents’ seven daughters to marry when she and James tied the knot in the Bury Parish Church. Mary was the witness, making her “X” on the register witness on the occasion. A few months later it was Sally’s turn to be the witness as Mary, her father, Miles, and her brother Miles received LDS baptisms. Richard, her first brother who had been baptized, fell away.

The “join or quit” dynamic in the Rostron family was a microcosm of the Mormon Church in Britain—some joining, some falling away. Overall, the growth was explosive. By 1848, the year Mary was baptized, the numbers of Mormons living in Britain was approaching 30,000—*more than the number of Saints in North America!* Emigration, which had suffered a steep drop²⁰² after Nauvoo’s 1846 evacuation, increased dramatically in 1848 and 1849, as 14 ships carrying 3000 souls sailed.

The Rostrons apparently disagreed whether to emigrate or not. By 1849, Miles and four of his five children, older than 15 years, were Saints. Mary and her sister, Sally Holt, wanted to emigrate, but their father and brothers did not. In October Mary and Sally registered to sail on the *Argo*. At the last minute, however, the Holts cancelled their four reserved tickets, giving “a family illness” as their reason. Mary may have thought about cancelling, too, but she chose to go without her sister. Her decision suggests she was fearless, self-confident, stubborn, and at least a little bit ornery.

Although Mary did travel without family, she did not travel alone. She and Sally were two women in some kind of fellowship group of about thirty people led by the 27-year-old Elder Richard Cook from nearby Bury. Most of the members in the group were, like Mary, single women in their twenty’s. *Argo’s* register assigned them just one ticket number and one address—*Park Building, Radcliffe Hall, Bury*.²⁰³

In the winter of 1850, Elder Cook and his “harem” arrived in Liverpool, its population of 367,000 making it only the second largest city in England, was second to none as the most active emigration port in the entire world. Peter Aughton painted a picture worthy of a Dickens novel when he wrote, “Liverpool was a sailors’ town. Dockside pubs were everywhere . . . The sound of . . . sea shanties was heard from the tavern doorways as the sailors spent their few days’ leave and their hard-earned money on beer, women and song. Prostitutes roamed the streets and solicited the mariners.”²⁰⁴ Enter stage right: 21 innocent women from Radcliffe Hall.

1850—The “Most Miraculous Escape” of the *Argo*

The *Argo* sailed on 10 January 1850. It was the forty-sixth ship to carry Mormon Saints, but the *first* to carry more than 400 Saints. Only two previous ships had carried as many as 300; the average passenger count was less than 200. Moreover, the *Argo* carried a record number of officers—some 84 priests, elders, teachers, etc. Many documented their experiences of the *Argo*’s voyage in their diaries, including their accounts of a near-shipwreck on March 2, just after the *Argo* had passed Cuba. Richard Bishop Margetts described the ship’s “most miraculous escape.”

About 9 p.m. was aroused with the noise of captain & sailors above deck. Went up to see what was on the move. First thing that struck my observation was land right ahead of & very near ascertained that the captain had been deceived; thought he cleared the south point of Cuba but through most remarkable phenomenon there was a light shining in the air (Note: Other journals describe flashes of lightning.) His attention was drawn to notice land which lay directly before the ship & less than 10 minutes the [ship] would have [been] dashed to pieces. He ran to the wheel, turned the ship long side and then called the seamen from their berths.

With great perseverance they managed to clear the land going but only to find out that he was again deceived for instead of our having cleared the Cape, we found ourselves running into another point of land which struck into the sea. The ship and immediately turned round and it was found that we were in 27 feet of water & ship taking 17 feet, found it very difficult to keep out from land as the wind blew directly onto the shore. When we turned ship the storm appeared to be even a short stone throw from land. The moon shining we could see the breakers dashing against the shore many yards high which formed a snow white ridge as far as the eye could trace. They turned the ship several times to clear the point, but could not succeed till towards daybreak when we cleared & sailed gaily around. It was a most miraculous escape.²⁰⁵

1850—Single in St. Louis: Peter Burgess and Mary Rostron

After the *Argo* docked in New Orleans, on March 11, the Radcliffe Hall group split up. Elder Richard Cook laid over briefly in St. Louis; he boarded a boat to Council Bluffs, where he joined an overland company of 160 others for the 1030-mile trek to Utah. Jemima Howard went to Utah; Susan Allmann went to Kentucky. Mary, as well as several other Radcliffe Hall women, chose to stay in St. Louis. Margaret Wilkinson rented a room from the Cowlshaws.²⁰⁶

Mary may have viewed St. Louis as a temporary residence until her sister’s family arrived from England, at which time she could accompany them to Utah. She rented a room in St. Louis Ward 5 at the home of a gardener, Richard Landeford. Landeford, his wife, and two adolescent-age sons lived on 9th Avenue, between Morgan and Franklin, about 8 blocks north of Market, on the outskirts the city’s westward expansion. Ward 5, a narrow three-block-wide strip of city extending from the waterfront on the east to 18th street on the west, was comprised of forty, densely

populated blocks housing more than 12,000 people—hundreds of Irish, German, and English emigrants in every block. Many worked at the waterfront.

How might Mary have met Peter Burgess? He lived at 10th and St. Charles, just three city blocks south of Mary. They may have met randomly in the street. Given that many hundreds of people lived within those three city blocks, this seems unlikely. Mary may have responded to a “nanny wanted” advertisement. However, as Peter was not very rich and Mary was not very maternal, this scenario seems unlikely. Their mutual affiliation with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints points to a more likely answer: a chance encounter at a Latter-day Saints gathering, such as the ones described in this article, published May 8, 1851, in the *Missouri Republican*.

Although we have no Mormon church in St. Louis, and though these people have no other class or permanent possession or permanent interest in our city, yet their numerical strength here is greater than may be imagined. Our city is the greatest recruiting point for Mormon emigrants from England and Eastern states, and the former especially, whose funds generally become exhausted by the time they reach it, generally stop here for several months, and not infrequently remain among us for a year or two pending the resumption of their journey to Salt Lake...

There are at this time in St. Louis about 3000 English Mormons, nearly all of them are masters of some trade or have acquired experience in some profession, which they now follow. As we said, they have no church, but they attend divine services twice each Sunday at Concert Hall²⁰⁷, and they perform their devotional duties with the same regularity, if not in the same style as their brethren in the valley...

We hear frequently of Mormon balls and parties, and Concert Hall is on several occasions filled with persons gathered to witness Mormon theatrical performances. We have witnessed the congregation as it issued from the hall and at religious meetings on Sunday, and certainly we think it does not compare unfavorably to other congregations.²⁰⁸

Mary and Peter almost certainly met before November 1850, because, for reasons about to be explained, had they not met by then, they might never have met at all. But they did meet. On March 6, 1851, Mary Rostron married Peter Burgess.

November 1850—Mary Rostron’s Sister Arrives in St. Louis

Recall that Mary Rostron had planned to sail on the *Argo* with her sister Sally, but after initially registering, when someone in her family took ill, Sally canceled. Had she not canceled, Mary might well have accompanied her sister’s family all the way to Utah in the spring of 1850 and never met Peter Burgess. The fates are fickle.

Instead, Sally Holt and her family sailed on the *North Atlantic*, in September 1850, arriving in St. Louis in November 1850. In March, Sally, who had yet to leave St. Louis, would have been honored to serve as Mary’s matron of honor. Sally left St. Louis later, in the spring of 1851, but without her sister, Mary. Mary had conceived a child before

the Holts left St. Louis for Kanesville, Iowa. By the time the Holt family joined up with the John Brown Overland Company, on July 7, Mary Burgess was three months pregnant.

How did Sally's decision to delay her trip eight months affect Mary's decision whether to stay in St. Louis or to accompany her sister to Utah? The answer seems obvious—it was huge. Had Mary lived with her sister Sally in the spring of 1850, —rather than take room and board with the Landefords—they most likely would have stayed together all the way to Utah; Mary would found a husband in Salt Lake City—not St. Louis. Instead, she and Peter found each other and formed a new family. Whew!

December 1851—Birth of Samuel Rostron Burgess

Mary and Peter's son was born on December 26, nine months and three weeks after his parents' wedding. Peter honored his older brother by naming his son Samuel. Sam had supported Peter through his grief after Ann's and William's deaths. Mary honored her family by giving her son the middle name Rostron. Peter and Mary would continue to honor their family by passing on family names to future children. Succeeding generations of Burgess descendants have continued this tradition.²⁰⁹ *Samuel* and *Alice*, two names that trace their family origins to Burgesses, have been passed from one generation to the next.

As 1851 came to a close, 36-year-old Peter surely looked back with satisfaction at the year's transformative impact on his life. At its beginning, he was a single father; at its end, he was a husband, father of a daughter, and father of a newborn son. Although he would never fill the hole in his heart created by the losses of his wife, Ann, and his sons, Zachariah and William, he could surely rejoice in his newfound relationship with his wife, Mary, and the birth of their healthy son, Samuel Rostron.

The Burgess brothers, Peter and Sam, had the same city directory listing in 1851: *north side of St. Charles on the west side of 10th Street*. Peter's first St. Louis job, porter, may have required hauling cargo on the waterfront. The time had come for Peter to improve his occupational lot in life. In 1851 he had established a successful new marital partnership, why not start a new business partnership in 1852?

Chapter 10 Peter and Mary Burgess of St. Louis

1852 to 1854—Married in St. Louis: Peter and Mary Burgess

Peter Burgess, after ten years in the freight hauling business as a porter, entered the freight covering business, according to the 1852 St. Louis City Directory: *Peter Burgess (R. Linford & Co.) dealers in tarpaulins, 51 Commercial, bn. Pine and Olive.*

Their street address is gone, but if a St. Louis Cardinal were to stand, today, where 51 Commercial once was, he could throw a baseball and reach the northern base of the Gateway Arch. Of course, in 1851, the waterfront would have looked different. Hundreds of steamboats would have been crammed together, stem-to-stern, beside freight-covered wooden docks. Its dusty streets (muddy if it had rained) would be crowded with people. Horse-drawn carriages would be parading to and from town.

Peter no longer had to brave the elements *hauling* freight on the waterfront, for he was now in the business of *protecting* freight on the waterfront from the elements. The owner of R. Linford & Co. was Robert Linford; he and Peter would either be in business together or competing for business for years. Given Peter's penchant for precision, his aptitude for arithmetic, and Mary's business sense, Peter probably helped manage accounts, in addition to whatever other work he did for Linford.

Brigham Young, Church President, may have been 1300 miles away in Utah, but his forceful, 1851 proclamation, calling for Saints to recommit themselves to their faith, by being re-baptized, or resign, reached the hundreds of Saints stubbornly staying in St. Louis. In *Portals of Peace*, Ellen Goetz cited Peter Burgess for their reaction:

From the journal of Peter Burgess²¹⁰... we learn that a fervor or rebaptism swept through St. Louis in 1854. ...From another source we learn that the mass baptisms referred to by Peter Burgess were intended to strengthen the remaining Saints. ... Every Saint was rededicated to the Kingdom by baptism or purged from membership.²¹¹

As one of the St. Louis Saints, Peter Burgess had a choice: recommit or resign. He chose to recommit. Elder Peter Burgess was re-baptized on 17 September 1854. The following week he administered baptisms to his wife, Mary, and his daughter, Elizabeth (age 22). Whether or not his brother, Samuel, re-committed is unknown.

Three months before her re-baptism, Mary's brother Miles, arrived in St. Louis with his new wife, the former Bessie Abbott. They had married in February, emigrated in

June, and would become parents the following January to a daughter, Louisa. After Louisa's birth, the two families decided to travel together to Utah. There would be five Burgesses and three Rostrons in the party: Peter, Mary, Elizabeth (22), Samuel Rostron (age 4), and Mary Alice (age 2); Miles, Bessie, and Louisa (age 6 months.)

1855 —To Utah with the John C Hindley Company²¹²

On April 27, 1855, Peter arranged with Charles Lowell Walker to drive a team to Utah. On May 8, the Burgesses boarded the steamship *Golden State* in St. Louis. It took them up the Missouri River to Atchison, Kansas—a few miles from the new overland outfitting post in Mormon Grove, Kansas. There, the Burgess party joined the *John Hindley Company* of 72 men, 67 women, and 66 children. The company left Mormon Grove on June 7 for the 1,200-mile trek to Salt Lake City, Utah. Two hundred and twenty-six oxen pulled 46 wagons. Other livestock included 14 horses and 54 cows. (Note: Coincidentally, the Knowles party also traveled with the John Hindley Company. Late in the trip, John Melling bought an ox from Peter Burgess.)

Wagons had no springs and were uncompromising over rough terrain. For this reason, most of the emigrants walked at the plodding speed of oxen, two miles an hour. Every day, except Sundays, they would travel from early morning to late afternoon with one break in the middle of the day. Travel by wagon was clearly strenuous but not always onerous. The evening camps provided an opportunity for socialization and entertainment. There were often dances by the light of a campfire and music, singing, storytelling, and poetry recitals were common.

West of the Missouri River was the Indian Frontier; settlements were prohibited. Hence, between Mormon Grove and the Salt Lake Valley, the Burgesses encountered only three permanent settlements: Ft. Kearney, Ft. Laramie, and Ft. Bridger.

Two weeks into their trip, they saw their first buffalo; men went out from the camp and killed one. This was shared out amongst the entire camp and provided much-appreciated variety to their diet. Later the same day, a herd of buffalo was seen that was estimated to number in the thousands. According to one trail diary, Peter Burgess shot dead a buffalo in that herd, "June 25. This morning we again resumed our journey and came about ten miles. Thousands of buffalo were herding upon the other side of the Little Blue River. Captain Peter Burgess shot one about four miles out of our camp. I went to assist to butcher him and bring him into the camp."²¹³

They reached Ft. Kearney on July 1, having covered 280 miles in 24 days. It was at Fort Kearney that the Burgess family first saw the broad floodplain of the Platte River. The Platte meanders through a flat, sandy valley, continues to the northwest and rises, imperceptibly, from 2,100 feet at Fort Kearney to 4,200 feet at Fort Laramie. . When they left, on July 12, they entered Sioux territory. Indians were seen several times watching from a distance and the camp was on high alert until they reached Fort Laramie. However, none made contact and the wagon train passed without conflict. The Burgesses continued on the south side of the Platte for 130 miles along

a dusty trail in oppressive July heat. They passed some buffalo and shot two but otherwise moved on without interruption. Their average daily mileage for the week after leaving Fort Kearney was twenty-five miles a day. This was substantially greater than they achieved previously.

Fort Laramie was a base for the US Army and also a trading post in the 1850's. It was situated on a high bluff overlooking the North Platte River, between the mountains and the Prairie. The last 500 miles of the trail to Salt Lake City passed over the Laramie Mountains, which form the eastern edge of the Rocky Mountains. It was the most physically challenging part of the Mormon trail. This section of the trail included alkali lakes that were poisonous and were surrounded by mud that made travel difficult and exuded a strong unpleasant smell. There was virtually no grazing for the animals and little potable water for the entire fifty miles. The loss of animals to the poisonous water led many to lighten their loads.

Four days brought the Burgesses to the Sweetwater River, as it flowed past one of the most well known landmarks of the trail—Independence Rock, a large granite outcrop and popular camping place for wagon trains headed to California, Oregon and Utah. The Sweetwater is a very different river from the Platte. This mountain stream provided good camping and grazing but difficult traveling. Its meandering course required repeated crossings and some steep narrow tributaries forced long detours. After they left the river, they crossed a steep rocky slope to reach the continental divide at South Pass. For three days, they passed through seemingly endless sagebrush until reaching the Big Sandy River, some fresh water, and grazing, before arriving at Ft. Bridger.

Established in 1842 to resupply wagon trains, Ft Bridger was taken over by the Mormons in 1853. Situated on a 6700-foot plateau, the John C Hindley Company's travelers danced upon arriving, as they were only 113 miles from their destination.

With thirty-six miles to go, they must have dared to hope that the most difficult part of their odyssey was over. Not so. These last miles were more difficult than anything on the entire trail. William Clayton, in his *Emigrant Guide*, described its challenges.

[An initial five mile climb leads to a ridge where] the country to the west looks rough and mountainous. The descent is not pleasant being mostly on the side hill to Kanyon creek. You have to cross this creek thirteen times besides two bad swamps. The road is dangerous to wagons on account of the dense high bushes, trees and short turns in the road. Here you turn to the right and begin to ascend the highest mountain you cross on the whole journey. You have to travel through timber, some on side hills, and cross the creek a number of times. [At Big Mountain pass you have now a view of the south part of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. The descent is steep, lengthy, and tedious on account of the stumps in the road. [From the valley bottom] you now ascend another high mountain by a steep and crooked road. [From Little Mountain] the descent is very steep all the way till you arrive on the banks of Last Creek. You cross this creek 19 times. Several of the crossings are difficult. There are several side hills which require care in teamsters. You now enter the Valley of the

Salt Lake. The road at the mouth of the [Emigration] Canyon is bad and rough with stumps. Afterwards, descending is good.²¹⁴

The Burgess family crossed this last difficult part of the trail without mishap and arrived at Salt Lake City on the 3rd of September, exactly 88 days after leaving of Mormon Grove. Most of its members were healthy. Other groups that left Mormon Grove after them were less fortunate. The third company lost 29 of its travelers to cholera and the fourth company recorded that eight individuals had been run over, three were accidentally shot, and five died from other causes. Apparently, however, the Burgesses were not happy campers along the way. From Charles Lowell Walker's trail diary, "Start for the valley [on June 7]. Peter Burgess and his wife acted mean²¹⁵ all the journey through. Arrived in the valley Monday Sept 3."²¹⁶

1855 to 1856—After a Short Stay, the Burgess Family Leaves Utah

The promise of a New Zion had sounded glorious, but the reality might have been disappointing. Instead of a magnificent city, there was a small town of log and adobe houses in a desert valley by a salt lake. Beyond the town, the country disappeared in a heat haze across a Great Salt Desert. Peter and Mary's arrival would have been an occasion for reunions with his sister Rachel Colemere, her sister Sally Holt, and their seven new nieces and nephews: James, Mary, and Charles Holt—all born in Utah—and Maria, Rachel, Sarah, and Martha Colemere—all born since 1846, when Peter saw Rachel in Fort Madison.²¹⁷

On Christmas Eve of 1855, Mary Burgess gave birth to a third child—Martha Maria "Mattie" Burgess. (Both Peter and Mary had sisters Martha and Maria.) Mary had made the overland trip during her pregnancy's second trimester, perhaps explaining the entry in Charles Walker's diary "his wife acted mean all the journey through."

Peter "invested in a farm in South Weber²¹⁸ and also other property"²¹⁹ north of Salt Lake City, near Ogden. (Note: In 1856 John Knowles and James Allen also lived in Weber. All three men, whose descendants would be three of my father's four grandparents, probably all knew one another. Peter Burgess and John Knowles had traveled overland together; Peter Burgess and James Allen became good friends.²²⁰)

The Burgesses stayed in South Weber about a year. According to Samuel R., his parents "became estranged from the Church, because of the wicked practices of the people." Whereas the Burgess family returned east to Missouri, the Rostron family had continued west to California, where, in 1857, Bessie gave birth to their second daughter. (The Rostrons returned to St. Louis before 1862.) As for the Burgess's 1856 return trip to St. Louis, Peter's 14-year-old daughter, Elizabeth, attributed a scary experience with Native Americans to her less-than-lovable stepmother.

We were traveling on our return trip, and had just arrived at Fort Laramie, we were anxious to keep on the trail and push on to the east when we met a scout guard. He advised us to stay there for a few days. Some hostile Indians were coming that way.

It was during the wait that an army of 1500 Indian braves went through Fort Laramie. My stepmother [Mary Burgess] in a joking way told an Indian Chief that he could have me. This he did not take as a joke, but kept hot on our trail following our wagon for days, making it necessary for me to hide in the top of the wagon and keep out of sight. It was while trying to avoid getting caught by the Chief that I slipped and fell from the wagon taking all the skin and part of the flesh from my arm. After this my father bargained with the Chief and made him see that I was not to be taken away.²²¹

1857 to 1864—The Burgess Family of St. Louis

Upon their arrival in St. Louis, the Burgess family moved into a residence at the corner of Morgan and 7th Street, about six blocks from Peter's brother Samuel at Morgan and 13th Street.²²² The brothers partnered with Thomas V. Collins to form a tarpaulin manufacturing business on the waterfront at 63 Commercial Street with the name of *Burgess and Collins*. By 1860 the Burgess brothers had formed *Burgess & Brothers*, a family-owned tarpaulin manufacturing business that they operated for four years. In 1860 Peter and Mary lived at 111 Morgan Street, just a few hundred feet north of the western tower of the Eads Bridge. Mary Burgess ran her own business, too. Its first City Directory listing appeared, in 1860, as a *Variety Store*.

At the same time that they managed growing businesses, the Burgesses managed a growing family as well. Mary had her fourth (and last) child when Peter Howard Burgess was born on May 2, 1858. Mary proudly chose *Howard* as his middle name. Her mother was Alice (nee Howard) Rostron; Mary was extremely proud of her connection to a name *Howard* because of its association with English royalty.²²³

Within three years of the birth of Peter's last child, his first grandchild arrived. Emily Slater was born on September 27, 1860, to his 28-year-old daughter, Elizabeth Burgess Slater, only six months after she married Thomas Tyson Slater, the 27-year-old son of a Preston printer. Two years later, Peter's second grandchild, and first grandson, arrived—Peter Slater, named after his proud grandfather.

In July 1863, the same month as the Battle of Gettysburg, Peter (age 44) and his brother Samuel Burgess registered to serve in the Union Army. Peter gave his occupation as *Tarpolin maker*. No evidence exists that either ever trained or served.

The year 1864 was a transitional one for the Burgesses. The brothers moved west, two miles from the river, into new residential areas: Peter at 262 Morgan and 25th and Samuel a few blocks away at Glasgow and Morgan, near where Delmar Blvd meets Jefferson Avenue today. Mary's business was listed as a *Dry Goods*, in 1863, and *Fancy Store*, in 1864. In January Peter's Aunt Mary Burgess, sister of his mother, died in Bethalto, Illinois—three miles northeast of the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. Sometime thereafter his brother Samuel moved his family to Bethalto, Illinois, too. They would live with his Uncle Thomas until his uncle's death. Peter's daughter, Elizabeth Slater, decided to make an even bigger move— to Utah.

1864 to 1865—The Second (and Last) Burgess Trip to Utah

Although his son Samuel later characterized his father's trip as business-related, it seems likely Peter went in part to accompany his daughter and grandchildren. In the spring of 1864, Peter, his wife, Mary, their four children (Samuel R., Alice, Martha, and Peter), his daughter (by Ann), Elizabeth Slater, his son-in-law, Thomas Slater, and his grandchildren, Emily and Peter Slater, left St. Louis for Utah. Tragically, Peter's one-year-old grandson, Peter, did not survive as far as Mormon Grove. His granddaughter, Emily Slater, wrote about what happened in her autobiography,

In 1864 I left St. Louis by steamboat at the age of four years. While on the steamboat my baby brother took scarlet fever and died and we had to give him to a strange man for burial and pay him five dollars to bury in a place called Pink Town. We landed at Leavenworth, Kansas.²²⁴

Peter's daughter, Elizabeth Slater, wrote a more poetic description, writing, "[his] fever than burned until the flame of his mortal existence went out." Her account expresses her heartfelt gratitude to a complete stranger who showed her kindness.

Our journey was long hard one. We took only the necessary things like bedding, clothing, food, and cooking utensils. We secured passage on a boat to cross the Missouri river. It was while on this voyage that our infant son fell ill with scarlet fever, fever that burned until the flame of his mortal existence went out and only a cold waxen form was left in my arms. How could I bury him in the muddy waters of the great Missouri? I begged the captain to pull to shore and let us go on land enough to bury him. My request was granted. As we started to dig a grave a man came up and said, 'Oh, lady don't bury your baby there, let me take him to Pink Town.' I had only time to hand the small box and a five dollar bill for his kindness and walk back up the plank aboard the boat with a prayer of thankfulness in my heart to God for his blessings to us for I knew he had sent the stranger to us in our trouble and distress.²²⁵

The Burgess and Slater families joined the John D. Chase Company and departed Mormon Grove on June 26, 1864. According to Emily Slater Walker's trail diary, Peter Burgess had to bury two loads of goods when their wagon-pulling cattle died.

We then started on the plains, my grandfather [Peter] Burgess and family and my father [Thomas Slater] and family, with five wagons, two yoke of oxen on each wagon. We were on the plains three months. My grandfather had to bury two loads of goods as several of his cattle died. My mother and I had to ride with a company of twenty men and my mother had to cook for ten of them and another woman for ten. We had to live on corn bread and bacon. My Mother and I got to Salt Lake two weeks before my father, and when he arrived we moved to Huntsville²²⁶ in October. ²²⁷

Once in Utah, they settled again in Weber, perhaps on the same property Peter had invested in while they lived there from 1855 to 1856. Sadly, in early January of 1865, Peter became deathly ill. In *Retrospective*, his son Samuel wrote, "He had been subject

to severe spells of illness for several years but had recovered from all until his last painful disease, lasting for seven weeks, took him from us..." Peter Burgess died in on February 24, 1865, at age 49. He was buried in Salt Lake City, Utah.

A month later, Elizabeth gave birth to Elizabeth Ann Slater.²²⁸ His granddaughter, whom Peter did not live long enough to meet, received as a middle name the first name of another grandparent she would never meet, Ann Margaret Esplin Burgess.

According to Peter Burgess's son Samuel R. Burgess, his widow was anxious to leave Utah after her husband died. Mary entrusted the family's Utah property with friends and headed east to Nebraska City, Nebraska. Samuel described the impact of the loss of his father and his family's return in his journal's introduction, called *Retrospective*.

Well may I mourn his loss, for a child had never a better parent than I had. In the spring my Mother with her family came back to the states, leaving much of her property and debts in the hands of supposed friends whom she trusted with her confidence. Passing in her return through Nebraska City she met with several of her old friends and by them was persuaded to enter business there. In order to do so she purchased a small lot and erected a frame store and rooms opposite the court House²²⁹. After about three months experience mother became dissatisfied and trusting Mr. Hart as her house agent removed to St. Louis, Mo. ²³⁰

1865—Mary Burgess, Widowed Business Woman With Children in St. Louis

In 1865 Mary resumed her Dry Goods Store in St. Louis. She kept a separate account for every customer. For example, on November 29: "Mrs. Hicks: "21 yds. French Calico—\$9.45; 5 yds. Flannel—\$3.00; and Linen set—\$1.50." For Mrs. Baker: "2 Breakfast shawls—\$4.25; 6 yds. Velvet ribbon—\$2.10; 1 Balmoral skirt —\$3.00."

In November 1865, Sam was 13, Alice was 12, Martha was 9, and Peter was 7 years old. Mary insisted that Sam drop out of school and help in the store—a decision he greatly resented. Sam wrote, "After having ... been pronounced capable of entering the high school as a student, I ceased by studies and staid [sic] at home to assist mother in the store." His resentment was very evident in his 1868 *Retrospective*:

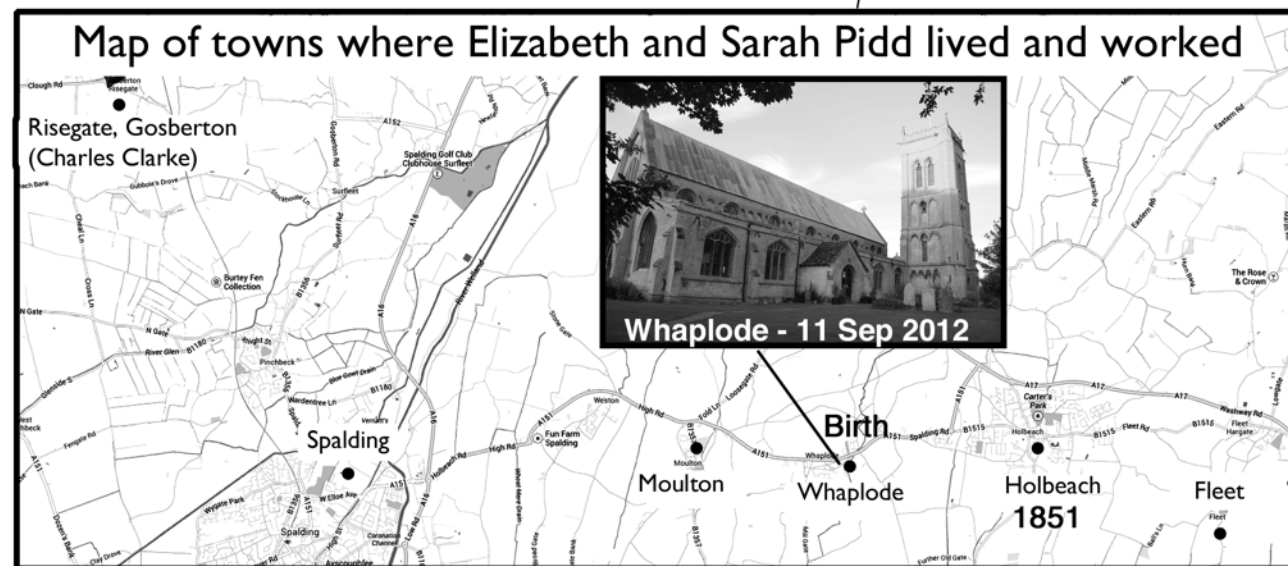
Having passed my 16th birthday [and] my mother's business being rather small I began to wish for something independently for myself; and being acquainted with several young men who were learning trades I naturally felt like learning something and making a mechanic of myself. This however did not suit my mother so I had to relinquish the idea. ²³¹ [Underlining added.]

Young Samuel's quenched his thirst for knowledge through self-study and a helpful neighbor's tutoring help. A life-long bond would form between Samuel and his neighbor (and future father-in-law), James X Allen—the subject of the next chapter.

Part III

The Allen and Pidd Families





James Allen and Elizabeth Pidd in England

Figure 6 Allen and Pidd in England

Chapter 11 James Allen of West Yorkshire and Elizabeth Pidd of Lincolnshire

1842: A James Allen Experience Recollected

Eleven-year-old James Allen sat alone at the back of the hall when an experience so singular came over him that he could describe it decades later with vivid clarity. “My body began to swell, so that I feared for the buttons on my clothes. Great drops of sweat stood on my face, and I was thoroughly miserable. The next thing that happened was that I was standing on the floor and talking away, as fast as my tongue could wag. There was no volition in my rising. It seemed as though someone lifted me off my seat, and stood me on my feet. I tried not to talk, but I could not, until the power upon me let me stop. I did not know what I was saying, as the language was strange to me. When through with the tongue; I sat down exhausted. ... This was a testimony that has never left me, of the power and discernment of the Spirit of God.”

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Hannah Allen of West Yorkshire

Hannah Bedford was born, in 1812, to Sarah and James Bedford, an engraver,²³³ in Huddersfield, a town about 25 miles east northeast of Manchester. When Hannah was barely 17 years old, she conceived at child. She and John Allen, the unborn child’s father, were married on May 31, 1830, at *All Saints Church in Silkstone*. Six months later, on November 19, she gave birth to a son, James, in Barnsley. Defying custom, his parents waited two years, six months²³⁴, until July 22, 1833, before having James baptized at *St. Michael and All Angels* in Thornhill, ten miles north of Barnsley. (For a map, see Figure 6.) Tragically, later in the year, James’s father died,²³⁵ making Hannah Allen a 20-year-old widow with a two-year-old son.

James Allen of Barnsley, West Yorkshire

James was a precocious child, but his illiterate mother was incapable of teaching him to read or write. He went to work, at age six, in a weaver’s factory. (Note: There were no child labor laws in 1836 in England; it was common practice for young children to work in factories—even in coal mines.) James was seven years old when a severe thunderstorm led to a horrific coal mine accident just a mile and a half from the church where his parents had been married. Rainwater, flowing through a ditch near

the Huskar Pit Mine, overflowed its banks. The water flooded a *day hole*²³⁶ that was the only escape route for twenty-six children. All of them drowned. Eleven boys and four girls were between the ages of seven and ten.²³⁷ The youngest was a seven-year-old boy, Joseph Birkinshaw. Given the mine's proximity to the Silkstone Parish Church, where she had married John Allen, Hannah probably knew some of the young parents whose lives were shattered that day. Surely she would have hugged her boy more tightly than ever when she put him to bed that evening. The Huskar Pit disaster so shocked the country, that a Royal Commission of inquiry was created. When the English people learned that children worked in mines, Parliament passed long-overdue child labor reforms.

Although James's mother could not teach him the alphabet, a neighbor cobbler taught the curly-haired little boy his A, B, C's. Years later, James described to his daughter "how he made a frame to hold his primer at the end of the row he was weaving and each time he reached that place he tried to get a letter or word so he could learn to put them together."²³⁸ Thus, with the help of a cobbler, young James became literate. His love of learning lasted his entire lifetime. At age 80, physically unable to write legible letters to his children, he learned how to use a typewriter.

Mormon Missionary Profile: Lorenzo D. Barnes

James was 11 years old when his mother, Hannah, encountered Lorenzo D. Barnes, a Mormon missionary from America, at a general conference in Bradford, a Yorkshire town located ten miles away from her birthplace in Huddersfield. A Massachusetts native, Lorenzo Barnes had first come in contact with the LDS Church in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1833, when he was 21 years old. Despite a stuttering problem, he became an effective evangelist in Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, and Missouri before he accepted a call to serve in England. In Manchester, in January 1842, he got an assignment: serve a mission in Bradford, West Yorkshire—assisted by 26-year-old James Burgess.

James Burgess wrote in his journal, "Elder [Lorenzo] Barnes and [Alfred] Cordon²³⁹ preached in the Vicar Croft. The morning following came on to Bradford and stayed all night at Sister Allen's." Whether she was James's mother, Hannah Allen, is impossible to know, but she may have been. Barnes had apparently overcome his speech impediment because entries from James Burgess's journal reveal that Barnes gave lengthy testimonies at a conference in Bradford in June.

We know from church records that James Allen, not yet 12, received his baptism the next month. He immediately became an active Saint, devoting all of his Sundays to meetings. He wrote, "I was about twelve years of age, and living seven miles from the meeting house to which I [would] walk every Sunday. My custom was to be at the meeting at 10 o'clock...and after [the] night meeting I would walk home."²⁴⁰ Sixty years later, James wrote a vivid account of an experience he had speaking in tongues.²⁴¹ (See text box at beginning of this chapter.) He also reported that he saw

Lorenzo Barnes engage in the practice, too. “The first person that I ever heard speak in tongues was Lorenzo D. Barnes in the year 1842.”²⁴²

James Allen of Sheffield

Ten miles south of Barnsley was Sheffield, the industrial center of West Yorkshire. Inexpensive canal transportation to Manchester, brought about in the “Age of Canals,” had made its coal mines very profitable. Like many industrial centers, its population had exploded, growing from only 31,000, in 1801 to 135,000, by 1851. Sheffield had earned a reputation as a grimy and dirty town, not surprising considering its heavy industry. In 1832 there was an epidemic of cholera that killed 402 people. In the working class areas, the worst houses were the “back-to-backs”. These houses were literally joined back to back, without any alley between them.

By the time James Allen was 21, he had moved to Sheffield, in part to further his education. Its medical college, established in 1828, was among the first of its kind in England. James later wrote that his first medical education was in England.²⁴³ In 1852 James Allen lodged with John Whitehead and the Sudbury families at 24 Monmouth Road in Sheffield. His hosts were members of the LDS Church. They, too, decided to heed Brigham Young’s appeal to all Saints to gather in the Great Salt Lake Valley. A factor that contributed to their decisions was the low-ticket price—£10.

In December James Allen and his housemates traveled by rail about 80 miles west to Liverpool. Each made a deposit of one pound sterling for passage on the *Golconda*, scheduled to set sail in January 1853. James listed his occupation as “linen weaver.” James surely looked forward to sharing the trans-Atlantic journey with his friends and housemates from Sheffield. He could not have anticipated the greater pleasure in store for him on the *Golconda*, however—the company of two comely, marriage-eligible sisters from Lincolnshire: Sarah and Elizabeth Pidd.

The Pidd Family of Whaplode Washway, Lincolnshire

A Pidd Sisters Encounter Re-imagined

They were inseparable. The common experience of their father’s death and of their stepfather’s unsparing discipline had strengthened their bonds of sisterhood. “Don’t go until I can go, too. Wherever you go, I go!” These were surely Elizabeth Pidd’s thoughts upon learning that Sarah, seven years her senior, was considering leaving her Lincolnshire home in England for the Great Salt Lake Valley.

As the only daughters of Adonijah and Ann Forman to survive into their teens, their bonds of sisterhood were strong. Sarah and Elizabeth, born in 1825 and 1832,

respectively, were born in rural, southern Lincolnshire in a small village with an unusual name: *Whaplode Washway*. Two miles east was Holbeach, four miles west was Spaulding, and 40 miles north was the nearest manufacturing center, Lincoln. (For a map, see Figure 6.) There were no underground resources to mine in Lincolnshire; agriculture *was* its industry. Earlier generations had drained and reclaimed more than a thousand square miles of former marshland to create what the English called *Fenlands*.

Adonijah and Ann's first and fifth children each died in their first week of life, and so, when Elizabeth was born, she had three older siblings—a brother William and two sisters, Sarah and Marian. Marian's death, in 1838, reduced her sibling count to two.

Elizabeth, like her future husband, never knew her father because he died when she was one year old. Her mother promptly married Thomas Proctor. Two separate accounts, written by Sarah's descendants, state Mr. Proctor was very strict and the sisters were scared of him. After he left home for work, their mother let the girls go into his small orchard and pick nuts and fruit from the trees, making sure they erased their footsteps with a garden rake to avoid detection. He punished them for trespassing. Their mother would rise to their defense, telling him, "Proctor, you will come to a bad end for ill treating these fatherless children."²⁴⁴

St Mary's Parish Church of England served Whaplode; all of Adonijah Pidd's children received their Anglican baptisms in it. However, the non-conformist Wesleyan Methodist denomination built a chapel in nearby Holbeach. When the two sisters got older, they became members of it.²⁴⁵ Wesleyan Methodists were one of the most receptive non-conformist denominations to Mormonism. LDS membership records for the Holbeach Branch listed Sarah's baptism in 1849.²⁴⁶ Elizabeth's was not listed.

When Sarah became eligible for *bonding out*, a form of indentured servitude, she left home and lived with a woman from whom she learned to become an accomplished seamstress. By the time her bondage expired, she had saved some money. Her sister Elizabeth was still bonded out as a servant. Mindful of her sister's desire to be near her, Sarah waited to book passage to America so that her sister could join her.²⁴⁷

Laraine Smith wrote a biographical sketch about her great-great-grandmother, Sarah Pidd. In the sketch, she alluded to the missionaries' promises to Sarah that America was "so wonderful" and "how grand it was to live with the Saints in Zion."

She became a dressmaker and a tailor, She would go out sewing at different places for a week or two at a time and by so doing made quite a lot and was able to save up some money. The LDS missionaries came to England and she heard them preach and was converted. So she left the Methodist and joined the LDS Church. The Elders of course described America as being so wonderful and told how grand it was to live with the saints in Zion. So she and Elizabeth decided to come to Utah. She had saved enough money to bring her sister and herself to America and had a little to spare.²⁴⁸

The Elders who “described America as being so wonderful” were among hundreds who in the summer of 1852 repeated Brigham Young’s appeal to Saints to gather in Zion, echoing sentiments published in the July 17 edition of the *Millennial Star*. “Let all who can procure a loaf of bread, and one garment on their back, be assured there is water plenty and pure by the way, and doubt no longer, but come next year to the place of gathering, even in flocks, as doves fly to their windows before a storm.”²⁴⁹

Furthermore, in 1852, the LDS emigration service incentivized British Saints with a historically low package price of £10 for 1853 passage from Liverpool to Utah. Before this deal, a £10 ticket had only taken a Saint as far as Kanesville, the Iowa outfitting post 1030 miles east of the Great Salt Lake. The Saints’ positive response to the new bargain basement price led to a very significant increase in emigration. Whereas only 760 Saints emigrated in 1852, nearly four times as many (2626²⁵⁰) emigrated in 1853.²⁵¹ In December 1852, Sarah and Elizabeth, ages 27 and 20, respectively, traveled to Liverpool, leaving behind their older brother, William, and mother, Ann, and booked passage on the *Golconda*.

Five other people²⁵² living within a 50-mile radius of Holbeach made deposits for passage on the *Golconda*. All five prospective passengers lived in Risegate, a town ten miles west of Holbeach. One of them was a 25-year-old bachelor named Charles Clarke. Any hopes one or both of the sisters may have had for him as a future mate were dashed when he withdrew his deposit on the *Golconda* and booked passage on the *Elvira Owen*, the next scheduled ship. On the morning it was set to sail, Elder John Young officiated at a wedding of Charles Clarke and Susan Cammomile onboard the *Elvira Owen*.²⁵³

Rather than Charles Clarke from Risegate, it would be an eligible bachelor from Sheffield, West Yorkshire—one with an eye for attractive, intelligent women—who would win the heart of one of the two Pidd sisters on the ship *Golconda*. The fortunate young man was 22-year-old James Allen.

Chapter 12 James and Elizabeth Allen of Utah

Fate had a hand in James Allen and Elizabeth Pidd meeting each other on the *Golconda* in January 1853, but Brigham Young's 1852 "gather in Zion" appeal and the £10 bargain price helped tip fate's hand. Apparently neither James Allen nor Sarah Pidd could afford the cost of even one more ticket. How else to explain why each of them left a dear one in England: James' mother, Hannah, and Sarah's fiancé. James Allen waxed poetic about their bittersweet departure on January 22, 1853.

The anchor weighed — the sails unfurled— Friends waved their hats onshore, While some on high their kerchiefs twirled, And cried their eyes quite sore.	Some left father — I, a mother Just had parted from. Some a sister — some a brother, Spied in the distant throng.
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The joys and sorrows of that day, My pen cannot describe; Some did laugh and some did pray, While some most sorely cried.	This one a lover — that a friend Was bidding an adieu; Another said he'd money send To fetch his pretty Sue. ²⁵⁴
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A violent Atlantic storm destroyed three main topmasts of the 1124-ton, Canadian-built *Golconda*. Two resourceful, carpenter Saints were able to repair the damage. There were four births, two or three weddings, and two deaths. James wrote of being on deck as a coffin bearing the body of a week-old infant slid into the water "until at last it disappeared in the distance."²⁵⁵ Upon the completion of their Atlantic crossing, James expressed his gratitude, writing, "Great God how good thou art."

We passed Jamaica on our left— And Cuba on our right; Although a better land we'd left, These were a pleasing sight.	When Mississippi's mouth we found, What joy in every heart. The air with anthems did resound Great God how good thou art. ²⁵⁶
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Several of his poem's 42 stanzas pertained to his newfound love, Betsey Pidd. For example, he penned, "I'll never forget the rosey cheeks/ Then by my Betsey worn."

The dolphin played beneath the bow The sailors hawed the quid— To be happier none knew how, Than I and Betsey Pidd.	What more we thought — what more we said Is not for one to tell, Though I confess that through my head Strange thoughts ran like pell mell.
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We talked of home of bygone days Of things which used to be; Of little children's pretty ways When dangling on the knee.	We glided on for days and weeks, By gentle breezes borne; I'll ne'er forget the rosey cheeks, Then by my Betsey worn. ²⁵⁷
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Sarah Pidd was at first concerned, then amused, by her sister's new beau. Her concern was due to his habits and odor. She complained that James Allen had never changed his clothes once on their voyage. Her amusement stemmed from the sight of him in New Orleans wearing clean clothes that he had saved for his arrival.

There was a young man on the ship by the name of James Allen. They became very well acquainted with him and he was very helpful to them. He fell in love with Elizabeth. Just before they landed at New Orleans Sarah said, 'Now Lizzy we aren't going to be seen with Allen, so we will hurry and get off before he sees us. We will then be rid of him.' Allen had worn the same old clothes and cap all the way on the ocean and Sarah thought that he had no more to change into. She thought he looked very dirty. So as soon as the ship docked the girls were all ready to get off and hurried away. They walked around New Orleans and who should they meet, but Mr. Allen. He had saved his new clothes and kept them clean. They laughed and walked on together.²⁵⁸

1853—New Orleans to Keokuk, Iowa

The year 1853 was unique in the annals of Mormon migration because it was the only time that Saints began their overland journeys from the Mississippi River, in eastern-most Iowa, rather than the Missouri River, in western-most Iowa. The change extended the distance the Saints had to walk from 1030 miles to 1300 miles. Why the change? The Missouri River had always been treacherous to navigate. In 1852 a boiler had exploded on the steamship *Saluda*, killing more than 100 Saints. It was the worst maritime disaster in the history of Mormon migration.²⁵⁹ Another factor was cost. When non-Mormons assumed control, in 1852, of Council Bluffs (formerly Kaneshville), the overland outfitters dramatically raised their prices to the Mormons. Finally, by outfitting the companies in Keokuk, Iowa, the Saints did not have to pay for a 420-mile Missouri River boat trip from St. Louis to Council Bluffs.

James reported the steamship ride to St. Louis was pleasant, but that the ride on the *Kate Kenny* to Keokuk was miserable: "We had little or nothing to cook in the meanest convenience for cooking with no place to sit down or sleep at night, and [it was] the most filthy and cruelest spot that I hope to set foot in during my whole life."²⁶⁰

James Allen and the Pidd sisters were among about two thousand emigrants to encamp at Keokuk in the spring of 1853. While waiting for overland companies to form, James joined other Saints and went up the Mississippi River to Nauvoo. He had heard about its "beautiful white stone temple at the summit of the hill." When Allen espied it, however, seven years after its completion, he found it in a "ruined state."

On the last day of April I went to Nauvoo and beheld the desolate city once the pride and delight of the people of God and the remains of the beautiful white stone temple situated at the summit of the hill. I viewed with mingled feelings of pleasure and sorrow, delighted in being privileged to gaze upon the house dedicated to the Lord and in which he had bestowed great blessings on his saints, ... but sorry to behold it in its ruined state and to be looked on by... the ungodly.²⁶¹

Joseph Smith Jr.'s 78-year-old mother, Lucy Smith, lived at the Mansion House. She told James that Brigham Young "was a Usurper", sought to persuade James that polygamy was a false teaching, and urged him to abandon his plans to travel to Utah.

She raised yourself up in bed and extended her hand to me asking if I came from England and were I proposing going to the valley to live with the Mormons; I answered in the affirmative at which she appeared somewhat surprised and asked me if I could not make my home in that neighborhood ... She stated land was cheap, and the soil rich, and that work was plentiful and wages good, and that I might serve the Lord there as well as anywhere else. She talked much about Brigham Young and the people who follow him, stating that the former was a Usurper, and was [so] pronounced by her son while alive, and in her hearing. She also spoke much against polygamy and produced a passage from the *Book of Mormon* to prove it false. The old lady was very much affected and spoke warmly.²⁶²

The Pidd sisters also met people urging them to remain rather than endure all the hardships of the journey and life in "the valley". Laraine Smith wrote, "When they got to Missouri they camped and stayed there for some time. Sarah even did some sewing for some people who lived there. The people she met there tried to persuade the girls to stay there and not go to Utah. However their minds were made up and they said, 'We started for Utah and Utah we'll see if we live long enough.' " ²⁶³

1853—Keokuk, Iowa to Union, Utah

After several more weeks of waiting around, James Allen and the two Pidd sisters joined the same overland company—one led by Joseph Young. The first leg of the journey took them to Council Bluffs, near present day Omaha. There, the Pidd sisters and James Allen amicably parted company—the Pidds stayed with Joseph Young's company, whereas James joined a different company to drive a wagon team. His journal's account of his trip from Keokuk to Utah is disappointingly short, writing only, "As to the incidents of our journey I have kept no minute account of them."

After several weeks of traveling we reached Kanesville, where I left the company and went to the Vincent Shurtleff to drive a team laden with merchandise belonging to the iron company—in which the company I traveled to the valley of the Great Salt Lake and arrived here Sept. 28 making a trip of 1035 miles in 11 weeks, having no deaths and but little sickness. As to the incidents of our journey I had kept no minute account of them. ²⁶⁴

Although we learn very little about the trip from James's diary, Sarah Pidd regaled her children with many stories. Laraine Smith's biographical sketch, *Sarah Pidd*, is filled with harrowing, exciting adventures of risky river crossings, food shortages, encounters with wild animals, Native American raids, and the like. In the following excerpt, she described an encounter with an unidentified large animal that suddenly appeared out of the brush, scaring them all half to death.

One day she and Lizzy started to walk ahead of the wagons. They had done this a great many times. They would walk a long ways and then sit down and rest until the wagons caught up. This time they walked along a stream where there was a lot of willows and brush. All at once a large animal came out of the brush and stared at them. They were so frightened. She said that she heard that if you look them in the eye and didn't move the animal wouldn't attack. So they stared at it and it just stood there. Every minute they expected it to jump at them, but it finally walked slowly away. She said they ran as fast as they could all the way back to the wagons and after that they never walked very far ahead.²⁶⁵

1854 to 1858—The Allen Family of Utah

Upon his arrival in Utah, James Allen was stoked. The first thing he did was send a message to his mother. "Two days after my arrival, through the kind aid and recommendation [of] Bro. Shurtleff. I succeeded in an order sent to England for my mother." Soon, Hannah Allen came. One week after arriving, James chose to be re-baptized. Two weeks after arriving, he was admitted into the 14th Quorum of Seventy—one of the governing councils of church elders. He was a zealous Saint!

Practical considerations, e.g., income and shelter, were priorities for both the Pidd sisters and James Allen. The Pidds applied their domestic skills. "Sarah moved from place to place sewing and making clothes for different families. Elizabeth did housework for a living."²⁶⁶ James found shelter at the home of Thomas Brown, the elder who had administered his LDS baptism in Yorkshire, in 1842. The following day, he was "engaged to work for Brothers Foot and Adamson, for board, washing, and lodging, and 5 c.t. of flour a month. I lived comfortably with them. After near upon 2 months frost and snow came and prohibited me from working more."²⁶⁷

Three descendants of James Allen and Elizabeth Pidd have written accounts of events leading up to their wedding day—January 11, 1854—in Little Cottonwood, a settlement eleven miles due south of Salt Lake City, near Little Cottonwood Creek: Laraine Smith, their great-great-grandniece; Eveline Alice Burgess, their great-granddaughter; and Eveline Allen Burgess, their daughter. I consider the latter the most credible. It simply explains that Elizabeth accepted James Allen's marriage proposal as an expedient way of avoiding entrapment in a bishop's plural marriage.

After reaching Utah—and even on the voyage—the pernicious doctrine of plural marriage was hinted. A much-married Bishop soon began to pester the pure-minded girl, so it was not a hard task for James Allen to persuade her to marry him and rid herself of the obnoxious intentions of the old Bishop.²⁶⁸

James was silent on the courtship phase of their relationship, but he made the following felicitous entry in his journal for January 11, 1854: "I had the Happiness of taking to wife, Elizabeth Pidd. Born April 28, 1832. Whaplode Washway, Lincolnshire, England. She is of a fair complexion with Dark Brown Hair with frank and open countenance, spirits cheerful, and of the middle stature."²⁶⁹ Recognizing that the special occasion deserved a more poetic touch, he added this wedding prayer:

Oh Lord, bless our union, and make our hearts as one, with thee give us com-munion, give us the love of thy dear son. Our lives to thee we dedicate, our father and our all, Thy praise we love to celebrate, and on thy name to call. Forgive us of our trespasses, and pardon all our sin. With blessings do thou bless us, e'en, so Father, Amen. ²⁷⁰

Four family milestones occurred in March 1854—beginning on the 8th, when James and Elizabeth Allen moved into a house he had built, at a cost of \$130, in Union, near the Little Cottonwood Creek. On the 26th, Elizabeth's sister, Sarah, became a plural wife of Joseph Griffiths²⁷¹—the same day Elizabeth and James's marriage was sealed for eternity. Three days later, Elizabeth miscarried an infant daughter. James reported, "She was not long ill, but in two weeks she was able to do her housework."

When spring came, James found work in Mormon Ferry, Wyoming—400 miles east. He and Betsey exchanged letters, but he complained to her that other men received more packages than he did. On July 11, 1854, while still in Green River Ferry,²⁷² James made a journal entry that reads as if it was an unsent letter to his wife.

I for several days [have] been anciously (sic) gazing Westerly for the mail, and yet no mail comes. Many persons have come from the city bringing packages of letters, but none for me. You were afraid of me taking up my abode at this place. Let your fears cease. I do not know where I shall go to live. I do not think that I shall live at Little Cottonwood much longer. I love the people there but, as the land is not good I think that I better go elsewhere. Give my love to brother and sister Griffiths... and to as many as you please, or deem worthy.

I thank thee Oh! My father,
For the comforts of thy grace,
I ask of thee deliverance,
From this wicked place.

Thou hast been kind and loved me,
In days that are gone by,
I pray thee to watch o'er me,
Henceforth until I die.

Bless my wife I pray thee,
The partner of my life,
Thy servant gave her to me,
We'll have eternal lives.

Our lives to thee we dedicate,
We give to thee our all,
Our hearts and utmost labors,
Thy work to onwards roll.

We love thy laws and precepts,
We love to have thy grace.
And to enjoy the blessings,

Of thy Gospel grace.

Save us in thy Kingdom,
Exult us both on high,
With all the blest in Jesus,
Who have or yet may die.

I pray thee also Father,
To bless my mother too,
With health and strength of body,
And buoyant spirits too.

Bless all who love thy gospel,
And live up to the same,
Who walk as humble followers
Of Jesus Christ the Lamb.

Dear wife adieu, J. Allen" ²⁷³

With this melancholy poem, James Allen's journal abruptly ended.

Three daughters were born to James and Elizabeth Allen in Utah: Bertha Ann (b. May 28, 1855 at Sugar Creek Utah), Eveline (b. September 19, 1856 near Ogden City, Utah), and Sybilia (b. June 25, 1858 in Utah near Ogden.) Sisters Bertha, Eveline (rhymes with "mine"), and Sybilia would remain close to one another all their lives.

A Confrontation With a Bishop and the Allen's Flight from Utah

James Allen butted heads with a Mormon bishop in a row that was brought to the attention of Brigham Young. Years later, he told the colorful story to his grandson, Samuel Allen Burgess, whose daughter Eveline recorded it in *Part of the Allen Saga Remembered*. It seems a bishop complained to Brigham Young that James Allen had embarrassed him by using his superior knowledge of scripture in an argument. Brigham Young granted James an audience in which he surprised him with an invitation to enter into a plural marriage with any eligible woman of his choice. Repulsed by Young's offer, James and Elizabeth chose to flee from Utah to Missouri.

It seems he [James] was in trouble because he had said from the stand "All is not well in Zion." The next time the Bishop was in town, he was called on to speak, and began by announcing, "When Solomon's temple went up there was not sound of an anvil or hammer. When ours went up, it was the noisiest place in town."

The Bishop objected, father asked to speak, was urged to "Be brief." He came forward with his Bible in hand and began, "I have always thought badly of any man who would blame his faults on a woman. I have even thought badly about our Father Adam because he blamed his fall on Eve. But this time I have to blame a woman, and that the noblest woman who ever walked God's earth, my mother, for she taught me to read my Bible and believe what I read there." and he opened the Bible and read the passage about the Temple of Solomon. He went on, "But now that the living Oracles have spoken, I stand corrected." (Church leaders were considered living oracles and their pronouncements were superior to any scripture.)

Next thing, Brigham called him in and told him they had decided to give him a dispensation to take another wife. He asked for time "since a man in your position may have this opportunity at any time, and I don't know when I shall get another chance." Brigham agreed to "Take all the time you want." (There were not enough women to "go around" in a frontier settlement like Utah and since Brigham had 21 wives, no one could get into polygamy without a special dispensation. Hence this was a special "sop" Brigham held out to him to try to persuade him to keep quiet and remain.)

He went home, told his wife, and took the family in a wagon, going only a few miles at a time, stopping in each settlement, [to] let them trot out any eligible woman, if there were any. In this way, they inched their way out of Utah. One morning, he said to his wife, "Betsey, we're in Idaho" and to the horse "Giddap." They didn't stop [un]til they got to [St. Joseph] Missouri.²⁷⁴

Chapter 13 James and Elizabeth Allen of Missouri

1859 to 1861—The Allen Family of St. Joseph, Missouri

On August 31, 1859, James purchased a tract of land in St. Joseph, Missouri, for the princely sum of \$125. St. Joseph would become home for Elizabeth and her three daughters from 1859 until 1866. James listed his occupation in the 1860 U.S. Census as “school teacher.” His mother, Ann, was a housekeeper for a neighbor. (She may have accompanied her son’s family when it fled Utah in 1859.)

James very much wanted a son, in part because he was an only child. He did not want his last name to die out with him.²⁷⁵ Thus, he must have been thrilled when his fourth child was a son. William Ptolemy Allen was born in St. Joseph, on October 18, 1861. James probably admired the Greek polymath Claudius Ptolemy, with whom he shared a lifelong interest in geology, astronomy, and astrology. Tragically, his son did not live to see his first birthday; he died August 15. James gave expression to his gratitude for the birth of a son and for his grief over his early death, in a six-stanza poem that began:

God heard our prayer in accent mild, / “Our father give us a man-child”? /
down from the realms of light there came / A cherubim whom we did name /
Our Ptolemy Allen

How blest were we with such a prize! /O such a lovely pair of eyes! /
with every feature so compleat! / Who ever saw a child so sweet /
As Ptolemy Allen

His little hands and arms so round, /And Angel voice — how sweet the sound! / his
movements graceful ever, one / Who would not love just such a son /
As Ptolemy Allen” ²⁷⁶

1861 to 1865—James X Allen, a Union Army Surgeon in the Civil War

Soon after the Civil War broke out, in April 1861, James Allen enlisted in the Union Army. Pro-Union and pro-Confederacy sentiments were equally strong in St. Joseph, Missouri. Allen sided with the Union as an act of loyalty to the government that had welcomed him as an immigrant.

When letters, intended for him, were delivered to another James Allen (and vice versa), he came up with a clever solution—the addition of an X to his name. It did the trick—he would no longer be simply James Allen, he became James X Allen.²⁷⁷

In 1888 James gave an account of his Civil War experiences to L. H. Nichols. He explained that he parlayed his past medical training into an assignment as a hospital

steward, thereby avoiding almost certain service in the Union infantry. He said he received a promotion to become “acting Surgeon in charge of a post hospital.” With the benefit of hindsight, Allen said that, despite the hardship of his service, his medical career had benefited from his wartime experiences.

I was urged to go into the Confederate services and as I had received instruction in England and was a swordsman was offered a commission. But I felt I could not come into a country and take up arms against the Government and so I enlisted on the side of the north in the 5th M[iss]O[uri] Cavalry which was disbanded after one years service. I then went to the medical college and returning from lectures one day was picked up by the provost guard and taken before the Marshall and told I must go into the services. I told them I was a subject of the Queen, and I was told to go to the British Counsel and get protection papers. This I would not do for I had declared my intention of becoming a Citizen and I came to America to make it my home, and therefore I went again into the services and remained until the war closed. I was immediately made Hospital Steward and was later made acting Surgeon in charge of a Post Hospital where I had experience of great value to me and what at first seemed a hardship proved to be a very fortunate occurrence. ²⁷⁸

Independent sources, including military service records,²⁷⁹ support most, but not all, of Allen’s 1888 interview. Allen told Nichols he attended medical classes in St Joseph before he enlisted on the side of the Union Army. His daughter Eveline wrote that her father studied medicine while working in a drugstore. Military records confirm he served as a ward master at a U.S. Army Post Hospital that was attached to the 4th Missouri Cavalry in St. Joseph from March 9, 1862, to April 30, 1862. They show he was promoted from private to sergeant of Company K. These records also show, however, that five months later, on September 22, the army discharged him for *insubordination*. This embarrassing detail escaped mention in Allen’s interview.

By May 1862, he had enlisted in the 35th Missouri Infantry Hospital Corps, whose headquarters were at Camp Benton in St. Louis.²⁸⁰ James described himself as a 5 ft 10½ in. tall, 32-year-old clergyman, with blue eyes and brown hair. Six months later, he was promoted to Hospital Steward and assigned to a field hospital in Helena, Arkansas. Union soldiers, wounded in the Vicksburg Campaign, between November 1862 and July 1863, received treatment there. He became acting 2nd Lieutenant of Company H, performing general surgery in its Ambulance Corps, between August 1863 and May 1865.

In a remarkable letter, sent to Eveline from Moonlake, Mississippi, in April 1863, James compared her happiness, faith, and fear of death with his own state of mind.

From what you say you have more religion than I have but I do believe that I am happier than you are. It may be that I have not sufficient of the fear of God before my eyes—but I do believe that I have less of the fear of death about me than you have; and yet I may be wrong now that I come to think that I have never known you to express any fear for yourself, but a great deal for me. and as far as that goes,

although I have no fear for myself. I would rather be myself the first to make my exit.
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He closed the letter with a sweet, poetic expression of love for his three daughters. The final three stanzas of the six-stanza poem manifested his longing for each one.

I often of my Bertha think
How she bounces in a wink / How she runs with all her might / To catch some insect
in its flight / How she cried and looked so droll / When she lost her little doll.

Evaline I don't forget,
Who's large eyes so often wet / Shine with luster so divine; / That I'm proud of
daughter mine.

Sybilia is our fairest child
Though not by far the most mild / I would that she had been a boy / My heart would
have known more of joy / Yet I love her, though a girl and know she is a precious
Pearl.²⁸²

Great-granddaughter Eveline Alice Burgess shared a sadly sober assessment of the relationship between James and Elizabeth in *Part of the Allen Saga Remembered*. "He was an autocratic head of the family, and not easy to get along with. Apparently, she looked down on him, believing she had married 'beneath her.' It could not have been a very happy family, since James Allen loved her and the children, and his feelings were not reciprocated by his wife."²⁸³

Although the 35th Hospital Corps was not involved in hand-to-hand combat, Allen's war service was not without risks. Bacteria had proved to be greater threat to health than bullets and bayonets. About 234 enlisted men in the 35th Corp died of disease compared to only eight deaths due to enemy action. By the end of the war, in April 1865, roughly 2,000 men from Buchanan County joined the Union Army. Approximately the same amount aligned with the Confederate cause. It took several years for St. Joseph to heal the scars from its wartime wounds. However, over the next decade, the city re-established its reputation as a commercial center.

James X Allen was discharged at Camp Benton from military service in May 1865. His wife, Eveline, and mother, Hannah, had held down the fort for five years in St. Joseph. His three daughters, ranging in age from three years to six years of age at the war's beginning—now ages seven to ten years, eagerly awaited their father's return.

1866—Dr. James X Allen of St. Louis, Missouri

James's service in the Union Army's medical corps may have given renewed impetus to his long-held dream of becoming a general practice physician. The family moved to St. Louis, a much bigger city with highly respected medical college. A new chapter in their lives began. St. Louis Medical College,²⁸⁴ more commonly known as Pope's College,²⁸⁵ was a fifteen-minute walk south of 1019 Morgan. James most likely took

classes from Dr. John Hodgen—a mechanical genius and noted for surgical inventions, including the Hodgen splint. Also teaching at Pope’s was Dr. Elisha Hall Gregory—surgeon-in-chief, considered by some to be the greatest medical lecturer in the school. In 1867 James graduated²⁸⁶ and commenced working out of his home.

Shortly after their arrival in St. Louis, in 1866, Elizabeth gave birth in August to a son, Franklin Henry Allen.²⁸⁷ The seven Allens—two parents, four children, and James’s mother—moved into 1019 Morgan Street (between 10th and 11th). Their three daughters [Bertha (age 12 yrs.), Eveline (age 11 yrs.), and Sybilia (age 9 yrs.)] would attend Franklin School, before matriculating at St. Louis High.²⁸⁸

Music surely filled the Allen house, for the love of singing was a joy shared by Elizabeth and James Allen. Their daughter Eveline wrote, “both were good singers and both were very enthusiastic singing the church hymns.”²⁸⁹ Moreover, James Allen pushed piano lessons. At least two children excelled at piano: his daughter Eveline became her church organist and his son, Franklin, played, taught, and sold pianos.²⁹⁰ In her *Autobiography*, Eveline recalled how much music meant to her.

How happy I was when my father said I should take music lessons -- how eager I was to play “exercises” for anyone who would listen. When I could play S. S. [Sunday School] music and was asked to play, I had visions and daydreams of some day being a great musician or singer; needless to say these dreams were never realized, but I kept right on learning and trying.²⁹¹

Chess was a favorite leisure time activity for James X Allen. His great-granddaughter wrote, “Eveline Allen (Grandma Burgess) learned to play chess because this was one of her duties, to play chess with her father [James X Allen] every day when she came home from school.”²⁹² In an interview for Anne Johnson, editor of *Notable Women of St. Louis 1914*, Eveline recalled playing with her father during school lunch hour, often having to dash the eight blocks from 10th to 18th Street to avoid a tardy slip.

Mrs. Burgess does not remember when she began playing chess, having been taught by her father, Dr. James X Allen, an Englishman, who was very fond of the game. He was a surgeon in the Union Army. Much of his leisure time was devoted to playing chess. He taught his little daughter and insisted that she play a game at noon hour while attending school, and she remembers frequently after finishing she would have to run all the way back to school to be on time.²⁹³

Elizabeth Allen, Mother

James X Allen has, the author confesses, dominated Part III’s account of the lives of *two* people: James X Allen and his wife, Elizabeth. The important contribution she made, as his wife and his children’s mother, left few footprints in the sands of time. Sometimes, a woman’s contributions are rescued from obscurity by letters. For example, consider the reputation Abigail Adams has deservedly earned in the history

books, merely through her revealing correspondence with her husband, John Adams. Unfortunately, no letters written by Elizabeth Pidd Allen have survived.

Fortunately, a revelatory endorsement of Elizabeth Allen, as a mother, was contained in a 1908 letter written by her youngest child, Franklin (age 40), to her oldest child, Bertha (age 51) during an extended visit he made to Ogden. The purpose for his trip was to ensure that his father, James, at age 78, was financially secure and receiving adequate care from his “second” family. Living in his Ogden home were James, his third wife, Julia, and their youngest child, 15-year-old Veda Viola Allen. His visit provided Franklin the opportunity to compare the parenting he remembered having received with the parenting he saw his stepsister receiving.

It seems only fair to end this chapter, so dominated by her husband, with an extended excerpt from Franklin’s letter to Bertha, which, in essence, is a tribute to Elizabeth. After he acknowledged his debt to his father, “I’m always thankful I have an honest and intelligent father,” he gave his mother credit for the success of her children. “My honest opinion is that we would have been a sorry lot without Mother.” (Note: By 1908, Franklin’s and Bertha’s sister, Eveline, was reigning United States Women’s Chess Champion.)

Dear Sister Bertha / I would not near trade places with Veda [Allen]. She has not been raised. She has just grown up. Remember I considered Veda’s mother [Julia Allen] one of the best of women but she does not know how to raise children. Father never did know. I am proud of my father. I would not trade him for any father I ever saw. Am glad I made so wise A choice but I admitt (sic) to myself and now to another for the first time that I consider I owe ALL my training and manners and the finer points of life (if I have any), and I think I have, TO MOTHER.

Father is a man every inch. In qualities of honor, intelligence, intellect and as a self-made man I put him at the top. ... He makes me think sometimes that he likes to torture...Well I’m always thankful that I have an honest and intelligent father, but I nonetheless thankful that I’ve a sensible intelligent mother. and none the less honest either. So will give Father full credit for his share, but my honest opinion is that we would have been a sorry lot without Mother.

Father has brought two families in the world. One had a mother to raise them. You don’t need a microscope to detect the difference. and yet it is not a matter of goodness. This woman is good. It takes more than goodness to make life worth living. I think mother may be proud of the job she did raising her children. You may think the boy didn’t amount to much, but stop and think what the same boy might have been without Mother and then you get at the facts. ²⁹⁴/From Bro. Frank

The “Allen saga” continues in Part V, but, first, Part IV introduces the last two of Gomer and Sybil’s grandparents to emigrate as Saints—the *only ones* from Wales: Daniel Evans and Gwenllian Williams Evans.

Part IV

The Evans and Williams Families



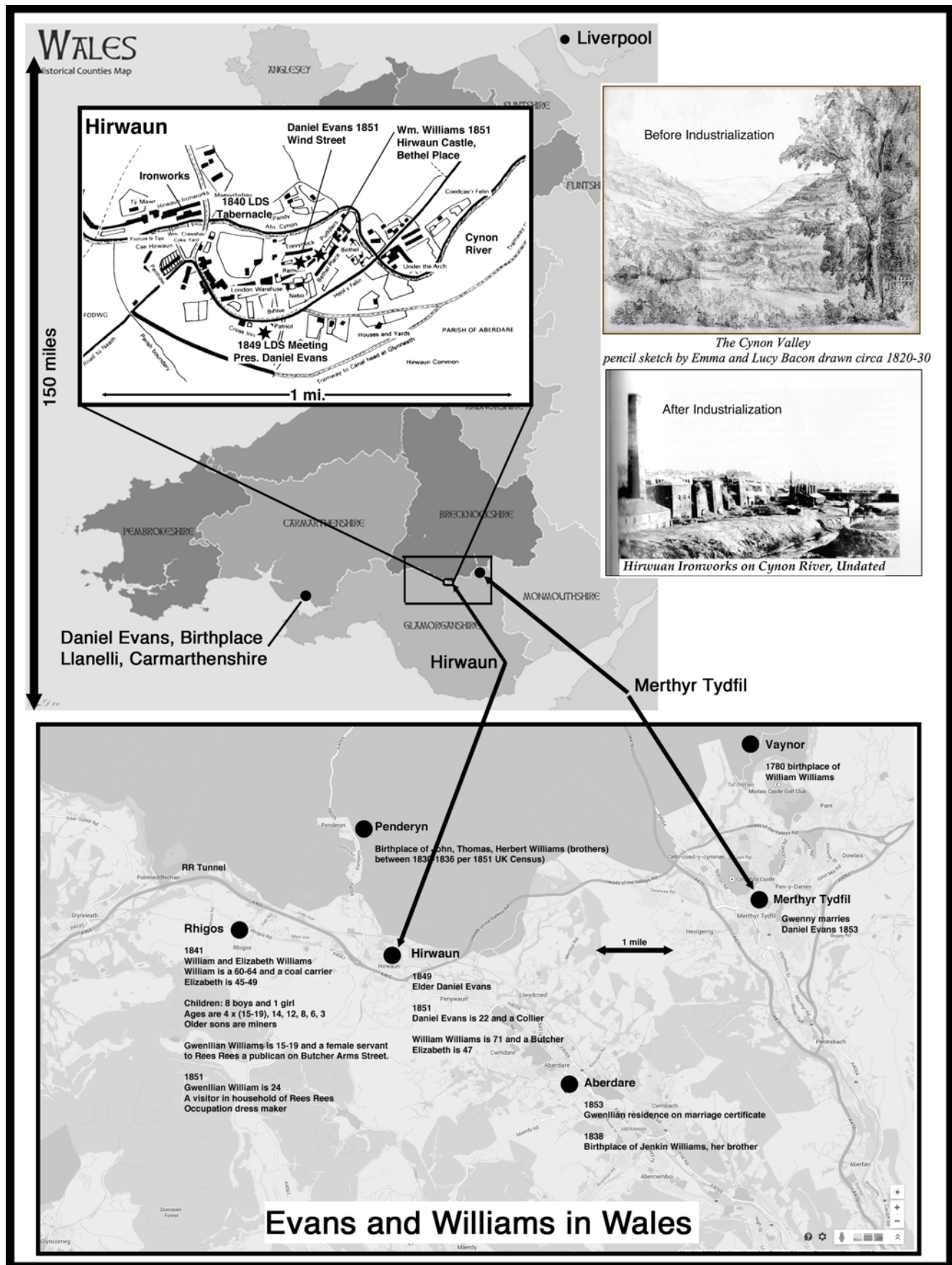


Figure 7 Evans and Williams in Wales

Chapter 14 Daniel and Gwenllian Evans of Wales and St. Louis

1856—An Evans Close Call at Sea Re-imagined

"All hands below decks. Now!" Daniel and Gwenllian Evans joined 457 passengers seeking escape from the raging Atlantic storm during the historically hostile winter of 1856. On March 1, the day of the storm, 60 New York-bound ships were overdue. Two of the sixty, the Pacific and the John Rutledge, had struck icebergs two weeks earlier and laid at ocean bottom—305 of 306 human lives lost, the 2nd and 4th worst ice-induced casualty counts on record. On March 15, Evans's shipmate spotted an iceberg 500 miles south of Newfoundland; on March 27, the Caravan docked in New York harbor. Later that same year, more than 200 Saints, having survived their passages through North Atlantic ice, died of starvation and/or exposure to ice on Wyoming's plains in the worst disaster of westward migration. Luckily for them (and me), Daniel and Gwenllian, my father's last great-grandparents to emigrate, survived their ocean crossing and chose St. Louis as their final destination.

Mormon Missionary Profile: Elder Dan Jones

St. Louis owed its nineteenth-century prominence to commerce flowing from a steady stream of passenger steamships and freight-laden barges, all lining up along its Mississippi River waterfront. In 1843, thirteen years before the *Caravan* sailed from Liverpool (see text box), one such steamship was *The Maid of Iowa*. Its proud owner and captain, Dan Jones, would become one of the most successful missionaries in the history of the Mormon Church. Moreover, he would be largely responsible for the 1856 emigration of my father's only Welsh great-grandparents—Daniel and Gwenllian Evans. However, in April 1843, he was just another steamboat captain plying his trade on the Mississippi River. He was a new Latter-day Saint, having been baptized in January in the frigid, ice-clogged Mississippi River.

Captain Jones secured his modest vessel to a St. Louis dock. Hundreds of English emigrants, having endured months of temporary winter housing, were waiting at the waterfront to board. Some of them were standing up, others were sitting down on steamer trunks and boxes that held all their worldly possessions. All of them were understandably eager to complete the final, 175-mile leg of their journey to Nauvoo, Illinois, a trip that had begun six months ago in England.

Among those waiting to board *The Maid of Iowa* that April day were members of my Knowles and Burgess ancestral lines—Joseph Knowles and Samuel, James, and Rachel

Burgess. James Burgess had recently served a mission in northern Wales in a district near the birthplace of Captain Dan Jones. Perhaps James Burgess met Daniel Jones onboard the ship and the two men shared their memories of Wales.

On April 12, when the *Maid of Iowa* arrived in Nauvoo, there was a celebration. Joseph Smith Jr. was dockside to greet the Saints. He invited Capt. Jones to his home. After this first meeting, Dan Jones became a close friend of the Smith family.²⁹⁵ A year later, in June 1844, after Hyrum and Joseph Smith Jr. were arrested and jailed in Carthage, Illinois, Dan Jones visited them. Historians agree that he had the final conversation with Joseph Smith Jr. before the mob attacked and killed him. Jones recounted events in a letter. He wrote that in their jailhouse talk Smith challenged Jones to return to his home country and preach the restored Gospel. "You will yet see Wales and fulfill the mission appointed you ere you die," ²⁹⁶ said the prophet.

Within hours of his conversation, Joseph and Hyrum Smith were dead. Dan Jones fled to England, as his life was now at risk. At a general conference in Manchester in April 1845, he met Elder William Henshaw, the first Mormon to serve a mission to South Wales. In February of 1843, despite Henshaw's inability to speak Welsh, he baptized his first family and a little more than a year later, in April 1844, he presided over a 100-member Merthyr Tydfil conference comprised of eight branches.

Crenshaw's early success stirred up opposition, led by Baptist minister W. R. Davies, who, in March 1844, warned his fellow Welshmen, "The foolish and madmen who call themselves 'Latter-day Saints' have arrived in Pendaran (sic). They profess to work miracles, to prophesy, to speak in unknown tongues, yea, in a word to do everything which the apostles did. I am sorry to say that a number of the dregs of society are now believers. They baptize at night, and those receiving baptism must undress for them and go into the water stark naked!" ²⁹⁷

In August 1845, some four months after the conference in Manchester where Elder Jones had first met Elder Henshaw, he went to South Wales for a visit. While Elder Jones was in Merthyr Tydfil, there was a colliery explosion in neighboring Cwmbach that claimed the lives of 28 men and boys. Elders Henshaw and Jones agreed that no Church members were hurt in the accident, even though several were employed at the pit. ²⁹⁸ Henshaw later reported, "many of the Saints were at work in the pit at the time of the explosion, not one of whom was injured, for which they felt truly thankful to the Heavenly Father."²⁹⁹ Jones, however, had a much more spectacular report concerning the tragedy. Reporting to Church leaders in Liverpool, a few weeks later, he told them that the Saints who were regularly employed in the pit were not there at the time of the explosion "because they had been warned of the impending catastrophe in a vision."

At a December 1845 conference in Manchester, Dan Jones was assigned to preside over the missionary effort in all of Wales with headquarters in Merthyr Tydfil,³⁰⁰ the heart of coal mining in Glamorganshire, the most rapidly growing county of Wales. Fueled by the highest quality coal in Britain and the demands of the industrial

revolution, those were boom times. In 1845 Merthyr Tydfil's *Dowlais Ironworks* was the biggest ironworks in the world, with 18 blast furnaces producing 88,400 tons of iron yearly and employing 8800 workers.³⁰¹ Between 1800 and 1850, Merthyr Tydfil's population had tripled to 232,000, making it the largest city in Wales.

1841 to 1851—The Evans and Williams Families of Hirwaun, Wales

Five miles west of Merthyr Tydfil, nestled in the northwest corner of the Cynon Valley, was Hirwaun, a small village in Aberdare Parish. (For a map, see Figure 7.) “Yr hir waun” translates as “long meadow” in Welsh. Situated astride the Cynon River, the rural village had been prematurely thrust into the industrial age when, in 1757, John Mayberry opened an ironworks on seven acres on the Breconshire side of the river and a coalfield, on Hirwaun Commons, on the Glamorganshire side. In 1819 the ironworks was purchased by William Crawshay; it remained in his family for decades.³⁰²

The ironworks and coal mines provided new jobs and with those jobs came rapid population growth. From 1820 to 1860, the population of Aberdare Parish doubled every decade, rising to 14,999 by 1851.³⁰³ Families from surrounding areas flocked to the Cynon Valley, among them was the Evans family, formerly of Carmarthen-shire. Listed in the 1851 census were 54-year-old Mary Evans and three sons:³⁰⁴ Daniel (22), William (17), and Thomas (15)—all colliers (i.e., coal miners.) Most of their Wind Street neighbors were from Carmarthenshire. It was a diverse group: miners, day laborers, carpenters, a tailor, an annuitant, and a tea dealer.

Workers walked up dirt streets to reach the coke yard and crossed over the Cynon River to the ironworks, a large complex of multi-story stone buildings. Towering over the structures was a 200-foot brick smoke stack. East of the ironworks was a building called the Tabernacle where several dozen Latter-day Saints met. Surrounding the buildings on Wind Street, where the Evans family lived, were public houses with such colorful names as the *Puddlers Arms*, the *Rolling Mill*, the *Beehive*, *Hirwaun Castle*, and the *Bridgend*.

In 1851 a 71-year-old butcher³⁰⁵ with the duplicated name William Williams lived in the public house *Hirwaun Castle* on Bethel Place. Williams had been born in Vaynor,³⁰⁶ seven miles east of Hirwaun. His children were born in Breconshire, within the proverbial stone's throw of Hirwaun. Living with William Williams, in 1851, were his 57-year-old wife, Elizabeth, and their four youngest children; their older six children having left home. Their eldest daughter, Gwenllian, still single at the “ripe old age” of 30, had long since moved out, but lived nearby. In 1841, when her parents still lived in the Village of Rhigos, Hirwaun's “twin” two miles to its west, Gwenllian had moved out of the house. She was a servant at the home of Rees Rees, a Rhigos publican. The 1851 census listed Gwenllian as a “visitor” in the Rees Rees household—occupation “dressmaker.”

1847 to 1849—Elder Daniel Evans of Hirwaun

Southern Wales in the 1840's had, for Britain, an unusual religious composition. The state-run Anglican Church was overwhelmed by non-conformist churches to a greater degree than anywhere else in Britain. The 1851 Religious Census found fewer than 3% attended Anglican services. The dominant non-conformist sect was Baptist at 39% with other significant percentages registered to the Methodists, etc.

Into this dynamic industrial and religious *milieu* marched Mormonism, led, after 1845, by Captain Dan Jones, the new head of its mission to Wales. Indicative of their success was the astonishing growth in just the Merthyr Tydfil and Aberdare districts in 1846 and 1848. In December 1845, the Merthyr district founded by Henshaw had a membership of 493. In the 18-month period, from July 1847 to December 1848, Dan Jones and his recruits averaged 135 baptisms per month, increasing to nearly 4,000 the number of Welsh Saints by January 1849.³⁰⁷

Perhaps as a result of the movement's rapid growth, virulent anti-Mormon sentiments became more widespread. Threats to lives and property of Mormons were common. Dan Jones wanted to counter these attacks with a Welsh language publication, one modeled after the English language *Millennial Star*, but he could not get a publisher to print a pro-Mormon newsletter. He appealed to his brother, John, a Congregational minister in Rhydybont, a small village northwest of Merthyr Tydfil. He permitted Dan Jones to use the church's printing press. In July 1846, the Welsh language newspaper *Prophwyd y Jubili* (*Prophet of the Jubilee*) began publication.³⁰⁸

In its January 1847 edition, the name Daniel Evans made an appearance in the minutes of a conference held in Merthyr Tydfil's Cymreigyddion Hall. Excerpts from the English translation include the following: "The meeting started ... through singing praises and praying ... Captain D[an] Jones addressed the listeners warmly on the occasion ... Glamorganshire Conference—branches, 30 ... total membership 841. Monmouth Conference—branches, 8 ... total membership 138. ...The following persons were called as elders: Daniel Evans,³⁰⁹ Hirwaun..."³¹⁰

In 1848 membership at Hirwaun Branch increased from 22 to 59, while Daniel Evans served as branch president.³¹¹ The Hirwaun Branch was small³¹² compared to the other denominations in the parish. However, unlike most congregations of the Merthyr and Aberdare valleys, it held meetings in English.³¹³ Between 1846 and 1851, Glamorganshire required churches to report membership. One report, dated 15 January 1850, was for the Saints who met in Hirwaun: "It was submitted in the name of Daniel Evans³¹⁴ who had been local president in January 1849. He stated that the meeting was based at 'a room adjoining the Patriot public-house'."³¹⁵

The publication of *Prophet of the Jubilee* did nothing to stem the anti-Mormon vitriol, particularly in Merthyr Tydfil. When Captain Dan Jones visited the town in 1849, the house where he stayed was attacked every night. Among the important motivations for Welsh Mormons to emigrate was fear for their own safety and to escape persecution.³¹⁶ In effect, they were refugees from their own homeland.

1849—First Welsh Emigration

The first ship chartered exclusively for Welsh Saints was the *Buena Vista*. It sailed from Liverpool on February 26, 1849, under the guidance of Captain Dan Jones, becoming the first ever contingent of Welsh Saints to cross the Atlantic. The next three weeks were filled with horror, however, as 44 of the *Buena Vista*'s 249 passengers fell victim to cholera.³¹⁷ There were hearty cheers when the *Buena Vista* docked at New Orleans, where the Saints boarded the steamer *Constitution* that took them up river to St. Louis. All gave thanks for having escaped the cholera epidemic that was raging up and down the Mississippi. However, their good fortune ran out on their voyage from St. Louis to Council Bluffs on board the *Highland Mary*. More than 20% of those on board died of cholera. Captain Dan Jones led the Welsh survivors overland to Utah, where they arrived in late October 1849.³¹⁸

Among those who made it as far as Council Bluffs were John and Mary Parry, long-time friends of Dan Jones. However, on May 17, Mary Parry succumbed to cholera. John Parry continued without her to Utah Territory. At the October 1849 general conference in Salt Lake City, John Parry conducted 85 Welsh Saints in singing several musical numbers. Brigham Young invited Parry to formally organize a church choir that could provide music at church conferences. John Parry thus proceeded to organize what would later become the world-renown Mormon Tabernacle Choir.

Dan Jones lived in Utah for two years, until Brigham Young, concerned that Welsh membership levels had hit a plateau, directed Jones to return and pick up where he had left off. And so, in 1852, Jones returned to Wales to rekindle the movement.

1850 to 1854—Daniel and Gwenllian Meet, Marry, Have a Daughter

Gwenllian Williams may have become a Latter-day Saint before meeting the collier Daniel Evans. [She may have had a brother who was a Latter-day Saint.]³¹⁹ I think it more likely that Daniel met Gwenllian by virtue of her brothers. Daniel was ten years younger than Gwenllian; she had eight younger brothers, many of them colliers in Hirwaun.

What is certain is that on the 13th of June 1853, in the registrar's office at Merthyr Tydfil, Daniel Evans and Gwenllian Williams were issued a marriage certificate. Daniel gave his father's first name and occupation as "Daniel, Laborer". Gwenllian listed her father's first name and occupation as "William Howell, Butcher." William Howell was her father's first and middle name. (One of his sons was *Howell*.) Note, too, that groom's father's name was Daniel Evans. It seems plausible that it was *he* who was the President of the Hirwaun Branch, as reported in the *Prophet of the Jubilee*. After all, his son, Daniel, the groom, was only 17 years old in January 1849.

On April 1, 1854, Daniel Evans and Gwenllian Evans had their first daughter, Mary Ann, possibly named after Daniel's mother, Mary.

1856—Daniel and Gwenllian Evans Emigrate With Daughter Mary

When Brigham Young released Dan Jones from serving his mission, he arranged for the second and last significant emigration of Welsh Saints in 1856. The demand was too great for one ship; the *Caravan* and *Samuel Curling* were chartered. Saints able to pay the full cost booked passage on the *Caravan*, whereas those too poor to pay borrowed from the Perpetual Emigration Fund (PEF) for passage on the *Samuel Curling*.³²⁰

The year 1855 brought a major change to the migration route. The recent rapid expansion of rail made it less expensive to reach mid-continent by railroad and riverboat from East Coast ports than via New Orleans. Hence, Boston, Philadelphia, and New York became destinations for sailing ships leaving Liverpool. This shift from a southern to a northern Atlantic crossing put the ships on a collision course with an historic winter season. Storms raged on the North Atlantic causing icebergs to travel as far as 500 miles south of Newfoundland. The year 1856 remains the *only* year in history in which lives were lost from two ships striking ice. More than 300 passengers and crew died; there was one survivor³²¹ and a note found in a bottle³²².

For Mormons, the year 1856 brought a record loss of life (more than 200) on overland trips. The overland tragedies occurred when two PEF companies of emigrants were provided handcarts (rather than oxen-powered wagons) to haul their belongings. The unfortunate companies got a late start, which meant a disastrous encounter, while crossing Wyoming, with an unusual October snowstorm.

Daniel and Gwenllian were lucky. They were “ordinary” —not PEF— passengers on the *Caravan*. Consequently, they were “on their own” when they arrived in New York harbor on March 27, 1856.³²³ They travelled to one of the most productive coal mining regions in the country—St. Louis, Missouri. Hundreds of active coal and clay mining operations offered familiar work for collier Daniel Evans. The main coal diggings were in the area now known as *Cheltenham*, but, in 1856, was *Blue Ridge*.

On the July 27, 1857, in Blue Ridge, Daniel and Gwenllian had their second daughter, Rachel, followed two years later on July 8, 1859,³²⁴ also in Blue Ridge, by their third and last child, a son they named Gomer Dan Evans.³²⁵

In addition to coal mines in Blue Ridge, Daniel Evans would have discovered a branch of the LDS Church—one recently organized by British and Welsh coal miners.³²⁶ These men had resisted Brigham Young’s call to gather in the Utah desert (where there was no coal!). Daniel Evans continued to work in the Blue Ridge coal mines and probably attended LDS meetings with other British coal miners.

In an 1864 meeting, a visitor named Henry Coerdon came to Blue Ridge, telling assembled miners about a new organization that claimed to be the *true* Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. This church accepted Joseph Smith Jr.’s restored

Gospel but rejected the Utah church's practice of polygamy. An understanding of how this historic meeting occurred requires turning the clock back 20 years to 1844, when men competed to become Joseph Smith Jr.'s successor. The next chapter tells how an organization emerged from a reorganization of many factionalized groups and grew into a church that my father's six surviving great-grandparents joined in St. Louis. Its name: the *Reorganized* Church of Latter Day Saints (RLDS).

Part V

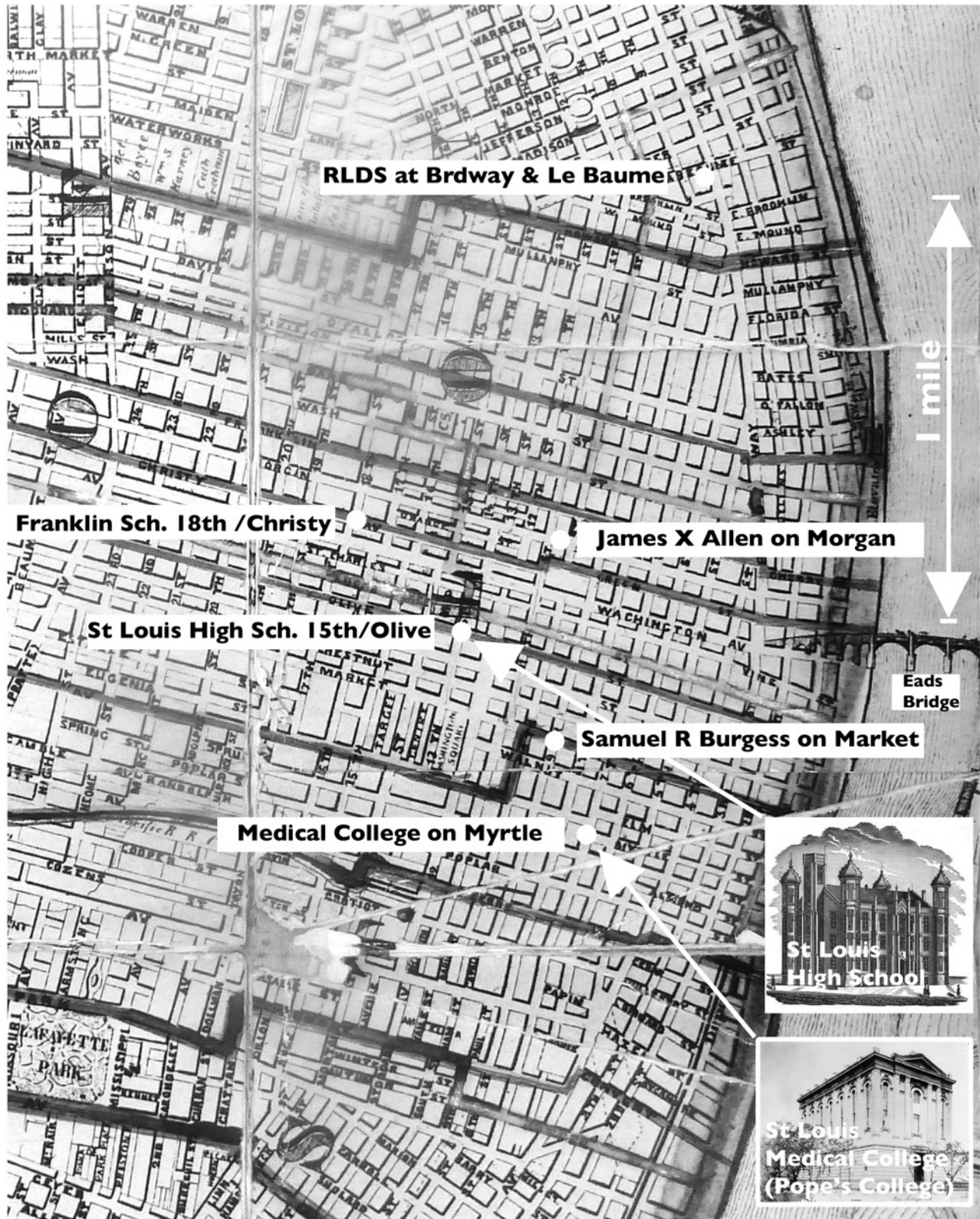
The RLDS Era



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North St Louis: 1867 to 1872



Burgess and Allen in North St Louis

Figure 9 Burgess and Allen in North St. Louis

THE TRUE
LATTER DAY SAINTS' HERALD.

No. 1.]

JANUARY, 1860.

VOL. I.

OUR PERIODICAL.

Brethren and Sisters, will you help sustain this Periodical? Will you not, each and ALL of you, who read this article, do what you can by way of subscription and donation, to this undertaking, to advance the cause of Christ, in building up his righteous kingdom on earth. We believe you will, and shall therefore look for your names, accompanied with the "*needful*," at your very earliest convenience. If you have one, five, ten or more dollars that you can give for the work of the Lord, send it along, and rest assured, your liberality will not go unrewarded of our Heavenly Father.

WM. MARKS,
ZENOS H. GURLEY, } *Publishing Committee.*
WM. W. BLAIR,

POLYGAMY CONTRARY TO THE REVELATIONS
OF GOD.

A MORE delusive idea never entered into the heart of man than the belief that polygamy is one of the doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. It is a favorite doctrine of the Salt Lake Church, because that Church has "turned the grace of our God into lasciviousness," and plunged themselves into this iniquity in direct opposition to the plain and positive commandments of the Lord our God, as they are recorded in the Book of Mormon, in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, and in the Old and New Testament.

Chapter 15 The RLDS Era Until 1871

In the aftermath of Joseph Smith Jr.'s assassination, in 1844, Brigham Young, President of the Quorum of Twelve, emerged victorious in a competition to succeed Smith as President of the Latter-day Saints Church. Two of the vanquished leaders, Sidney Rigdon and James Strang, relocated to Pennsylvania and Michigan, respectively, and formed new churches. When Nauvoo evacuated, in 1846, many of its Saints scattered, beginning life anew. Some moved to St. Louis; others settled in mid-western States.

Brigham Young condoned plural marriages; Rigdon and Strang (initially) rejected the practice. Strang crowned himself king of an ecclesiastical monarchy on Beaver Island in Michigan with 12,000 adherents, called Strang-ites. One of Strang's adherents, Jason W. Briggs, left him after Strang reversed himself, in 1849, and endorsed plural marriages.

In November 1851, Briggs had a vision, receiving divine guidance from the Holy Spirit, that the successor to Joseph Smith Jr. must be one of Smith's sons. Joining forces with Zenos Gurley, another anti-polygamist, Jason W. Briggs vowed to re-organize the fractured movement around what he understood to be Smith's original principles. On June 12, 1852, Briggs convened a conference in Beloit, Rock County, Wisconsin, at which he was elected president. Zenos Gurley read aloud from the *Book of Doctrines and Covenants*: "the successor of Joseph Smith Jr. was to come from his seed."³²⁷ The person who best fit that description was Joseph Smith Jr.'s 19-year-old son, Joseph Smith III.

Two months later, on August 28, 1852, in the Salt Lake City tabernacle, at the direction of Brigham Young, Elder Orson Pratt declared "the Latter-day Saints have embraced the doctrine of a plurality of wives as a part of their religious faith." The announcement set off shock waves that reverberated throughout the Mormon world and the halls of the Congress. The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, ending the Mexican-American War, had brought Utah into the United States as a territory. Congress was now confronted with the reality that plural marriage was the official policy of the LDS Church in Utah.

A few weeks later, on October 6, James Briggs and Zenos Gurley's new organization met again, at Yellowstone, Wisconsin. There it was "resolved that in the opinion of this conference the one holding the Highest Priesthood in the Church of God is to preside and represent the rightful Heir to the Presidency of the High Priesthood."³²⁸ They held conferences every six months, mostly in Wisconsin, for seven years. In January 1860, they published the first edition of *The True Latter Day Saints' Herald*. On April 6, 1860, at a conference in Amboy, Illinois, they elected a new president—27-year-old Joseph Smith III, the son of the Latter Day Saint prophet Joseph Smith Jr.

The 1860 conference adopted the name *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*—nearly the same name (Note: No “-” and an upper case “D”) used by the Utah-based, *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Their church continued to use this name until 1872, when it legally changed its name to the *Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints*. More commonly, it was called the *Reorganized Church* or the *RLDS Church*.³²⁹

Its President, Joseph Smith III, was a modest, unassuming man, who nonetheless proved to be an effective manager and organizer. His biographer Roger Launius called him the “pragmatic prophet.”³³⁰ While he did not disavow any of his father’s revelations, he downplayed many of the later ones that were problematic for many Saints. Its official church newspaper, *The True Latter Day Saints’ Herald*, in its first edition in January 1860, condemned the Utah church’s sanction of polygamy. (See Figure 10.)

Surprisingly,³³¹ the first mention in *The Herald* of an RLDS missionary visiting St. Louis appeared 3½ years after its first edition, on 15 July 1863. It was a letter from none other than James Burgess, Peter Burgess’s brother. James had traveled all the way from Vermont to Illinois to attend the April 1863 RLDS Conference in Amboy. While there, he switched his allegiance and was re-baptized into the RLDS Church. After leaving Amboy, he ventured west to St. Louis before returning to Vermont. His *True Latter Day Saints’ Herald* article stated, “I have visited St. Louis and Alton. I found some friends³³² in those places, and many of the ‘old Saints’ who appear to be awakening from their slumber.”³³³

After James Burgess’s St. Louis visit, the Reorganized Church passed a resolution establishing a “Saint Louis and Alton Conference” with Elder Henry Coerdon as its first President. Coerdon targeted the few, small, scattered LDS branches that had been organized in 1854, including the Dry Hill and Blue Ridge Branches—comprised mainly of British coal miners. Although most of the thousands of Saints in St. Louis, in 1854, had migrated to Utah, by 1863, these few dozen coal miners had chosen to stay.

1864 to 1865—Knowles and Evans Family Members Receive RLDS Baptisms

The Gravois coal mines were located in today’s Oak Park neighborhood. Gravois was a significant mining region in its heyday. Coal sold for up to \$2.70 a ton and Gravois alone produced almost 7000 tons annually.³³⁴ These “diggins,” as they were known, were described as “a delightful community center where the English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh gave it a spiritual atmosphere.”³³⁵ At the April 6, 1864, RLDS Conference, Elder Henry Coerdon reported, “In Blue Ridge we organized a Branch, and all of the Welsh who were following Brigham [Young], except one, renounced him and contended that they believed in the REORGANIZATION.”³³⁶

The first quarterly conference of St. Louis’s branches of the Reorganized Church met, in 1864, in a grove at Blue Ridge. Its minutes reported 61 members for the St. Louis Branch and 43 for Blue Ridge.³³⁷ Within three months membership would grow to 88 for St. Louis and 84 for Gravois, Dry Hill, Blue Ridge, and Alton. Thus, fully half of the RLDS Church’s first households in St. Louis were headed by British coal miners.

One of the coal miners attending the Blue Ridge Branch services was Welshman Daniel Evans. He and his wife, Gwenllian Evans, became the first of my father's great-grandparents to join the Reorganized Church when they were baptized on 29 May 1864 and 22 June 1864, respectively. The second quarterly conference of 1865 was held again at the grove in Blue Ridge. Among those in attendance was Elder Daniel Evans.

On 1 April 1865, another clay miner joined the Dry Hill Branch—Joseph Knowles. Years before, he had been a member in good standing. However, he and his wife, Elizabeth, had been cut off in 1857—he for *wickedness*, she for *disobedience*. Then she died, leaving him to care for their two children. His ten-year-old daughter, Sarah, became friends with Daniel Evans's two daughters: eight-year-old Rachel and twelve-year-old Mary. All three girls received their baptisms at the Dry Hill Branch, in September 1865.³³⁸ (Daniel's wife, Gwenllian, may have provided childcare for Joseph Knowles while he worked in the clay mines. If she did, then her son, Gomer, and Sarah Ellen Knowles were playmates—years before they got married.)

1867 to 1868—Burgess and Allen Family Members Receive RLDS baptisms

Another branch church of the St. Louis and Alton RLDS Conference met in North St. Louis. In March 1868, its members held meetings at *Mound Market Hall* at the intersection of Broadway, Howard, and Mound Streets.³³⁹ Three new, recently baptized adult members, who lived only a few blocks from Mound Market, were Mary Rostron Burgess (bap. 12 May 1867), James Allen (bap. 7 Sep. 1867) and Elizabeth Pidd Allen (bap. 3 Mar. 1868.) Also receiving RLDS baptisms (with their mothers) were Mary Burgess's two daughters and Elizabeth Allen's three daughters.³⁴⁰

1867 to 1872—Samuel R. Burgess: RLDS Baptism, Resignation, and Romance

Mary's son, Samuel R. Burgess, delayed four months before accepting his RLDS baptism. His journal stated: "[at the end of Montgomery Street in the Mississippi River] at eleven o'clock in the evening of 16 September 1867...I was confirmed the following evening by Bro. Forscutt in the Church on Mound Street and was promised many blessings from God; a knowledge of the truth of the work, the loosing of my tongue in Zion's cause, visions & dreams to instruct me, and the answering of my prayers to God."³⁴¹

The promises made to him in September 1867 remained unfulfilled, however, and, 2½ years later, on 23 May 1870, he submitted his letter of resignation to the Nebraska City Branch³⁴² of the church of which he was an 18-year-old member. In part, he wrote:

I have never since my baptism been fully convinced of the truth and necessity of the Latter-day work, though I have attended meetings, and sought for an unflinching testimony. I have often doubted and questioned, but have waited patiently ... I must and do acknowledge that some of the principle dogma of the church conflicts with what I must rely upon— my reason and judgment. ... My earnest desire is that the Supreme Being we all worship will guide me through life; and that I shall always openly avow my real views. ³⁴³

Upon his return to St. Louis, Samuel R. Burgess moved back in with his mother, became a traveling representative of a stationary company, and pursued a course of self-study. James X Allen offered to tutor the earnest, fatherless young man at his home at 1019 Morgan. By doing so, he “paid forward” the kindness a Yorkshire cobbler had showed him when he, like Samuel R Burgess, was young, fatherless, and craved knowledge. Thus began a life-long relationship between two of our most extraordinary ancestors.

James X Allen’s daughters—Bertha, Eveline, and Sybilia— may have been distractions for Samuel during his Latin lessons at Dr. Allen’s home. Sam was also their teacher at their RLDS Sunday School. On 18 August 1872, Samuel made this entry in his journal:

Mr. Ashton and Eveline Allen were not at S. School this morning, having gone out to Gravois...Doctor Allen took charge of my class...In the evening Dr. Allen preached a good sermon...Mr. Ashton was kind enough to bring the whole party home in his wagon ...Eveline, Sybilia, Martha, and Maria...The sky was clear and the moon shone brightly. We had a pleasant return trip, and <one line erasure> Mother gave me a severe scolding when I reached home.³⁴⁴

The 21-year-old, dashing handsome, mustachioed Samuel R. Burgess had several young ladies competing for his attention: Eveline Allen, Mary Kyte, and Maria Thorpe³⁴⁵. Sam referred to them as his “Bouquet” because he gave to each of the female students in his class a flower nickname.³⁴⁶

September 1870 —James Allen Meets the Parents of a Future Grandson-in-law?

In September 1870, James X Allen visited the Dry Hill Branch and listened to its Sunday school children sing, “joyful strains which please St. Louis Saints.”³⁴⁷ Daniel Evans and Joseph Knowles were both priests at this branch.³⁴⁸ James X Allen may have listened that day to the voices of 11-year-old Gomer Dan Evans and 15-year-old Sarah Ellen Knowles. They became, 15 years later, the parents of Gomer Louis Evans. Then, twenty-seven years later, Gomer married James X Allen’s future granddaughter, Sybilia Burgess.

September 1871—John and Sarah Knowles Receive RLDS Baptisms

Between 1847 and 1868, more than 56,000 emigrants traveled in 300 companies the 1000 miles on the Emigrant Trail. The last Mormon overland company arrived in the Great Salt Lake Valley in October 1868. On 27 March 1869, the Union Pacific railroad completed laying track from Council Bluffs to Ogden. The Union Pacific had employed Mormon workers to build four tunnels—instrumental in the descent from Evans Pass. Twenty-two years after Brigham Young had declared, “This is the right place,” the iron horse replaced the equine variety; glistening rails replaced miles of well-rutted trails.

For the thousands of Saints who had endured every rut, the arrival of the railroad to Ogden seemed miraculous. It became a major railroad junction, owing to its location along major east-west and north-south routes, prompting the local chamber of commerce to adopt the motto, “You can't get anywhere without coming to Ogden.”

In the 1860's the RLDS Church sent missionaries to Utah and established a branch church in Brigham Young's "backyard" of Ogden. Among those who joined, in 1870, were John and Sarah Knowles's youngest daughter, Mary Greenwood. Mary was the daughter who wed George Greenwood two weeks before the Knowleses emigrated in 1855. By 1871 she and George had moved to nearby Galland's Grove.³⁴⁹ The Greenwoods had been blessed with eight children in Ogden, but sadly, five of their first six children died before their second birthday; four children died within one week in April 1868. After their seventh and eighth children were born, in January 1869, Joseph and, in March 1871, Eliza, the four Greenwoods moved to Galland's Grove, Iowa.

In September 1871, Joseph Smith III, the head of the Reorganized Church, traveled to Council Bluffs, Iowa, for its Semi-Annual Conference. Before it began, however, he baptized eleven new members, on September 22. The youngest was ten-year-old Ellen Pett from Nevada; the oldest were 83-year-old John Knowles and 82-year-old Sarah Knowles. Surely these two old-timers regaled the younger folk with stories from their many adventures. They had crossed the Atlantic on a sailing ship and 1000 miles of prairie on foot—not once or twice but three times. John Knowles had been among the first fifty British citizens baptized in Preston, some 34 years before, in August 1837.

John and Sarah could have told stories about their son Joseph, among the first Saints to emigrate. Their accounts may have been embellished later. Ellen Goetz, in *Portals of Peace*, her history of the St. Louis RLDS Church, wrote, "Joseph Knowles was one of ten brothers who came from England to America."³⁵⁰ Joseph had two biological brothers who emigrated. However, if one includes his three brothers-in-law, his wife's brother and her three brothers-in-law, all of whom emigrated in the 1840's and 1850's, one can push the count of Joseph's "brothers" to nine.

Family would have been there to witness the baptisms. The star attractions for John and Sarah Knowles would have been their grandchildren— two-year-old Joseph and six-month-old Eliza Greenwood. Perhaps their parents took them down to Mill Creek to see close-up their grandparents' baptisms.

83-Year-Old John Knowles's September 22, 1871, RLDS Baptism Re-imagined

He was very cold again, of that much he was certain. Holding his breath while underwater, he struggled to hear Joseph Smith III speaking the words he had first heard in August 1837. "*John Knowles, having been commissioned of Jesus Christ, I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.*" He lifted his head above Mill Creek; his mind flashed back 34 years to memories of Preston's River Ribble. But here was no drifting grey smoke from factory mills, only drifting, puffy white clouds arrayed against a seemingly infinite expanse of Iowa summer sky. Had all the consequences of his decision 34 years ago to join the LDS religious tribe been worth it? Leaving his home country? Enduring physical hardship? Experiencing primitive living conditions? The sight of the angelic faces of his two grandchildren Joseph and Eliza answered his question—Yes. It was his divine revelation. "Amen and Amen!" he shouted for all to hear.

Chapter 16 The RLDS Era After 1871

Eighteen seventy-one was a watershed year vis-à-vis the religious affiliation of my father's great-grandparents and their siblings. His six living great-grandparents³⁵¹ had joined the RLDS Church.³⁵² By 1872, of my father's sixteen great-great-grandparents, three were alive and in America. **John Knowles and Sarah Knowles** returned to St. Louis after their 1871 RLDS baptisms, celebrated 60 years of marriage, and died within a few months of each other in 1873. **Hannah Allen** died at her son's home in 1883. Her headstone was engraved *Hannah Palmer* because on April 19, 1857, she and polygamist Abraham Palmer had their marriage *sealed* in the Salt Lake City Temple.

By 1872 two of my father's eight great-grandparents were deceased—**Elizabeth Creer Knowles** and **Peter Burgess**. His remaining six great-grandparents led fulfilling lives:

Joseph Knowles lived his final years in Cheltenham, formerly known as Dry Hill. In the 1870's he married his son's mother-in-law, the widow Anna (nee Felton) Baugh, shortly before he became ill and was institutionalized until his death in 1880. His son, Joseph Isaac, became a coal miner in Centerville, Iowa, where he and Eleanor lived on a farm with twelve children, only three of whom had children of their own.

Mary Alice Rostron Burgess never remarried after Peter Burgess died in 1865. For several decades, she lived with her single daughter, Martha, who lived next door to her married daughter, Alice Molyneaux. In 1892 and in 1895, when she was in her 70's, accompanied by Martha, she traveled to Utah. Relatives she may have visited there

included her own sisters, Sarah and Alice, in Salt Lake City and Wellsville, her sister-in-law, Rachel Burgess Colemere, in Kaysville, her son Samuel Rostron Burgess's father-in-law, James X Allen, in Ogden, and her brother-in-law, James Burgess, in Smithfield.

By age 72 Mary was a solidly built woman—64½ inches and 183 lbs. A photograph of her stern countenance displayed intensely focused eyes, a square face, and turned down sealed lips. Her 1903 obituary described her as a pioneering businesswoman who was proud of her family ties to English nobility. She lived to see the name Howard passed on to two generations of her descendants: her second son, Peter Howard Burgess, his son, Peter Howard Burgess Jr., and her first-born grandson, Howard John Molyneaux.

James X Allen lived a life remarkable on many levels.³⁵³ In 1876 he and his beloved Betsey separated, James returned to Ogden, where, in 1877, seven days after the divorce became official, he married Ellen Farrell, a mother with a four-year-old daughter. Their marriage ended in divorce in 1881. Three months later, 51-year-old James married 25-year-old Julia Morgan. She had only recently arrived from England, in 1878. James and Julia had four children, the last one born when he was 62 years old!

His final quarter century of life was productive both professionally and personally. He became a respected Ogden physician, resigned from the RLDS, rejoined the LDS Church (occasionally preaching), and, at age 74, published a remarkable 5000-word treatise on the source of human intelligence entitled *Suggestive Thoughts for the Mildly Skeptical*.³⁵⁴ He found outlets for his extroverted personality, scientific curiosity, and firmly held opinions by becoming a member in the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, secretary of the local Democratic Party, and medical director of the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.)—a Civil War veteran's organization.

James corresponded with his "St. Louis" children —mostly with Bertha, perhaps because she, like he, had made medicine her livelihood. His son, Franklin, so admired his father than he changed his own middle name from *Henry* to the letter *X*. James bonded with his grandson Samuel Allen Burgess during a 1903 visit to Utah. Samuel wrote down stories James had told him about the 1850's in Utah; his daughter Eveline later distributed them to family members in *Part of the Allen Saga Remembered*.³⁵⁵

At 80, James returned to St. Louis for a weeklong visit with family and friends. In 1911, at age 81, he died at his home in Ogden, survived by eight children, twelve grandchildren, and nine great-grandchildren. Samuel Rostron Burgess, upon learning of his father-in-law's death, said, "There passes the greatest mind in Utah!"³⁵⁶

Elizabeth Pidd Allen Anderson, after divorcing James, in 1877, moved to Iowa to live with her daughter Bertha and her son-in-law Alexander Greer on his Pleasanton farm. Living on an adjoining farm were James Anderson, his wife, Joan, and their eight children. James and his brother William had been prominent members of the St. Louis Branch of the Reorganized Church. They were long-time Allen family friends and among many from St. Louis who moved to Iowa in the late 1870's. Imagine the gossip when James Anderson, having divorced Joan, married Elizabeth in 1891. The couple promptly relocated to

Kansas City, where Eveline's son, Franklin, and her pregnant daughter-in-law, Mary, were expecting their second child.

After the RLDS Church made Lamoni, west of Pleasanton, its new headquarters, Elizabeth moved there to live again with her daughter Bertha and son-in-law Alexander Greer. The Andersons lived in a cottage next to the grand two-story home owned by the Greers. Elizabeth enjoyed the summertime visits of her nine grandchildren and 22 great-grandchildren, until 1918, when she died at age 86.

Daniel Evans bought 120 acres of farmland near Sullivan, Missouri, in 1872—exchanging his miner's shovel for a farmer's hoe. He arose early, for he had cows to milk, horses to groom, chickens to feed, fields to plow, and corn to harvest. He attended a local branch of the Reorganized Church — reporting to the *Saints Herald* on Franklin County's RLDS membership. In December 1877, he wrote, "The works on the increase here. One year ago last July our branch numbered eight members and now there are twenty-three ... all new converts but one and they all seem to enjoy the same spirit of the gospel." Neither of his two daughters ever married; Mary died, in 1891, at age 37.

Gwenllian Williams Evans lived with Daniel on the farm for 32 years until her death, in 1904, at age 83. Her obituary, published in *The Saints' Herald*, reported that she had been "afflicted for years." Her husband, Daniel, and daughter, Rachel, continued to work on the farm for thirteen more years. In February 1917, when frigid temperatures hovered below freezing for much of the month, Daniel and Rachel caught pneumonia. On March 6, two days after the temperature had plummeted to ten degrees, Daniel died. Five days later, Rachel followed him.

Sarah Knowles Evans inherited the farm. Her children built a small cabin on the property where their families spent many summer vacations. A swimming hole on Boone Creek became a favorite cooling-off spot for water play on hot summer days.

"The Farm" are the two words most likely to evoke Lincoln's "mystic chords of memory" from my siblings, cousins, and me. In our childhoods, we experienced the Evans family farm as an almost sacred place: its cabin, a temple; its fireplace, an altar; its stretch of Boone Creek, a River Jordan. We pumped water from its cistern, received "baptisms" at its swimming hole, and witnessed the miracle of new life in its barnyards. Our Geemah was the farm's high priestess. At night, she told us wondrous ghost stories, transporting our spirits to dreamland, accompanied by chirping crickets—the farm's celestial choir.

Sybilia Burgess Evans's Parents: Samuel Rostron Burgess & Eveline Allen Burgess

In 1872 Gomer and Sybilia's parents were young adults and members of the same RLDS branches in St. Louis as their future spouses. The first marriage took place on July 4, 1876, when **Samuel Rostron Burgess** and **Eveline Allen** eloped.³⁵⁷ Eveline was her high school's valedictorian; Samuel worked for Shorb & Boland, a stationery company. They were blessed with a child every two years: 1877, 1879, 1881, and 1883. After their fourth child, they took a break, until 1888, when their last child, Sybilia, was born.

Samuel R Burgess, known affectionately as “Papa,” was a beloved husband and father. He enjoyed attending theater, performing in musical revues, playing tennis, and eating ice cream. On October 1, 1868, he began a diary— *Record of My Life*—that he kept up until 1888, when Eveline took it over, recording family activities for another 20 years. Samuel became a prominent St. Louis citizen, Vice President of the St. Louis Chess Club, President of the West End Chess Club, and Secretary of the John L. Boland Book and Stationery Company. His wife, Eveline, who had taught him to play chess,³⁵⁸ also became a prominent player at the St. Louis Chess Club. Beginning in 1898, Eveline accompanied Samuel to New York every February until he retired, in 1909, from the John L. Boland Company. In 1906 she accepted an invitation to compete with the reigning United States Women’s Chess Champion in a match to be played in February 1907. She won the match and defended her title in 1908.

Eveline Allen Burgess also made annual pilgrimages, each April, to the Reorganized Church general conferences, making these trips *without* her husband. Accompanying her on occasion to the weeklong events was her mother, her sister Sybilia, her son Samuel Allen, or her daughter Florence. Of these family members, Eveline was by far the most faithful, regular conference attendee. In her autobiography, written in about 1925, she made abundantly clear that she believed the *Book of Mormon* was indeed divinely inspired and an accurate history. She was especially proud of her son, Samuel Allen Burgess when he became President of Graceland College in Lamoni, Iowa, Associate Editor of *The Saints’ Herald*, and RLDS Church Historian in Independence, Missouri.

After Samuel Rostron Burgess resigned his RLDS membership, in 1870, he never accepted an office in the church. Yet he maintained a life-long association with the RLDS Church and was universally admired for his character. Judging by the following poem, written on 30 November 1899, his LDS faith had been restored: “Most thankful for the Gospel plan, restored in latter days, to contemplate this gift to man, should fill our hearts with praise.”³⁵⁹ He encouraged his children to attend services offered by St. Louis churches and to choose for themselves which one to join. When he was 66 years old, Samuel experienced heart problems. Then, on Christmas Eve 1917, while crossing King’s Highway, he was hit by a car driven by Dr. M. J. Hopkins. Samuel died peacefully at home on January 18. The next day his daughter Sybilia named her newborn son, Samuel Rostron Evans, after her father.

In 1923 Eveline Burgess, having served 51 years as an RLDS Sunday School teacher in St. Louis, moved to Lamoni and lived with her older sister, Bertha Greer. When Bertha died in 1930 her younger sister, Sybilia Zenor, moved in. After her death in 1936 in Independence, Missouri, the *New York Times* published Eveline’s death notice because of her having been the United States Women’s Chess Champion.

All five Burgess children excelled academically: Samuel was first in his Washington University’s Law School class of 1900, Florence was first in her high school class of 1897, Harold was first in his Bliss Electronics School class of 1907, and Arthur passed the bar exam in 1902. Sadly, Florence succumbed to an undiagnosed, life-long illness weeks

before her high school graduation. She devoted her abbreviated life to the RLDS Church—playing organ and writing articles for *The Saints' Herald*.

Sybilia Burgess, the youngest of Samuel and Eveline's five children, was born in 1888. Eveline reported that Sybilia "nearly drowned" on July 10, 1892, in a Forest Park lake; she was "very sick" afterwards. Sybilia excelled in school, earning straight A's at Yeatman High School—graduating second in the class of 1907. She took classes in English history at Washington University, in 1908 and 1909, but never earned a degree. Between 1930 and 1936, she took eight classes at St. Louis Community Training School in subjects such as *The Principles of Teaching* and *The Life of Christ*. In 1937, at age 49, she returned to Washington University, taking General Psychology and Greek classes.

At age 77, in 1965, she sought unsuccessfully to become a published author, submitting *Terse Tales for Tiny Tots* to the Famous Writer School. Its instructor responded, "There's a natural naïveté about your characters that's very appealing. ...You're a natural writer, Mrs. Evans."³⁶⁰ Known to her grandchildren as *Geemah*, her first grandchild, David Hallock, shared memories of her—ones he experienced at the family farm near Sullivan.

During the war year 1944 she began the habit of taking whatever grandchildren she could muster to the farm for a couple of weeks in the summer. This would be an echo of the family togetherness that she learned from her father. This began with David, Barbara, John, and then Joe when he came along. Later all the cousins enjoyed trips to the farm, an experience that has bonded them together more than the ordinary, especially given the way in which we are all scattered across the country. At night the Geemah, storyteller without peer, would regale the children with ghost stories.³⁶¹

Sybilia maintained the friendships she formed in her youth at the Reorganized Church. Later in life, although continuing to attend RLDS church services, she wondered why its exotic teachings appealed to its members. As for herself, she rejoiced whenever she found *truth*—be it in Verse 13, Chapter 15, of the *Gospel of John* or Scene 4, Act III, of *The Tragedy of Julius Caesar*. In a letter to my father, dated 1 July 1959, she wrote,

I often wonder just what is the appeal to people in the LDS faith. It seems to me that it is the unusual that attracts them. It does have so many exotic claims...To me, Truth and Value...wherever found and however expressed is the goal. The medium is of no consequence whatsoever. When Jesus said, "greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friend,"³⁶² he made a most worthy observation; so did Shakespeare when one of his characters said, "A friend will bear a friend's infirmities."^{363 364}

Despite an 11-year age difference, Sybilia and her brother Samuel Allen Burgess, formed a close sibling bond. In 1908 these two took a two-month trip to the Southwest, visiting relatives in Utah, Colorado, and their Cousin Emily in La Jolla, California.³⁶⁵ While in Utah, she and Sam visited their grandfather, James X Allen. In a July 26, 1961, letter to my mother and father, she remarked on Burgess-Allen family traits.

There is high emotion on my side of the family, I know. High tempers too. My own father was the mildest of men, but I understand that Grandpa Allen was a real snorter. Grandpa

Allen left in a fit of anger when they lived in Pleasanton and went out west. The divorce followed (further details provided cheerfully on request.) This, however, is not to be a scandal sheet; it is only to say that my brother Sam and I stopped off in Ogden on our western trip and stayed over a day or two with Grandpa Allen and his wife there. Well, she was a most kindly and friendly little thing and treated us as if we were her own. However, I can see, - or could see, - that her life with Grandpa was not overly easy. He was even after all those years somewhat on the “little woman, when do we eat?” type. (Grandma Allen likewise was inclined to be rather tart. So-o-o.)³⁶⁶

Four friends of Sybil's brothers were the Evans brothers: Joseph, Gomer, Walter, and Daniel. All were members of the St. Louis RLDS Church. Gomer Evans's first “documented”³⁶⁷ visit to the Burgess home³⁶⁸ took place on Christmas Day 1905. He was a college junior and an athletic star on the track; she was a high school junior and an academic star as sharp as a tack. After they each graduated in 1907, he from Washington University's School of Engineering, their courtship culminated on the 10th of September 1912 when they got married. Within eight years they were blessed with four healthy children: Alice Evans in 1913, Joseph Cedric Evans in 1915, Samuel Rostron Evans in 1918, and my father, Walter Richard Evans, in 1920.

Gomer Louis Evans's Parents: Gomer Dan Evans & Sarah Ellen Knowles Evans

Gomer Dan Evans and **Sarah Ellen Knowles** met when they were toddlers and their fathers were members of the Dry Hill LDS Church. When his parents moved to Sullivan, in 1872, Gomer was 13 years old. As soon as he was old enough to earn his own living, he left the farm. Perhaps it had been his witnessing the Missouri Pacific work crews laying the tracks that would connect St. Louis with Sullivan, or his hearing the late night train whistles, or his enjoying the company of Sarah Ellen Knowles at the Dry Hill RLDS Sunday school—whatever it was, he returned to St. Louis, where he became an engineer for the Missouri Pacific Railroad. In December 1879, the 20-year old Gomer Dan Evans married his 24-year-old bride, Sarah. They took up residence at 2734 Rutger Avenue, just seven blocks from the Missouri Pacific's roundhouse. After they were blessed with a daughter, Rachel, in 1880, they had four sons—Joseph (b. 1883), Gomer (b. 1885), Walter (b. 1888), and Daniel (b. 1892). The Evans home on Rutger was right in the path of the most disastrous storm of modern times, the *Great Cyclone at St Louis*; it killed 400 and injured 1200 people. Sarah's granddaughter Sunnile Hawkins described the scene.

Rachel and Joe ... were standing at the kitchen window watching the storm. Sarah Ellen told them to get away from the window immediately, which they did just in time, for minutes later the whole back wall was blown out, along with their roof. Homes for blocks around were damaged; some of the neighbors were killed. The Evans family, however, were unhurt. Gomer Evans ... was to take his train out, but he stayed home with his family instead. The storm hit about 5 o'clock in the evening in May 1896.³⁶⁹

The Evans family was very lucky in 1896, but it was less fortunate six months later. Shortly after midnight, on January 3, 1897, Fireman Henry Hankap, Brakeman John McQueen and Engineer Gomer Evans were called to go out on Train 128. A “dreary rain” was falling. They left Chamois at 1:00 a.m. and headed east along the southern edge of the Missouri River. By 2:30 a.m., the train was a half-mile east of New Haven.

... A dreary rain set in, the creeks were soon full, and the Osage River was overflowing, then the Gasconade, and finally the treacherous, muddy, and fearful Missouri...The roadbed was undermined by the river and when the engine struck it the whole thing slid out with the water...When found Engineer Evans was sitting on his seat, a death grip on the throttle with his left hand, and his right hand on the window's armrest.³⁷⁰

In his tribute to his three fallen colleagues in *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, George H. Baird implied Gomer Evans shared his strong religious convictions with others.

Gomer Evans was a good, kind-hearted man of the best character, a loving father and husband...always ready to teach something to somebody or to learn something himself no matter how small it was, he was always ready to learn. He was well versed on all subjects and his 'roundhouse lectures on religion' still ringing in the ears of all.³⁷¹

Gomer's untimely death occurred when his children were in school, imposing a tremendous financial hardship on his wife, Sarah; her oldest son, Joe, dropped out of school to earn money for the family, never completing his education.

Gomer Louis Evans was 11 years old when his father drowned, old enough to learn a lesson: buy life insurance. After completing high school he was admitted to Washington University on a full scholarship. Gomer, like his father, spoke frankly about his views on religion. After a lively discussion about *revelation* with his brother-in-law, Samuel Allen Burgess, in the presence of Samuel's devout mother, Gomer recommended they refrain from talking religion within earshot of her. He silently summarized his views in a letter.

Most sermons on the subject of revelation by our elders have seemed somewhat confused because they dealt with what seems to me to be two different experiences. The first is a very common experience to people with intelligence and the normal senses...In any discussion we might have let us agree not to call each such an experience a revelation. We might call it anything we agree on and use the word revelation to refer to a different experience...a spiritual or mental exaltation where the individual is conscious of being in the presence of God and receiving from him a message which may or may not appear reasonable in his human judgment but is to be accepted by him and the church (if he happens to be its president) as long as it does not conflict with their understanding of past revelations. It is about this latter class experiences that I am glad to hear the ideas of those who have had the experience.³⁷²

Gomer became a Vice President of Wagner Electric. In 1934 a surgeon's errant knife caused internal bleeding—killing him at the depth of the Great Depression. He had had the foresight to insure his life; his widow was financially secure for the rest of her life.

Gomer and Sybil's Children: Alice, J, Cedric, Samuel R., and Walter R. Evans

Alice, the firstborn and only daughter, married Duncan Hallock, a career soldier. He retired with the rank of Brigadier General. Alice was a tireless volunteer for the Army Wives Council, AA, and the Distaff Foundation. Cedric, Samuel, and Walter all earned engineering degrees. Cedric embraced the tenets of the RLDS Church—serving as the

Sunday School Director in St. Louis, the presiding Elder in St. Louis, and a bishop³⁷³ in Independence. Sam was commanding officer of the U.S. Army's 1374th company, laying petroleum pipeline from Omaha Beach to Germany after D-Day. After the war he had a 43-year career with Shell Oil. The three Evans brothers were incredibly lucky in love, marrying Dorothy Fairbanks, Betty Timmerman, and Arline Pillisch, respectively.

My father, Walter Richard Evans, and mother, Arline Pillisch, married on April 11, 1942, in St. Louis at the *Zion Evangelical and Reformed Church*.³⁷⁴ Dad became an engineer, following in the footsteps of his brothers, father, and paternal grandfather. During World War II he designed remotely controlled gun turrets at General Electric's Schenectady Works—a control theory focus that led to his 1948 invention of the *root locus method*, starting *The Spirule Company*, and his becoming renown in schools of engineering. Walter is a Distinguished Alumnus of the School of Engineering at Washington University in St. Louis. After moving in 1948 to Whittier, California, Walter and Arline joined Plymouth Congregational Church. When Hillcrest Congregational Church was founded in East Whittier, in 1955, they transferred their memberships to it. Their four children's middle names—*Gomer, Walter, Arline, and Burgess*—honor family.

Epilogue

An entire generation of our ancestors—those who immigrated to America as Latter-day Saints—accepted Joseph Smith Jr. as prophet of the one *true* church. During the 1860's they embraced his son, Joseph Smith III, the “pragmatic prophet,” as the leader of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints. Since then, members of each generation have taken new faith journeys—seeking sources of truth that give meaning to their lives. Gomer Evans, for example, in a letter to his brother-in-law, Samuel A. Burgess, wrote, “I think I appreciate the fact that man is happier and healthier with faith than without but my understanding of the *truth* would permit of man having a faith which need not necessarily be expressed in a church system of teachings.”³⁷⁵ Gomer's wife, Sybilia, in a 1959 letter to her son Walter, wrote, “To me, *Truth* and Value...wherever found and however expressed is the goal. The medium is of no consequence whatsoever.”³⁷⁶

My own alma mater's motto— *The truth shall make you free*— is from John 8:31–32: “So Jesus was saying to those Jews who had believed Him, ‘If you continue in my word, then you are truly disciples of mine; and you will know the truth, and the truth will make you free.’” I understand Caltech's motto to refer to experimentally verifiable, absolute truth and John 8:31–32 to refer to God's word of truth.

I find two statements, one spoken by a minister and one by a scientist, very meaningful. First, Congregational minister John Robinson, speaking to the departing Pilgrims, said:

If God should reveal anything to you by any other instrument of His, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth of my ministry, for I am very confident the Lord hath more truth and light yet to break forth out of His holy word.

Second, theoretical physicist Richard Feynman, someone my dad greatly admired, said:

I can live with doubt and uncertainty and not knowing. I think it is much more interesting to live not knowing than to have answers that might be wrong. If we will only allow that, as we progress, we remain unsure, we will leave opportunities for alternatives. We will not become enthusiastic for the fact, the knowledge, the absolute truth of the day, but remain always uncertain ... In order to make progress, one must leave the door to the unknown ajar.

Our imperfect knowledge of truth denies me certainty. Although it sometimes leads me to doubt my own faith, the creative tension between my doubts and my faith also gives me hope that religious revelation and scientific discovery point toward universal truths. “For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face-to-face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.”³⁷⁷ The promise of an ultimate resolution of the tension sustains my faith. *Truth shall prevail!*

In Death, as in Life—*It Is Well With My Soul*

In April 1847, the Elder William Clayton celebrated the birth of his son with words that became the lyrics for *All Is Well*, the most celebrated anthem in the LDS Church.

*We'll make the air, with music ring,
Shout praises to our God and King;
Above the rest these words we'll tell:
All is well! All is well!*

In 1873 Horatio Spafford, mourned the death at sea of his four daughters by composing the lyrics for *It Is Well*, the anthem performed at the celebration of the life of Dad's older brother Samuel at The Woodlands United Methodist Church, Texas, in January of 2006.

*When peace like a river, attendeth my way,
When sorrows like sea billows roll;
Whatever my lot, Thou hast taught me to know,
It is well, it is well, with my soul.*

These two beloved lyrics—one written to celebrate a *birth*, the other written to mourn four *deaths*—remind us that in life, as in death, we need not fear—*All is Well*. The apostle Paul expressed this truth in Romans 8:38-39: “For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.” (KJV)

I conclude with the opening verse of *We Limit Not the Truth of God*, written in 1853 by George Rawson (1807–1889), an English hymn writer and Congregational layperson.

*We limit not the truth of God
To our poor reach of mind,*

*By notions of our day and sect,
Crude, partial and confined.*

*Now let a new and better hope
Within our hearts be stirred:*

*The Lord hath yet more light and truth
To break forth from His word.*

George Rawson, 1853
We Limit Not the Truth of God

Appendix³⁷⁸

First cousins have common grandparents; 2nd cousins, g-grandparents; and 3rd cousins, g-g-grandparents. (Hint: Count the g's.) My RLDS ancestors had 68 g-g-grand children (gggc)—my siblings, my eight 1st cousins, my 13 2nd cousins, my 43 3rd cousins, and me.

<u>My RLDS G-G-Grandparents</u>	<u>c</u>	<u>gc</u>	<u>ggc</u>	<u>gggc</u>
Daniel and Gwenllian Evans	3	5	11	15
Joseph and Elizabeth Creer Knowles	2	7	20	36
Peter and Mary Rostron Burgess	4	8	12	22
James and Elizabeth Pidd Allen	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>44</u>
Average =	3.5	8	18	29

I am a g-g-g-grandchild of John and Sarah Knowles. Others in my generation who descended from them but through a different child are my 4th cousins. Eight siblings of my father's eight great-grandparents' became Mormons, married, moved to Utah, and had children.³⁷⁹ On average, each LDS sibling of my RLDS ancestor had more than six times as many g-g-grandchildren (187 vs. 29.) Consequently, I have 1500 4th cousins—more than 1000 born in Utah.³⁸⁰ *Americans related to me are overwhelmingly Mormons.*

<u>Their LDS Sibling</u>	<u>Their LDS In-law</u>	<u>c</u>	<u>gc</u>	<u>ggc</u>	<u>gggc</u>
Ellen Knowles	John Melling	6	9	22	41
Eliza Knowles	Thomas Salisbury	5	11	15	20
Edward Creer	Ann Morris	13	85	267	552
Catherine Creer	John Singleton	4	40	130	213
Rachel Burgess	George Colemere	10	54	137	457
James Burgess	Three wives (serially)	13	29	54	71
Sarah Rostron	James Holt	10	37	58	80
Sarah Pidd	Joseph Griffiths	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>63</u>
Average =		8	34	89	187

Just as having one parent in common makes for a half sibling, so sharing just one great-great-grandparent in common makes for a 3½ cousin. I have 136 of them—the 127 great-grandchildren of Peter and Ann Burgess's daughter Elizabeth and the 9 great-grandchildren of James and Julia Allen's two daughters, Julia Clarissa and Veda Viola.

<u>My RLDS G-Grandparent</u>	<u>His/her LDS Half Sister</u>	<u>c</u>	<u>gc</u>	<u>ggc</u>
Samuel Rostron Burgess	Elizabeth (nee Burgess) Slater	11	64	127
Eveline (nee Allen) Burgess	Julia (nee Allen) Stone	9	7	5
Eveline (nee Allen) Burgess	Veda (n. Allen) Bartholomew	2	5	4

Oddities: *Matthias Creer*, a child-abuser and perhaps the *least* admirable of my father's great-great-grandfathers, had the *most* descendants. *Elizabeth Burgess Slater*, Peter and Ann's *only* childbearing offspring, had 127 great-grandchildren—more than all my father's great-grandparents and *five times* as many as Peter and Mary's four children. As Elizabeth Slater lived in Utah, it is fitting that her father, Peter Burgess, is buried there.

John Knowles

b: 03 May 1788 in Warrington, Lancashire, England
d: 12 Apr 1873 in St. Louis, Missouri, USA

+Sarah Touchett

b: 22 Apr 1789 in Warrington, Lancashire, England
d: 16 Jul 1873 in St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri, USA
m: 28 Jun 1812 in Daresbury, Cheshire, England

1

John Titchett Knowles

b: 1811 in Warrington, Lancashire, England
d: Bet. Jan-Mar 1875 in Warrington, Lancashire

+Elizabeth Fearnley m: 1834

2

Elizabeth Knowles

b: 05 Dec 1813 in Warrington, Lancashire, England
d: Abt. 1880 in England

+Stephen Knight m: 18 Jan 1835 in Warrington, Lancashire, England

3

Joseph Knowles

b: 11 Jun 1815 in Cobh, Cork, Ireland
d: 08 Sep 1880 in St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri, USA

+Elizabeth Creer

b: 31 Mar 1819 in Preston, Lancashire, England,
d: Bet. 1856-1860 in St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri, USA
m: 23 Oct 1848 in St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri, USA

+Hannah "Anna" Felton m: Abt. 1876 in St. Louis, Missouri, USA

4

Eliza Knowles

b: 14 Feb 1818 in Warrington, Lancashire, England,
d: 31 Jul 1863 in Ogden, Weber, Utah, USA

+Thomas Salisbury m: Abt. 1864

5

William Knowles

b: Dec 1819 in Warrington, Lancashire, England
d: Dec 1819 in Warrington, Lancashire, England

6

Ellen Knowles

b: 03 Nov 1820 in Warrington, Lancashire, England,
d: 11 Aug 1905 in Ogden, Weber, Utah, USA

+John Melling Sr. m: 07 Dec 1845 in Preston, Lancashire, England

+Thomas Salisbury m: Abt. 1864 Utah

7

Sarah Knowles

b: Abt. 16 Feb 1823 in Warrington, Lancashire, England,
d: 19 Nov 1844 in England

8

Mary Knowles

b: Abt. 27 Feb 1825 in Warrington, Lancashire, England
d: 19 Jun 1826 in Warrington, Lancashire, England

9

William Knowles

b: 03 Jun 1828 in Warrington, Lancashire, England
d: 08 Jun 1869 in Ogden, Weber, Utah, USA

10

Isaac Knowles

b: Apr 1830 in Warrington, Lancashire, England
d: 03 Mar 1891 in Preston, Lancashire, England

+Mary Ann Marginson m: Abt. 1850 in Preston, Lancashire, England

11

Mary Knowles

b: 18 Aug 1832 in Warrington, Lancashire, England
d: 03 May 1903 in Grove, Shelby, Iowa, USA

+George Hyrum Greenwood m: 11 Feb 1855 in Preston, Lancashire, England

Figure 11 Knowles Family Group

Matthias Creer

b: 15 Oct 1791 in White Haven, Cumberland, England

d: 31 Mar 1857 in Preston, Lancashire, England

+ Ellen (Nellie or Nelly) Greenhalgh

b: 02 May 1788 in Bolton, Lancashire, England,

d: 24 Jun 1849 in Gravois, St. Louis, Missouri, USA

m: 03 Oct 1810 England

1 Jane Creer

b: Dec 1811 in Bolton, Lancashire, England,

d: 12 Jun 1877 in Utah, USA

+ William Snalam m: Bet. Oct-Dec 1845 in Preston, Lancashire, England

+ John Binns m: 21 Mar 1852 in St. Louis, Missouri, USA

2 Edward Creer

b: 03 Nov 1813 in Bolton, Lancashire, England,

d: 12 Jan 1886 in Beaver, Utah, USA

+ Ann (Nanny) Morris m: 21 Jun 1835 in Preston, Lancashire

+ Mary Rambow m: 1878 in Utah

3 Ann (Nancy) Creer

b: 02 Sep 1816 in Bolton, Lancashire, England

d: Abt. 1849 ?

+ James Woodcock m: 04 Mar 1848 in St. Louis, Missouri, USA

4 Elizabeth Creer

b: 31 Mar 1819 in Preston, Lancashire, England

d: Bet. 1856-1860 in St. Louis, Missouri, USA

+ Joseph Knowles

b: 11 Jun 1815 in Cobh, Cork, Ireland

d: 08 Sep 1880 in St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri, USA

m: 23 Oct 1848 in St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri, USA

5 Catherine Creer

b: 04 Mar 1822 in Chorley, Lancashire, England,

d: 18 Aug 1890 in American Fork, Utah, Utah, USA

+ John Singleton m: 01 Dec 1844 in St. John's, Preston, Lancashire, England,

6 Robert Creer

b: 18 Jan 1823 in Bolton, Lancashire, England,

d: 01 Nov 1824 in Preston, Lancashire, England

7 Margaret Ann Creer

b: 25 Jun 1825 in Bolton, Lancashire, England

d: 21 Jun 1849 in Gravois, St. Louis, Missouri, USA

+ George Eccles m: 04 May 1846 in Bolton, Lancashire, England

8 Phoebe Ann Creer

b: 10 Mar 1829 in Bolton, Lancashire, England,

d: 24 Jun 1849 in Gravois, St. Louis, Missouri, USA

Figure 12 Creer Family Group

William Burgess Sr.

b: 25 Nov 1775 in Eccles, Lancashire, England

d: 25 Jun 1834 in Barton Upon Irwell, Lancashire, England

+Martha Barlow

b: 29 Apr 1781 in Eccles, Lancashire, England

d: 27 Jul 1837 in Barton Upon Irwell, Lancashire, England

m: 12 Apr 1801 in Eccles, Lancashire, England

1

William Burgess Jr.

b: 02 Sep 1801 in Eccles, Lancashire, England

d: 27 Nov 1873 in Barton Upon Irwell, Lancashire, England

+Sarah Fletcher m: 18 Oct 1824 in St. John's Church, Manchester, England

2

Maria Burgess

b: 11 Aug 1803 in Eccles, Lancashire, England

d: Bet. Oct-Dec 1867 in Manchester, Lancashire, England

+William Johnson m: 31 May 1824 in St. John's Church, Manchester, England

3

John Burgess

b: 04 Jan 1806 in Eccles, Lancashire, England

d: May 1807 in Barton Upon Irwell, Lancashire, England

4

Thomas Burgess

b: 25 Nov 1808 in Eccles, Lancashire, England

d: 07 Mar 1855 in Barton Upon Irwell, Lancashire, England

5

Samuel Burgess

b: 02 Feb 1812 in Barton, Lancashire, England,

d: 24 Jan 1881 in St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri, USA

+Elizabeth Clayton m: 18 Nov 1832 in St. John's Church, Manchester, England

6

Peter Burgess

b: 07 May 1815 in Barton, Lancashire, England

d: 24 Feb 1865 in Salt Lake City, Salt Lake, Utah, USA

+Ann Margaret Esplin m: 16 May 1841 in St. John's Church, Manchester, England

+Mary Alice Rostron m: 06 Mar 1851 in St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri, USA

. 7

James Burgess

b: 25 Feb 1818 in Barton, Lancashire, England

d: 30 May 1904 in Smithfield, Cache, Utah, USA

+Lydia Wyman Stiles m: 13 Apr 1845 in Westminster, Windham, Vermont, USA

+Isabella Lambert m: 03 Nov 1865 in Pittsfield, Pike, Illinois, USA

+Alice Denham m: 29 Apr 1891 in Logan, Cache, Utah, USA

8

Martha Burgess

b: 07 Oct 1820 in Barton, Lancashire, England

d: Abt. 1849 in St. Louis, Missouri, USA

9

Rachel Burgess

b: 21 Mar 1823 in Barton, Lancashire, England

d: 24 Sep 1910 in Kaysville, Davis, Utah, USA

+George Horne Colemere m: 03 Nov 1844 in Nauvoo, Hancock, Illinois, USA

Figure 13 Burgess Family Group

Miles (The Elder) Rostron**b: 14 Mar 1798 in Tottington, Lancashire, England**

d: Feb 1866 in Lancashire, England

+Alice Howard

b: 05 Feb 1799 in Elton, Lancashire, England

d: Apr 1874 in Bury, Lancashire, England

m: 07 Oct 1819 in Bury, Lancashire, England

1

James Rostron

b: Abt. 1820 in Tottington, Bury, Lancashire England

d: Aft. 1861

2

Mary Alice Rostron

b: 12 Oct 1821 in Tottington, Lancashire, England

d: 30 Nov 1903 in St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri, USA

+Peter Burgess

b: 07 May 1815 in Barton, Lancashire, England

d: 24 Feb 1865 in Salt Lake City, Salt Lake, Utah, USA

m: 06 Mar 1851 in St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri, USA

3

Sarah (Sally) Rostron

b: 19 Apr 1823 in Tottington, Lancashire, England

d: 15 Feb 1893 in Lake City, Utah, Utah Territory

+James Cooper Holt m: 24 Mar 1847 in Bury, Lancashire, England

+John Cook m: 17 Mar 1858 in Lake City, Utah, Utah Territory

4

Richard Rostron

b: 20 May 1825 in Tottington, Lancashire, England

d: Bet. Jan-Mar 1876 in Bury, Lancashire, England

+Rosanna Kenyon m: 14 Apr 1850 in Bury, Lancashire, England

5

Martha (Matty) Rostron

b: 07 Mar 1828 in Bury, Lancashire, England

d: 27 Jan 1846 in Bury, Lancashire, England

6

Miles Rostron

b: 07 Sep 1829 in Tottington, Bury, Lancashire England

d: 28 Dec 1880 in St. Louis, St. Louis, Missouri, USA

+Elisabeth (Bessie) Abbott m: 27 Feb 1854 in Bury, Lancashire

7

Alice Rostron

b: 07 Feb 1832 in Bury, Lancashire, England

d: 30 Oct 1902 in Wellsville, Cache, Utah, USA

+Robert Crawshaw m: 19 May 1853 in Bury, Lancashire, England

8

Maria (Molly) Rostron

b: 1834 in Bury, Lancashire, England

d: Bet. Jul-Sep 1898 in Bury, Lancashire, England

+Thomas Tomlinson m: 13 Feb 1854 in Bury, Lancashire, England

9

Elizabeth Rostron

b: Bet. Jul-Sep 1837 in Tottington, Lancashire, England

d: Aft. 1861

+John Nuttall m: Bet. Jan-Mar 1859 in Bury, Lancashire, England

10

Eliza Rostron

b: 1840 in Lancashire, England

d: Abt. 1847 in Bury, Lancashire, England

Figure 14 Rostron Family Group

John Allen

b: Apr 1805 in Barnsley, Yorkshire, England
d: Dec 1833 in Sheffield, Yorkshire, England

+Hannah (Annie) Bedford

b: 16 Oct 1812 in Huddersfield, Yorkshire, England
d: 12 Apr 1883 in Ogden, Weber, Utah, USA
m: 31 May 1830 in Barnsley, Yorkshire, England

1

James X Allen

b: 19 Nov 1830 in Barnsley, Yorkshire, England
d: 27 Dec 1911 in Ogden, Weber, Utah, USA

+Elizabeth Pidd

b: 28 Apr 1832 in Whaplode, Lincolnshire, England
d: 10 Dec 1918 in Lamoni, Decatur, Iowa, USA
m: 11 Jan 1854 in Little Cottonwood Ward, Utah

+Ellen Farrell

b: 1832 in England
m: 29 Oct 1877 in Ogden, Weber, Utah, USA

+Julia Augusta Morgan

b: 17 Apr 1856 in Manchester, Lancashire, England
d: 10 Feb 1925 in Ogden, Weber, Utah, USA
m: 05 Jan 1882 in Ogden, Weber, Utah, USA

Figure 15 Allen Family Group

Adonijah Pidd

b: Abt. 1791 in Moulton, Lincolnshire, England
d: 12 Jun 1833 in Whaplode, Lincolnshire, England

- + **Ann Forman**
b: 17 May 1795 in London, London, England
d: Aft. 1871 in England
m: 22 Mar 1818 in Moulton, Lincolnshire, England
- 1 **Henry Pidd**
b: 23 Apr 1820 in Whaplode, Lincolnshire, England
d: 23 Apr 1820 in Whaplode, Lincolnshire, England
- 2 **William Pidd**
b: 21 Apr 1821 in Whaplode, Lincolnshire, England
- 3 **Sarah Pidd**
b: 04 Mar 1825 in Whaplode, Lincolnshire, England
d: 26 Sep 1910 in Salt Lake, Utah, USA

+Joseph Griffiths
b: 18 Jan 1816 in Shropshire, England
d: 20 Jul 1860 in Union, Salt Lake, Utah, USA
m: 24 Mar 1854 in Salt Lake, Utah, USA

+William P Smith
b: 22 Jan 1810 in Tottington, Lancashire, England
d: 12 Nov 1893 in Union, Salt Lake, Utah, USA
m: 26 Nov 1867 in Salt Lake, Utah, USA
- 4 **Marian (Mary Ann) Pidd**
b: 13 Dec 1827 in Whaplode, Lincolnshire, England
d: 05 Sep 1838 in England
- 5 **Elizabeth Pidd**
b: 16 Jul 1830 in Whaplode, Lincolnshire, England
d: 20 Jul 1830 in Whaplode, Lincolnshire, England
- 6 **Elizabeth Pidd**
b: 28 Apr 1832 in Whaplode, Lincolnshire, England
d: 10 Dec 1918 in Lamoni, Decatur, Iowa, USA

+James X Allen
b: 19 Nov 1830 in Barnsley, Yorkshire, England
d: 27 Dec 1911 in Ogden, Weber, Utah, USA,
m: 11 Jan 1854 in Little Cottonwood Ward, Utah

Figure 16 Pidd Family Group

Daniel Evans

b: 1797 in Llanelly, Carmarthenshire, Wales,; ?
d: 1879 in Carmarthenshire, Wales; ?

+Mary Evans

b: 1797 in Llangynnwr, Carmarthenshire, Wales
d: 1879 in Carmarthenshire, Wales; ?
m:1825 in Carmarthenshire, Wales; ?

1 John Evans
 b: Abt. 1824 in Carmarthenshire, Wales

2 **Daniel Evans**
 b:14 Sep 1831 in Llanelly, Carmarthenshire, Wales
 d: 06 Mar 1917 in Boone, Franklin, Missouri, USA

+Gwenllian Williams

b: May 1821 in Ystradfellte, Breconshire, Wales
d: 03 May 1904 in Boone, Franklin, Missouri, USA
m:13 Jun 1853 in Merthyr Tydfil, Wales

3 Thomas Evans
 b: Abt. 1833 in Carmarthenshire, Wales

4 William Evans
 b: Abt. 1834 in Carmarthenshire, Wales

Figure 17 Evans Family Group

William Howell Williams

b: 1780 in Vaynor, Breconshire, Wales

d: Wales

+Elizabeth Davies ?

b: 1794 in Carmarthenshire, Wales

m: 22 Dec 1817 in Vaynor, Breconshire, Wales; ?

1

David (Or Daniel) Williams

b: Abt. 1820 in Ystradfellte, Breconshire, Wales; ?

2

Evan Williams

b: Abt. 1821 in Ystradfellte, Breconshire, Wales

d: Abt. Jan 1888 in Rhondda Cynon Glamorganshire, Wales

+Jane Williams

b: 13 Jul 1825 in Beulah, Breconshire, Wales

d: 1906 in Hirwaun Rhondda Cynon Taff, Glamorganshire, Wales

m: 03 Nov 1849 in Aberdare, Glamorgan, Wales

3

Gwenllian Williams

b: May 1821 in Ystradfellte, Breconshire, Wales

d: 03 May 1904 in Boone, Franklin, Missouri, USA

+Daniel Evans

b: 14 Sep 1831 in Llanelly, Carmarthenshire, Wales

d: 06 Mar 1917 in Boone, Franklin, Missouri, USA

m: 13 Jun 1853 in Merthyr Tydfil, Wales

4

Howell Williams

b: Abt. 1824 in Penderyn, Breconshire, Wales

+Elizabeth George

b: Abt. 1829 in Aberdare, Glamorgan, Wales

5

Daniel Williams

b: Abt. 1825 in Penderyn, Breconshire, Wales

+Mary Unk

b: Abt. 1827 in Llangynydd, Breconshire, Wales

6

Jane Williams

b: Abt. 1826 in Penderyn, Breconshire, Wales

7

William Williams

b: Abt. 1827 in Penderyn, Breconshire, Wales

8

John Williams

b: Bet. 1829-1830 in Penderyn, Breconshire, Wales

9

Thomas Williams

b: Bet. 1832-1833 in Penderyn, Breconshire, Wales

10

Herbert Williams

b: Bet. 1835-1836 in Penderyn, Breconshire, Wales

11

Jenkin Williams

b: Abt. 1838 in Aberdare, Glamorgan, Wales

+Gwenllian Howell

b: Oct 1837 in Merthyr Tydfil, Glamorgan

Figure 18 Williams Family Group

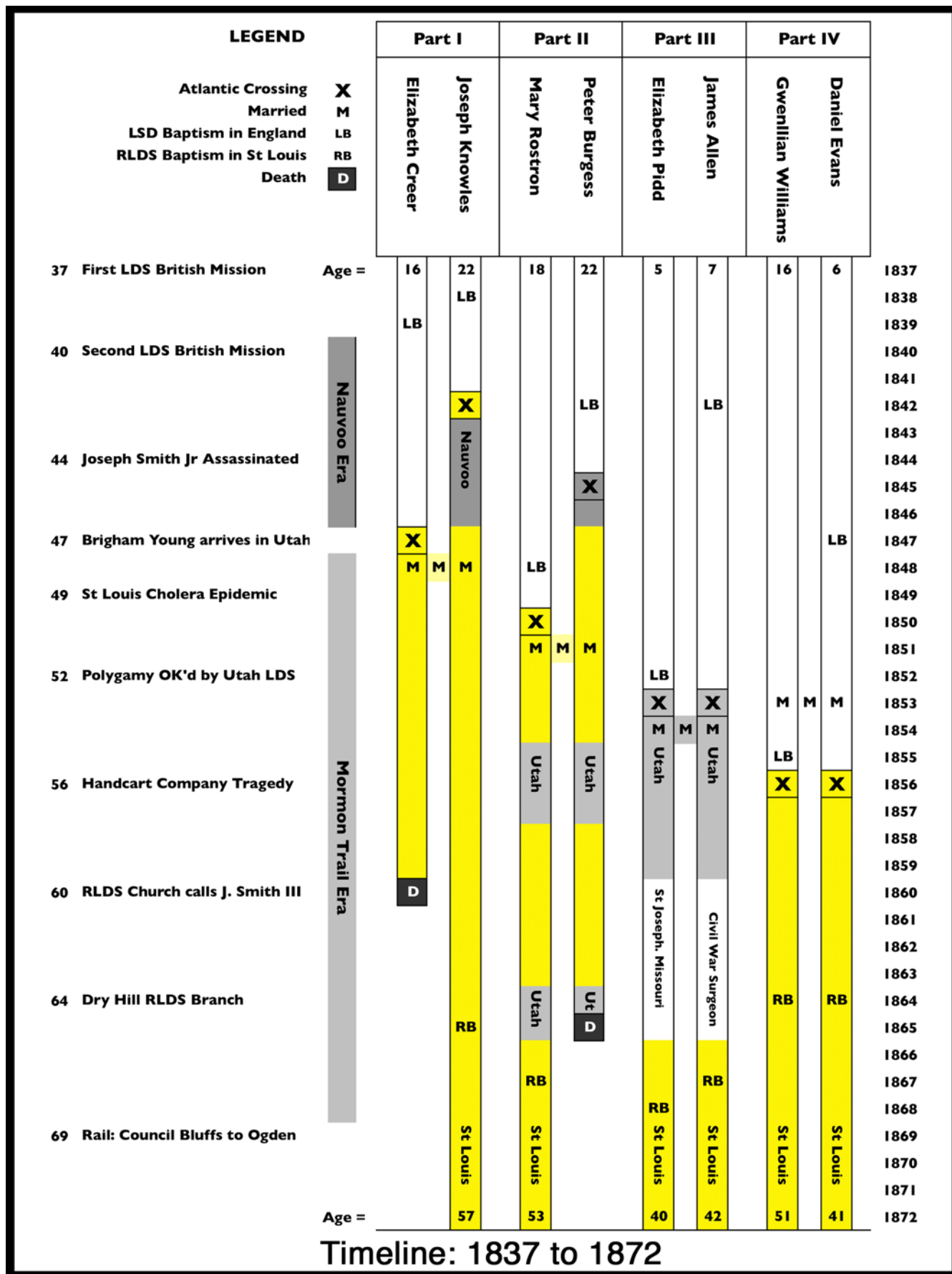
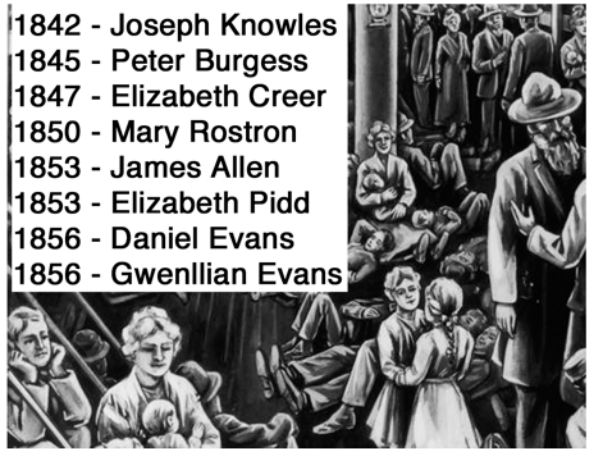


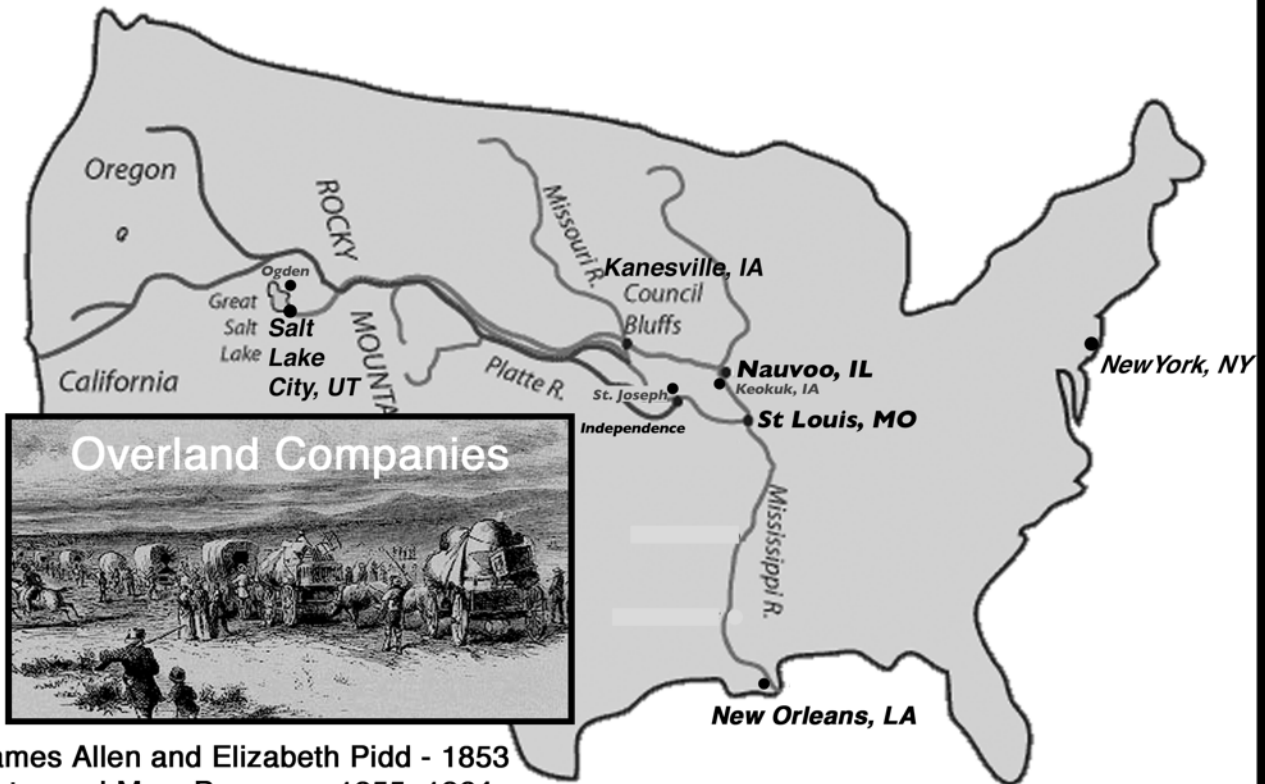
Figure 19 Timeline: 1837 to 1872



- 1842 - Joseph Knowles
- 1845 - Peter Burgess
- 1847 - Elizabeth Creer
- 1850 - Mary Rostron
- 1853 - James Allen
- 1853 - Elizabeth Pidd
- 1856 - Daniel Evans
- 1856 - Gwenllian Evans



Atlantic Crossing



James Allen and Elizabeth Pidd - 1853
 Peter and Mary Burgess - 1855, 1864

Maps of Ancestor Migration Routes

Figure 20 Maps of Ancestor Migration Routes

Date	Year	Depart	Arrival Ship	Leader	Souls	Our Ancestor	Souls	Cum. Year	Cum.
1 June	1840	Liverpool	New York Britannia	John Moon	41		41	41	41
2 Sept.	1840	Liverpool	New York North America	Theodore Turley	200		200	241	241
3 Oct.	1840	Liverpool	New Orleans Isaac Newton	Sam Mulliner	50*		50	291	1840 291
4 Feb.	1841	Liverpool	New Orleans Sheffield	Hiram Clark	235		235	526	235
5 Feb.	1841	Bristol			181*		181	707	416
6 Feb.	1841	Liverpool	New Orleans Echo	Daniel Browett	109		109	816	525
7 Mar.	1841	Liverpool	New Orleans Alesto	Thomas Smith	54		54	870	579
8a Apr.	1841	Liverpool	New York Rochester	Brigham Young	130		130	1,000	709
8b Aug.	1841	Bristol	Quebec Caroline	Thos. Richardson	100		100	1,100	809
9 Sept.	1841	Liverpool	New Orleans Tyrian	Joseph Fielding	207		207	1,307	1016
10 Nov.	1841	Liverpool	New Orleans Chaos	Peter Melling	170		170	1,477	1841 1186
11 Jan.	1842	Liverpool	New Orleans Tremont		143		143	1,620	143
12 Feb.	1842	Liverpool	New Orleans Hope	James Burnham	270		270	1,890	413
13 Feb.	1842	Liverpool	New Orleans John Cummins		200*		200	2,090	613
14 Mar.	1842	Liverpool	New Orleans Hanover	Amos Fielding	200*		200	2,290	813
15 Sept.	1842	Liverpool	New Orleans Sidney	Levi Richards	180	Joseph Knowles	180	2,470	993
16 Sept.	1842	Liverpool	New Orleans Medford	Orson Hyde	214		214	2,684	1207
17 Sept.	1842	Liverpool	New Orleans Henry	John Snider	157		10	2,694	1217
18 Oct.	1842	Liverpool	New Orleans Emerald	Parley Pratt	250		250	2,944	1842 1467
19 Jan.	1843	Liverpool	New Orleans Swanton	Lorenzo Snow	212		212	3,156	212
20 Mar.	1843	Liverpool	New Orleans Yorkshire	Thomas Bullock	83		83	3,239	295
21 Mar.	1843	Liverpool	New Orleans Claiborne		106		106	3,345	401
22 Sept.	1843	Liverpool	New Orleans Metoka		280		280	3,625	681
23 Oct.	1843	Liverpool	New Orleans Champion		91		91	3,716	1843 772
24 Jan.	1844	Liverpool	New Orleans Fanny	William Kay	210		210	3,926	210
25 Feb.	1844	Liverpool	New Orleans Isaac Allerton		60		60	3,986	270
26 Feb.	1844	Liverpool	New Orleans Swanton		81		81	4,067	351
27 Mar.	1844	Liverpool	New Orleans Glasgow	Hiram Clark	150		150	4,217	501
28 Sept.	1844	Liverpool	New Orleans Norfolk		143		143	4,360	1844 644
29 Jan.	1845	Liverpool	New Orleans Palmyra	Amos Fielding	200-?		200	4,560	200
30 Feb.	1845	Liverpool	New Orleans Walpole		204?	Peter Burgess, Ann Esplins Burgess, Lizzie, Wm.	204	4,764	404
31 Sept.	1845	Liverpool	New Orleans Oregon		125-?		125	4,889	1845 529
32 Jan.	1846	Liverpool	New Orleans Liverpool	Hiram Clark	45		45	4,934	45
	1846	Liverpool	New Orleans Charlotte		137*		137	5,071	1846 182
Aug.	1847	Liverpool	New Orleans Charlemagne	Unknown Unknown	?	Elizabeth Creer & Ellen (Elizabeth's Mother)	0	5,071	0
33 Feb.	1848	Liverpool	New Orleans Carnatic	Franklin Richards	120		120	5,191	1847 120
34 Mar.	1848	Liverpool	New Orleans Sailor Prince	Moses Martin	80		80	5,271	200
35 Sept.	1848	Liverpool	New Orleans Erin's Queen	Simeon Garter	232		232	5,503	432
36 Sept.	1848	Liverpool	New Orleans Sailor Prince	L. Butler	311		311	5,814	743
Nov.	1848	Liverpool	New Orleans Lord Sandon		11		11	5,825	1848 754
37 Jan.	1849	Liverpool	New Orleans Zetland	Orson Spencer	358		358	6,183	358
38 Feb.	1849	Liverpool	New Orleans Ashland	John Johnson	187		187	6,370	545
39 Feb.	1849	Liverpool	New Orleans Henry Ware	Robert Martin	225		225	6,595	770
40 Feb.	1849	Liverpool	New Orleans Buena Vista	Dan Jones	49		49	6,644	819
41 Mar.	1849	Liverpool	New Orleans Hartley	William Hulme	220		220	6,864	1039
42 Mar.	1849	Liverpool	New Orleans Emblem	Robert Deans	100		100	6,964	1139
43 Sept.	1849	Liverpool	New Orleans Pennell	Thomas Clark	236		236	7,200	1375
44 Sept.	1849	Liverpool	New Orleans Berlin	Jas. Brown	253		253	7,453	1628
45 Nov.	1849	Liverpool	New Orleans Zetland	S. Hawkins	250		250	7,703	1849 1878
46 Jan.	1850	Liverpool	New Orleans Argo	Jeter Clinton	402	Mary Rostron	458	8,161	458
47 Feb.	1850	Liverpool	New Orleans Josiah Bradlee	Thomas Day	263		263	8,424	721
48 Mar.	1850	Liverpool	New Orleans Hartley	David Cook	109		109	8,533	830
49 Sept.	1850	Liverpool	New Orleans North Atlantic	David Sudworth	357		357	8,890	1187
50 Oct.	1850	Liverpool	New Orleans James Pennell		254		254	9,144	1441
51 Oct.	1850	Liverpool	New Orleans Joseph Badger	John Morris	227		227	9,371	1850 1668
52 Jan.	1851	Liverpool	New Orleans Ellen	J. Cummings	466		466	9,837	466
53 Jan.	1851	Liverpool	New Orleans G. W. Bourne	Wm. Gibson	281		281	10,118	747
54 Feb.	1851	Liverpool	New Orleans Ellen Maria	Geo. Watt	378		378	10,496	1125
55 Mar.	1851	Liverpool	New Orleans Olympus	Wm. Howell	245		245	10,741	1851 1370
56 Jan.	1852	Liverpool	New Orleans Kennebec	John Higbee	333		333	11,074	333
57 Feb.	1852	Liverpool	New Orleans Ellen Maria	Isaac Haight	369		369	11,443	702
58 Mar.	1852	Liverpool	New Orleans Rockaway		30		30	11,473	732
59 Mar.	1852	Liverpool	New Orleans Italy	O. Monster	28		28	11,501	1852 760
60 Jan.	1853	Liverpool	New Orleans Forest Monarch	John Forsgren	297*		297	11,798	297
61 Jan.	1853	Liverpool	New Orleans Ellen Maria	Moses Clawson	332		332	12,130	629
Jan.	1853	Liverpool	New Orleans Golconda	Jacob Gates	321	James X. Allen & Elizabeth Pidd	321	12,451	950
62 Feb.	1853	Liverpool	New Orleans Jersey	Geo. Halliday	314		314	12,765	1264
63 Feb.	1853	Liverpool	New Orleans Elvira	Owen Young	345		345	13,110	1609
65 Feb.	1853	Liverpool	New Orleans International	Chr. Arthur	425		425	13,535	2034
66 Mar.	1853	Liverpool	New Orleans Falcon	Cor. Bagnall	324		324	13,859	2358
67 Apr.	1853	Liverpool	New Orleans Camillus	C. Bolton	228		228	14,087	2586
68 Aug.	1853	Liverpool	New Orleans	Page Bender	17		17	14,104	2603
	1853	Liverpool	New Orleans		23		23	14,127	1853 2626
69 Jan.	1854	Liverpool	New Orleans Jesse Munn	Chr. Larsen	333*		333	14,460	333
70 Jan.	1854	Liverpool	New Orleans Benjamin Adams	H. Olsen	384*		384	14,844	717
71 Feb.	1854	Liverpool	New Orleans Golconda	Dorr Curtis	464		464	15,308	1181
72 Feb.	1854	Liverpool	New Orleans Windermere	Daniel Garn	477		477	15,785	1658
73 Mar.	1854	Liverpool	New Orleans Old England	John Angus	45		45	15,830	1703
74 Mar.	1854	Liverpool	New Orleans John Wood	Robert Campbell	393		393	16,223	2096
75 Apr.	1854	Liverpool	New Orleans Germanicus	Richard Cook	220		220	16,443	2316
76 Apr.	1854	Liverpool	New Orleans Marsfield	William Taylor	366		366	16,809	2682
77 Apr.	1854	Liverpool	New Orleans Clara Wheeler		29		29	16,838	2711
	1854	Liverpool	New Orleans		34		34	16,872	2745
78 Nov.	1854	Liverpool	New Orleans Clara Wheeler	Henry Phelps	422		422	17,294	1854 3167

Chartered Mormon Ships: 1840 to 1854

Figure 21 Chartered Mormon Ships: 1840 to 1854

Date	Year	Depart	Arrival Ship	Leader	Souls	Our Ancestor	Souls	Cum. Year	Cum.
79	Jan.	1855	Liverpool	New Orleans Rockaway	Samuel Glasgow	24	24	17,318	24
80	Jan.	1855	Liverpool	New Orleans James Nesmith	Peter Hansen	440	440	17,758	464
81	Jan.	1855	Liverpool	New Orleans Neva	Thomas Jackson	13	13	17,771	477
82	Jan.	1855	Liverpool	New Orleans Charles Buck	Richard Ballantyne	403	403	18,174	880
83	Feb.	1855	Liverpool	Philadelphia Isaac Jeans	George Riser	16	16	18,190	896
Feb. 1855 Liverpool Philadelphia Siddons							430	John & Sarah Knowles	430
(Joseph's parents)							430	18,620	1326
84	Mar.	1855	Liverpool	Philadelphia Juventa	William Clover	573	573	19,193	1899
85	Apr.	1855	Liverpool	Philadelphia Chimborazo	Edward Stevenson	431	431	19,624	2330
86	Apr.	1855	Liverpool	New York Samuel Curling	Israel Barlow	581	581	20,205	2911
87	Apr.	1855	Liverpool	New York Wm. Stetson	Aaron Smethurst	293	293	20,498	3204
88	Apr.	1855	Liverpool	New York Cynosure	George Seager	159	159	20,657	3363
89	July	1855	Liverpool	New York Emerald Isle	Phil Merrill	350	350	21,007	3713
90	Nov.	1855	Liverpool	New York John J. Boyd	Knud Peterson	512	512	21,519	1855 4225
91	Dec.	1855	Liverpool			319	319	21,838	319
Feb. 1856 Liverpool New York Caravan							489	Daniel & Gwenllian Evans	489
(Joseph's parents)							489	22,327	808
92	Mar.	1856	Liverpool	Boston Enoch Train	James Ferguson	534	534	22,861	1342
93	Apr.	1856	Liverpool	Boston Samuel Curling	Dan Jones	707	707	23,568	2049
94	Apr.	1856	Liverpool	New York Thornton James	G. Willie	764	764	24,332	2813
95	May	1856	Liverpool	Boston Horizon	Edward Martin	856	856	25,188	3669
96	May	1856	Liverpool	Boston Wellfleet	John Aubray	146	146	25,334	3815
97	June	1856	Liverpool	New York Columbia	J. Williams	223	223	25,557	1856 4038
98	Nov.	1856	Liverpool			69	69	25,626	69
99	Mar.	1857	Liverpool	Boston George Washington	J. Park	817	817	26,443	886
100	Apr.	1857	Liverpool	Philadelphia Westmoreland	Mathew Cowley	544	544	26,987	1430
101	May	1857	Liverpool	Philadelphia Tuscarora	Richard Harper	547	547	27,534	1977
102	July	1857	Liverpool	Philadelphia Wyoming	Chas. Harmon	36	36	27,570	2013
						50	50	27,620	1857 2063
	Jan.	1858	Liverpool	New York Underwriter	Henry Harriman	25	25	27,645	25
	Feb.	1858	Liverpool	New York Empire	Jesse Hobson	64	64	27,709	89
103	Mar.	1858	Liverpool	New York John Bright	Iver Iversen	90	90	27,799	1858 179
104	Apr.	1859	Liverpool	New York Wm. Tappscott	Robert Neslen	725	725	28,524	725
105	July	1859	Liverpool	New York Antarctic	James Chaplow	30	30	28,554	755
106	Aug.	1859	Liverpool	New York Emerald Isle	Henry Hug	54	54	28,608	1859 809
107	Mar.	1860	Liverpool	New York Underwriter	James Ross	594	594	29,202	594
108	May	1860	Liverpool	New York William Tappscott	Asa Calkin	731	731	29,933	1860 1325
						84	84	30,017	84
109	Apr.	1861	Liverpool	New York Manchester	C. Spencer	380	380	30,397	464
110	Apr.	1861	Liverpool	New York Underwriter	Milo Andrus	624	624	31,021	1088
111	May	1861	Liverpool	New York Monarch of the Sea	Jabez Woodard	955	955	31,976	1861 2043
112	Apr.	1862	Hamburg	New York Humboldt	H. Hansen	323	323	32,299	323
113	Apr.	1862	Hamburg	New York Franklin	Chr. Madsen	413	413	32,712	736
114	Apr.	1862	Hamburg	New York Electric	Soren Christoffers	336	336	33,048	1072
115	Apr.	1862	Liverpool	New York John J. Boyd	J. Brown	701	701	33,749	1773
116	Apr.	1862	Hamburg	New York Athenia	Ola Liljenquist	484	484	34,233	2257
117	May	1862	Liverpool	New York Manchester	J. McAllister	376	376	34,609	2633
118	May	1862	Liverpool	New York Wm. Tappscott	Wm. Gibson	808	808	35,417	3441
119	May	1862	Havre	New York Windermere	S. Ballif	110	110	35,527	3551
Total Number of Saints per Year (1840-1868)									
120	May	1862	Liverpool	New York Antarctic	W. Moody	38	38	35,565	3589
						8	8	35,573	1862 3597
121	Apr.	1863	Liverpool	New York John J. Boyd	Wm. Cluff	763	763	36,336	FALSE
122	May	1863	Liverpool	New York B.S.Kimball	H. Lund	654	654	36,990	654
123	May	1863	Liverpool	New York Consignment	A. Christenser	38	38	37,028	692
124	May	1863	Liverpool	New York Antarctic	J. Needham	483	483	37,511	1175
125	May	1863	Liverpool	New York Cynosure	D. Stuart	754	754	38,265	1929
126	June	1863	Liverpool	New York Amazon	Wm. Bramall	882	882	39,147	2811
						72	72	39,219	1863 2883
127	Apr.	1864	Liverpool	New York Monarch of the Sea	John Smith	974	974	40,193	974
128	May	1864	Liverpool	New York General McClellan	Thos. Jeremy	802	802	40,995	1776
129	June	1864	Liverpool	New York Hudson	John Kay	863	863	41,858	1864 2639
						58	58	41,916	58
130	Apr.	1865	Liverpool	New York Belle Wood	Wm. Shearman	636	636	42,552	694
131	May	1865	Hamburg	New York B.S.Kimball	A. Winberg	558	558	43,110	1252
132	May	1865	Liverpool	New York D. Hoadley	Wm. Underwood	24	24	43,134	1865 1276
						83	83	43,217	83
133	Apr.	1866	Liverpool	New York John Bright	C. Gillett	747	747	43,964	830
134	May	1866	Liverpool	New York Caroline	S. Hill	389	389	44,353	1219
135	May	1866	London	New York American Congress	John Nicholson	350	350	44,703	1569
136	May	1866	Hamburg	New York Kenilworth	Sam. Sprague	684	684	45,387	2253
137	May	1866	Liverpool	New York Arkwright	J. Wixom	450	450	45,837	2703
138	May	1866	London	New York C. Grinnell	R. Harrison	26	26	45,863	2729
139	June	1866	Hamburg	New York Cavour	N. Nielsen	201	201	46,064	2930
140	June	1866	Hamburg	New York Humboldt	Geo. Brown	328	328	46,392	3258
141	June	1866	Liverpool	New York Saint	Mark Stevens	104	104	46,496	1866 3362
						56	56	46,552	56
142	June	1867	Liverpool	New York Manhattan Arch	N. Hill	482	482	47,034	1867 538
143		1868	Liverpool			178	178	47,212	178
144	June	1868	Liverpool	New York John Bright	James McGaw	722	722	47,934	900
145	June	1868	Liverpool	New York Emerald Isle	H. Hals	876	876	48,810	1776
146	June	1868	Liverpool	New York Constitution	Harvey Cluff	457	457	49,267	2233
147	June	1868	Liverpool	New York Minnesota	John Parry	534	534	49,801	2767
148	July	1868	Liverpool	New York Colorado	Wm. Preston	600	600	50,401	3367
						4	4	50,405	1868 3371



1855 to 1868

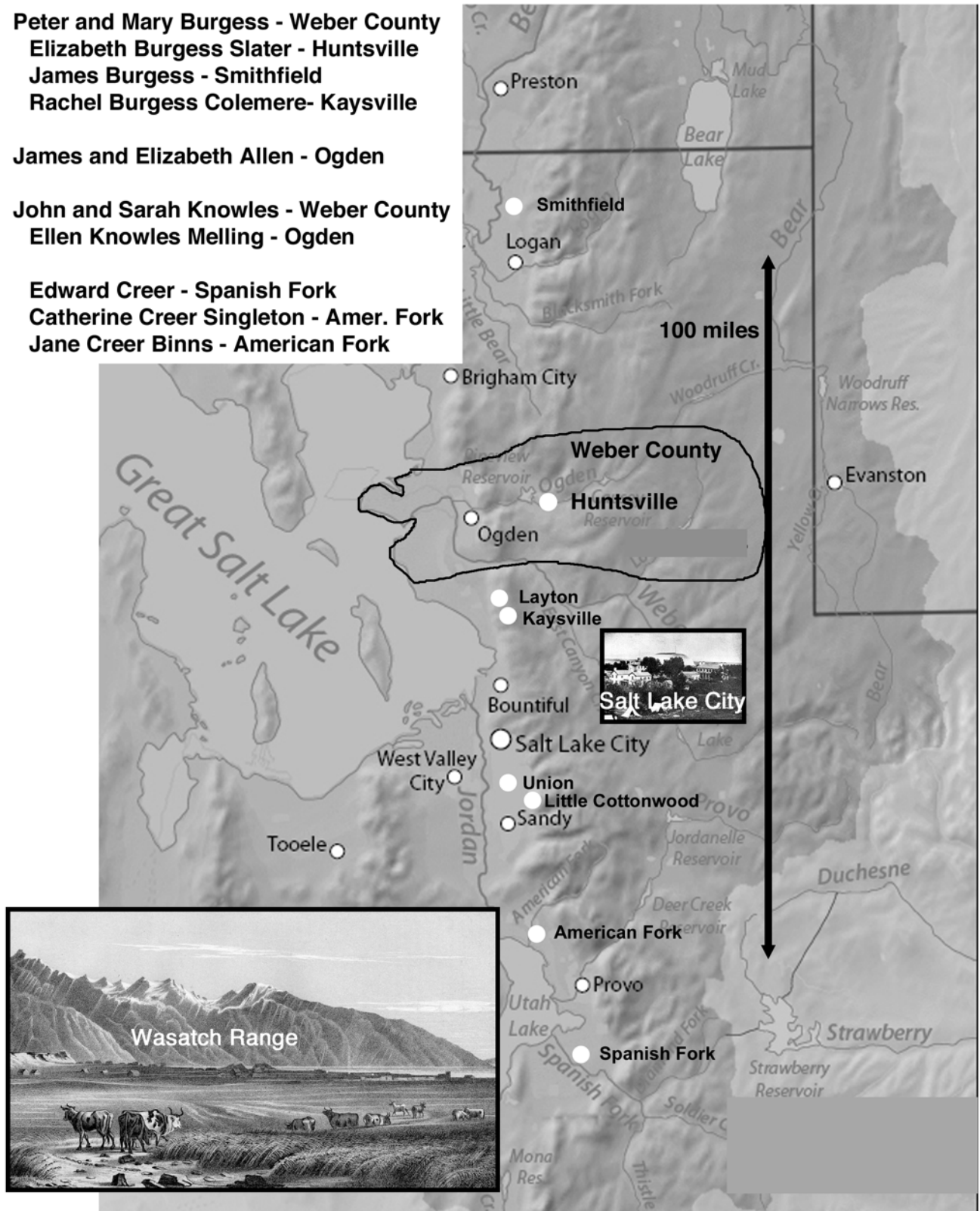
Figure 22 Chartered Mormon Ships: 1855 to 1868

Peter and Mary Burgess - Weber County
Elizabeth Burgess Slater - Huntsville
James Burgess - Smithfield
Rachel Burgess Colemere- Kaysville

James and Elizabeth Allen - Ogden

John and Sarah Knowles - Weber County
Ellen Knowles Melling - Ogden

Edward Creer - Spanish Fork
Catherine Creer Singleton - Amer. Fork
Jane Creer Binns - American Fork



Cities in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake

Figure 23 Great Salt Lake Valley Cities

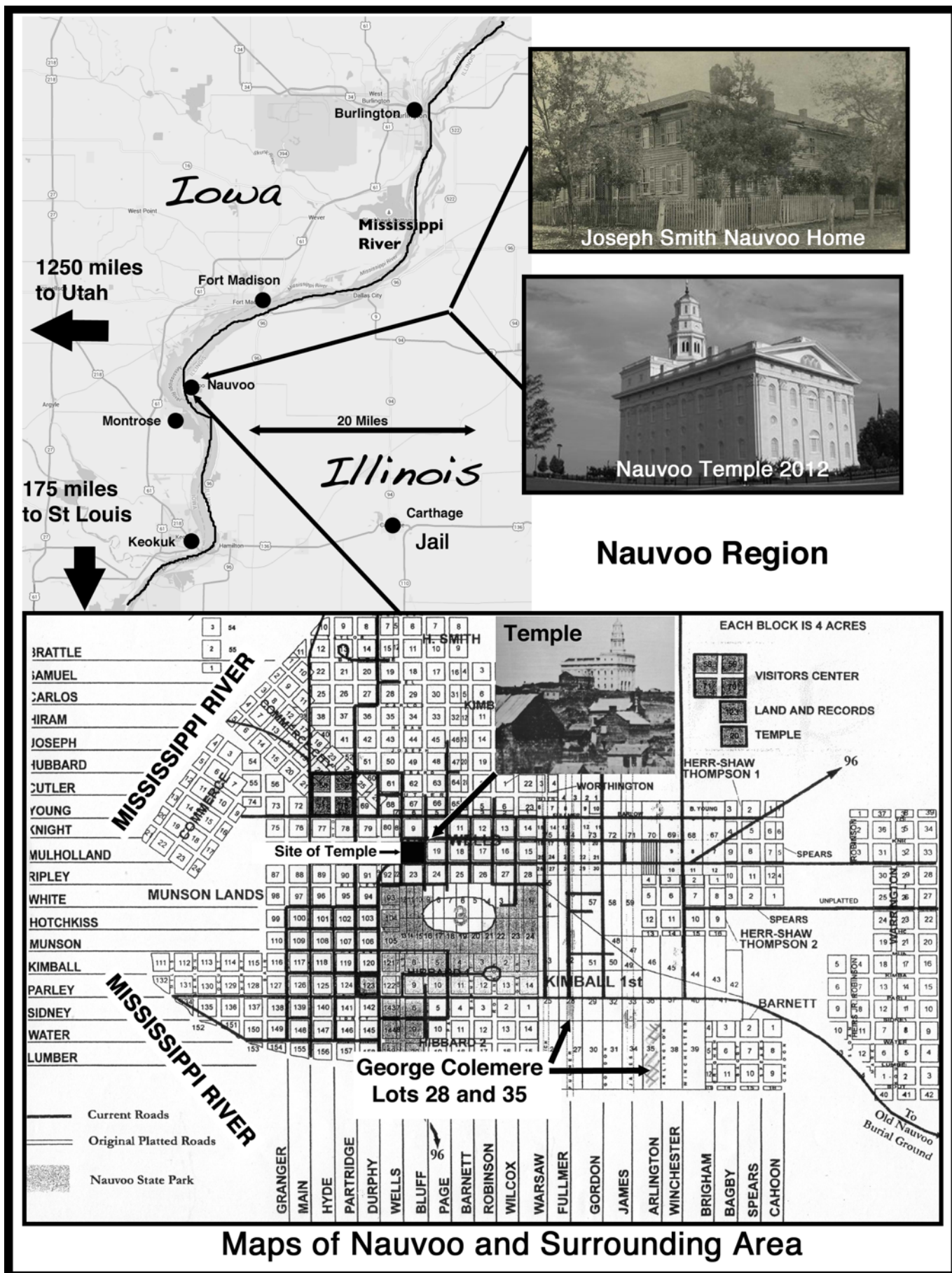
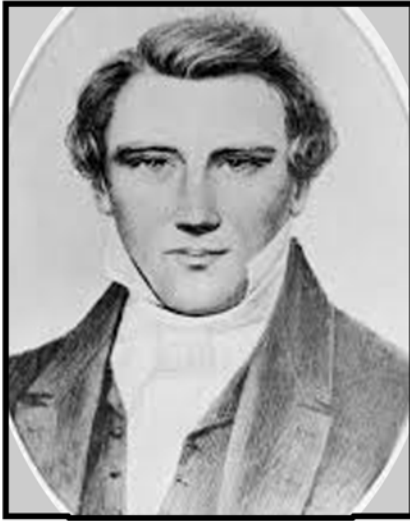


Figure 24 Nauvoo and Surrounding Area



Joseph Smith Jr
(1805-1844)

Founder of Church of Jesus
Christ of Latter-day Saints



Brigham Young
(1801-1877)

Successor of Joseph Smith Jr



Jason W. Briggs
(1821-1899)

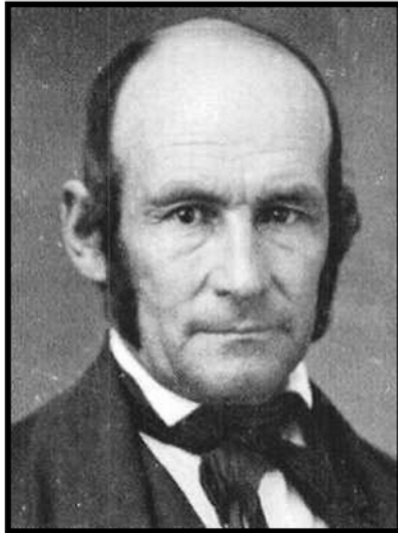
Founder of organization that
later became the RLDS Church



Joseph Smith III
(1832-1914)

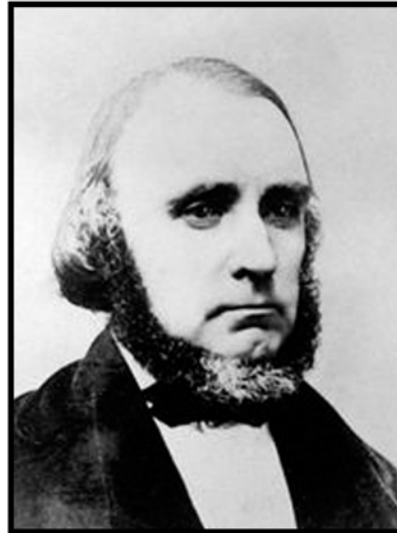
First President of the Reorganized
Church of Latter Day Saints

Early Leaders of LDS Church and RLDS Church



Heber C Kimball
(1801-1868)

Missionary with greatest
influence on Joseph Knowles



William Clayton
(1814-1879)

Missionary with greatest
influence on Peter Burgess



Lorenzo Barnes
(1812-1842)

Missionary with greatest
influence on James Allen



Captain Dan Jones
(1810-1862)

Missionary with greatest
influence on Daniel Evans

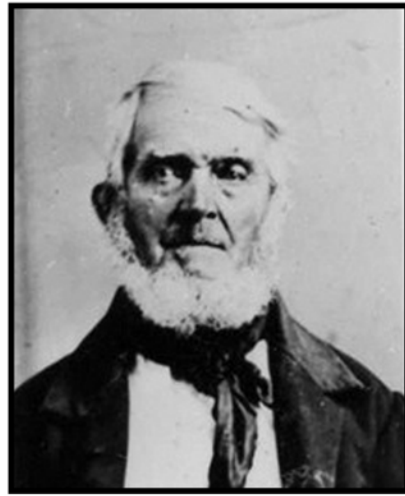
Mormon Missionaries to England and Wales

Figure 26 Mormon Missionaries to England and Wales



**Sarah Touchett
Knowles (1789-1873)**

Mother of Joseph Knowles



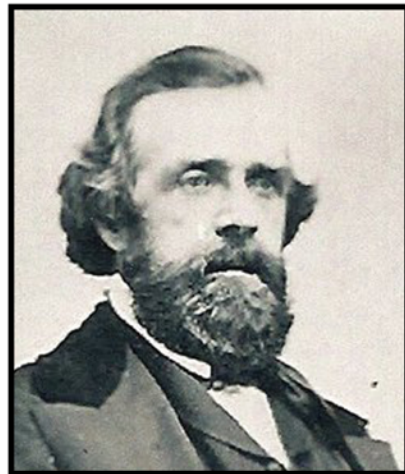
**John Knowles
(1788-1873)**

Father of Joseph Knowles



**Edward Creer
(1813-1886)**

Brother of Elizabeth Creer

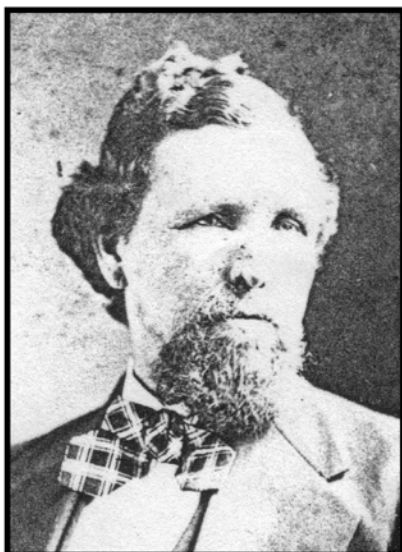


**James Burgess
(1818-1904)**

Brother of Peter Burgess

Knowles and Other Ancestors

Figure 27 John and Sarah Knowles, Edward Creer, and James Burgess



Peter Burgess (?)
(1815-1865)



Mary Alice Rostron
Burgess (1821-1903)



Sybilia Burgess
Evans (1888-1968)

Granddaughter of Peter
and Mary Burgess

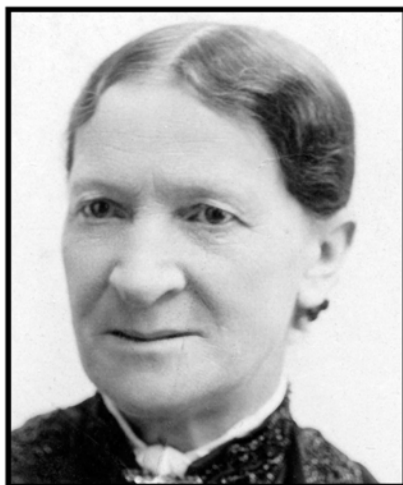


Samuel Rostron Burgess
(1851-1918)

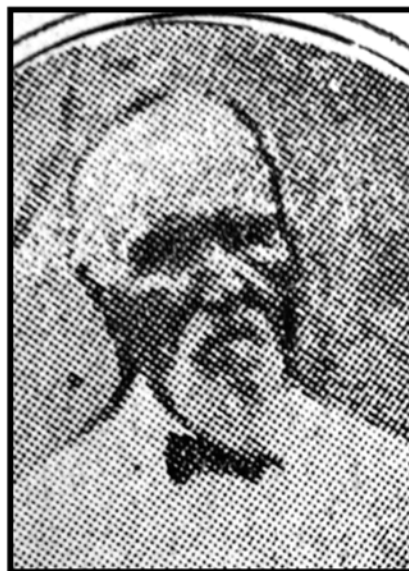
Son of Peter and Mary Burgess

Burgess Ancestors

Figure 28 Burgess Ancestors



**Elizabeth Pidd
Allen (1832-1918)**



**James X Allen
(1830-1911)**



**Eveline Allen
Burgess (1856-1936)**

Daughter of James
and Elizabeth Allen

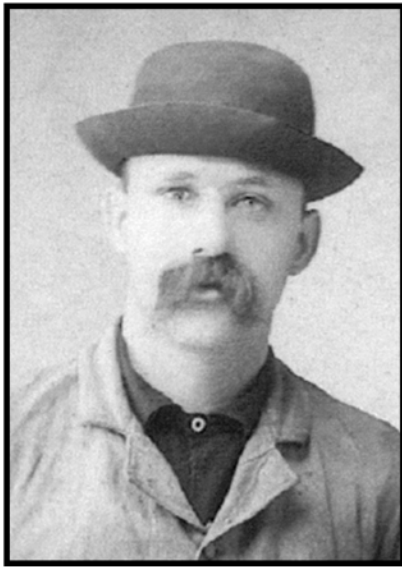


**Sybilia Burgess
(1888-1968)**

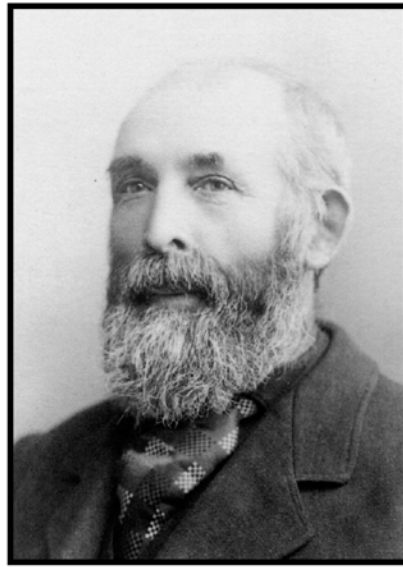
Granddaughter of James
and Elizabeth Allen

Allen Ancestors

Figure 29 Allen Ancestors



Gomer Daniel Evans
(1859-1897)
 Son of Daniel and Gwenllian Evans



Daniel Evans
(1831-1917)



Sarah Ellen Knowles
Evans (1855-1928)
 Daughter-in-law of Daniel
 and Gwenllian Evans



Gomer Louis Evans
(1885-1934)
 Grandson of Daniel
 and Gwenllian Evans

Evans Ancestors

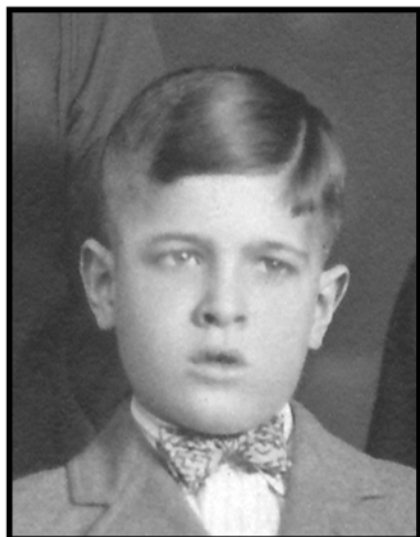
Figure 30 Evans Ancestors



**Joseph Cedric Evans
(1915 - 1993)**



**Alice Evans
(1913 - 1999)**



**Samuel Rostron Evans
(1918 - 2006)**



**Walter Richard Evans
(1920 - 1999)**

Children of Gomer and Sybilia Evans

Figure 31 Children of Gomer and Sybilia Evans

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Source and End Notes

Prologue

- ¹ PBS *Frontline: God in America*. Episode 2 (2010) For a complete transcript: <http://www.pbs.org/godinamerica/transcripts/hour-two.html>
- ² Cross, Whitney R. *The Burned Over District: A classic history of the region*.
- ³ Bushman, Richard Lyman. *Joseph Smith, Rough Stone Rolling*: An excellent bio.
- ⁴ The Bible refers to early Christians as “Saints.” The Mormon Church distinguishes between these “former-day Saints” and their “Latter-day Saints.”
- ⁵ In 2012 the LDS Church bought 6,000 acres of farmland in Far West. Some Caldwell County citizens fear that the Mormons may build a mammoth temple.
- ⁶ *Missouri Executive Order 44*; It is also known as the Extermination order.
- ⁷ Joseph Knowles served a mission to Glasgow in 1840.
- ⁸ James Burgess was a carpenter who worked on Nauvoo Temple; Peter Burgess worked in the Temple Store.
- ⁹ Joseph Knowles and Peter Burgess went to St. Louis, Missouri; Rachel Burgess went to Kanesville, Iowa.
- ¹⁰ Joseph Knowles’s brother Isaac was one ancestral family member to use the PEF
- ¹¹ Peter Burgess’s sister Rachel Burgess moved from Kanesville to Utah in 1852.
- ¹² New emigrants James Allen and Elizabeth Pidd arrived in Utah in 1853.
- ¹³ Peter and Mary Burgess moved from St. Louis to Weber County, Utah in 1855.
- ¹⁴ John Knowles had friends from Preston who traveled in handcart companies.
- ¹⁵ The United States had acquired Utah from Mexico in 1848.
- ¹⁶ Joseph Knowles worked in the St. Louis clay mines and became an elder in the Dry Hill Branch. Daniel Evans emigrated in 1856; he worked in the Gravois coal mines.
- ¹⁷ Among these Saints in the City of St. Louis were Peter Burgess and James X Allen.
- ¹⁸ Of the approximately 5 million immigrants to the United States between 1840 and 1870, about 1% (50,000) were Latter-day Saints, about 1% of Saints were Latter-day Saints (est. 500) who joined the *Reorganized Church* by 1872, and about 1% of the RLDS members in 1872, six (6) were my father’s great-grandparents.

Chapter 1

- ¹⁹ Nancy and I attended a St. Elphin’s worship service in Warrington on Sept. 9, 2012.
- ²⁰ Crowther, Sarah Stone. *Biography of Mary Ellen Salisbury Parsons*
- ²¹ John Jr. and Elizabeth were both baptized on Dec. 15, 1813. In an Oct 5, 2015, e-mail, Sharon Tanner explained, “John and Sarah’s first child was illegitimate...That’s why he was baptized the same time Elizabeth was baptized.”

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- ²² Many ancestry.com trees omit Joseph because he was not baptized at St. Elphin's.
- ²³ Toler, PhD., Pamela D. *The Everything Guide to Understanding Socialism*, p. 21
- ²⁴ <http://www.berryman.uk.com/cotton.htm>
- ²⁵ Preston had been at a disadvantage with respect to other Lancashire cotton towns due to its lack of running water for powering the new spinning mills or a nearby coalfield. However, there was plenty of coal in Wigan, 15 miles to the south, and some coal had been arriving at Preston from the middle of the 18th century in flat-bottomed barges, following navigation upgrades on the River Douglas.
- ²⁶ So-called "under 13's" were not allowed to work more than nine hours a day or 48 hours a week and "under 18's" more than 12 hours a day or 69 hours a week.
- ²⁷ The 1860 US Census states neither Joseph nor his sister Ellen could read or write.
- ²⁸ Burnett, John. *Annals of Labor*, p. 18
- ²⁹ Elders Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Isaac Russell plus English-born Joseph Fielding, and Canada-born Willard Richards, John Goodson, and John Snyder.
- ³⁰ Queen Victoria of England's 63-year reign began on the same day they arrived.
- ³¹ Whitney, Orson F. *Life of Heber C. Kimball*. pp. 103-104
- ³² Kimball, Stanley B. *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer*, p. 46
- ³³ Kimball, Heber C. *Elders Journal of the Church of Latter-day Saints*. Vol. 1 No. 1, p. 5
- ³⁴ Baptism was reserved for those 8 years old or older, the "age of accountability" — meaning that one was old enough to be accountable for sins. Younger children were considered to be in a state of innocence and received "blessings".
- ³⁵ Priesthood offices: Deacon, Teacher, Elder, High Priest, Apostle, Patriarch/Evangelist.
- ³⁶ Listing John Knowles as first assumes his son Joseph received a later baptism. As no records exist for Joseph's baptism date, his may have preceded his father's.
- ³⁷ Kimball, Stanley B. *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer*, p. 46
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 47
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 47
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45
- ⁴¹ The Mormon's Jan. 4, 1838 request to lease the Preston Temperance Society Cock Pit is the earliest surviving Old World document referring to "Latter-day Saints."
- ⁴² Unique among all cities on the Mississippi, both the north and south ends of Nauvoo's main street intersect the river—its southwest directed flow at the north end of Main Street and its southeast directed flow at the south end of Main Street.
- ⁴³ Gabbert, Dean – Candido, Marilyn S. *Nauvoo, A History*, p. 28

Chapter 2

- ⁴⁴ Allen, James B., ed. *Manchester Mormons*, p. 10
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9

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- ⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 8
- ⁴⁷ The *Millennial Star* enjoyed a 130 year-long press run.
- ⁴⁸ *Millennial Star*, Vol. 26, p. 7
- ⁴⁹ Officers: high priests (5), elders (19), priests (15), teachers (11), or deacons (3)
- ⁵⁰ Evans, Elder Richard L. *A Century of "Mormonism" in Great Britain.*, p. 135
- ⁵¹ *Millennial Star*, Vol. 1, p. 71
- ⁵² Ibid., p. 167
- ⁵³ Joining Kington was Wm. Snalem, future husband of Joseph Knowles's sister-in-law.
- ⁵⁴ Ages in 1841 were *rounded down* to the nearest 5 years for those 15 and older.
- ⁵⁵ John: a weaver. His 6 children—from age 23 to 9—had occupations of weaver, warper, and piece-er.
- ⁵⁶ Woods, Fred E. *Gathering to Nauvoo: Mormon Immigration 1840-1846.* p. 50
- ⁵⁷ George D. Watt received the *first* baptism by Heber Kimball in the *first* British Mission. One of his descendants is David Ellison, director of the Menlo Park LDS Family History center and with whom I have consulted on family history research.
- ⁵⁸ Watt, George D. Letter to Brother (13 Nov. 1842)
- ⁵⁹ Hyde, Wm. and Conard, Howard L., ed. *Encyclopedia of History of St. Louis*, 3:1567 also the *St. Louis Daily Union* (29 Sept 846)
- ⁶⁰ Kimball, Stanley B. *The Saints and St. Louis, 1831-1857: An Oasis ... and Security*
- ⁶¹ Dickson, Terry. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 2 June 1949
- ⁶² Kimball, Stanley B. *The Saints and St. Louis, 1831-1857: An Oasis ... and Security*
- ⁶³ Ibid.

Chapter 3

- ⁶⁴ Creer, John A. *A Family of Mannin*, p. 6
- ⁶⁵ Frame, Nell Creer. *Biographical Sketch of Matthias Creer*, Family Search website
- ⁶⁶ Her baptism certificate lists *Nelly*, although census records list her as *Ellen*.
- ⁶⁷ Nellie Greenhaigh and John Knowles, two grandparents of Sarah Knowles Evans, were born just one day apart—Nellie on May 2, 1788 and John on May 3, 1788.
- ⁶⁸ Jones, Christopher C. *"We Latter-Day Saints Are Methodists": The Influence Of Methodism On Early Mormon Religiosity.*
- ⁶⁹ Pratt, Parley. *Millennial Star*, Vol. 2, No. 2, June 2, 1841
- ⁷⁰ A second son, Robert Creer, died, in 1824, at age 21 months.
- ⁷¹ Beck, Anne Rowe. *Edward Creer in Creer History*, ed. Creer, Dr. Leland Hargrave
- ⁷² *Preston Chronicle*. (May 1838)
- ⁷³ Beck, Anne Rowe. *Edward Creer in Creer History*, ed. Creer, Dr. Leland Hargrave
- ⁷⁴ Ibid.

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- ⁷⁵ In 1847 Utah belonged to Mexico; Brigham Young wanted to live outside the domain of the United States government, even if it meant living in the Utah desert.
- ⁷⁶ Accounts from descendants of Edward Creer are non-authoritative and conflicting. Evidence for a Sept-Nov 1847 sailing of *Charlemagne*: (1) Ellenor Ann Creer's April 1847 Preston birth and her Feb. 1848 St. Louis death. (2) Early Preston Member lists (c. 1853) names Edward Creer as officiating elder at a baptism on 25 June 1847.

Chapter 4

- ⁷⁷ Beck, Anne Rowe. *Edward Creer in Creer History*, ed. Creer, Dr. Leland Hargrave
- ⁷⁸ Primm, James Neal. *Lion of the Valley*, p. 148
- ⁷⁹ Cooperman, Jeannette. *Take Care and Don't Take Cholera*.
- ⁸⁰ Fire Captain Thomas B. Targee of Missouri No. 5 lost his life in the line of duty.
- ⁸¹ Cooperman, Jeannette. *Take Care and Don't Take Cholera*.
- ⁸² Two additional cholera victims were Jane Creer's husband, William Snalem (age 42), and Mary Binns (age 34), a good friend of the Creer family and mother of five children, the youngest three of whom also succumbed to cholera. Their deaths left Jane Snalem, a widow, and John Binns, a widower with two children. Jane would become their stepmother when she married John Binns in 1852.
- ⁸³ Hawkins, Elsie. Letter to Arline Evans (27 Feb. 1997) "*They settled in an area in St. Louis known as "Blue Ridge" which was also a clay mining area. Southwest St. Louis—Manchester Avenue west of Kings Highway—... there was a railroad station in that area called Cheltenham. The area to the south beyond the railroad tracks which ... is Southwest Ave, is where they lived. ... Here they had terra cotta plants that made architecture trim for buildings by using the clay. They did have a small frame church on the grounds of one of those terra cotta plants. I can recall seeing it when I was a child—to me it was a small frame building— it was also called Cheltenham. I can recall seeing it when I was a child.*"
- ⁸⁴ Hawkins, Elsie. Letter to Arline Evans (27 Feb. 1997)
- ⁸⁵ Boyer, Mary Joan. *The Old Gravois Coal Diggings*, p. 41
- ⁸⁶ The council met twice a month and consisted of 6 to 8 officers. The entire Dry Hill Branch numbered no more than a few dozen members.
- ⁸⁷ Dry Hill Branch Council Meeting Minutes—Microfilm (1856)
- ⁸⁸ Dry Hill Branch Council Meeting Minutes—Microfilm (1857)
- ⁸⁹ The districts of Saint Louis that surround Rock Hill sit atop a deposit of high-quality refractory clays that can withstand high temperatures. This clay, as well as minor associated deposits of coal, was dug out of underground mines in this area. The clay was mined like coal from a depth generally less than 100 feet. Both shafts and slopes were used. All the fire clay of the St. Louis quadrangle comes from a single bed known as the Cheltenham bed, a district within the limits of St. Louis, south of Forest Park. The thickness of the Cheltenham bed varied from 1 to 12 feet.
- ⁹⁰ A Bishop is in charge of all the church's financial affairs for a particular region.

⁹¹ Crowther, Sarah Stone. *Biography of Mary Ellen Salisbury Parsons*

Chapter 5

⁹² Crowther, Sarah Stone. *Biography of Mary Ellen Salisbury Parsons*

⁹³ Smith, Geoffrey N. and Smith, Robert W. *A Biography of Sarah Touchett and John Knowles 1788-1881, Lancashire Weavers and Utah Pioneers*, p.10

⁹⁴ *Millennial Star*, Vol. XVII

⁹⁵ Fuller, John Solomon. *Diary of John Solomon Fuller*, p .45–46

⁹⁶ *Millennial Star*, Vol. XVII

⁹⁷ The Burgess Family (Peter, Mary, Samuel (3), Alice (2), and Miles Rostron) also boarded an Atchison-bound steamer, too. “On the eighth of May, 1855, the same day that the Siddons company left for Atchison, a goodly number of Saints, principally composed of old faithful members of the St. Louis branch, were shipped on the steamer, *Golden State*, to Atchison, under the presidency of Elder John Clegg.”

⁹⁸ *Millennial Star*, Vol. XVII, pp. 171, 201, 378, 458, 490

⁹⁹ Greenwood, George. Letter to Brother and Sister (7 Dec 1858)

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Beck, Anne Rowe. *Edward Creer in Creer History...* “It was in 1858 that ... his family...took up residence in Spanish Fork. ...Their first house was a primitive construction indeed. A ‘dug-out’ one room, with cane and mud roof, sheltered the parents and five children.”

¹⁰² Beck, Anne Rowe. *Edward Creer in Creer History...*, ed. Creer, Dr. Leland Hargrave

¹⁰³ Karsten, Peter, ed. *Encyclopedia of War & American Society*

¹⁰⁴ Melling Way. Posted by Weber History (4 Oct. 2010)

¹⁰⁵ Greenwood, George. Letter to Brother and Sister (7 Dec. 1858)

¹⁰⁶ According to biography of Mary Melling (John Melling Sr. was her father.)

¹⁰⁷ In *Roughing It*, Mark Twain wrote his westward-bound stagecoach passed a Mormon train consisting of 33 wagons. It was almost certainly their company.

¹⁰⁸ Kunz, Louise Jacob. *Reminiscences*, p. 372–373

¹⁰⁹ Zollinger, Jacob. *Reminiscences*, p.13–14

¹¹⁰ Melling Way. Posted by Weber History (4 Oct. 2010)

Chapter 6

¹¹¹ George Stephenson, now known as the father of railways, had been in charge of construction of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. Among it “firsts” were his choice of gauge (4 ft 8.5 in) that would become the standard gauge. Tragically, another “first” occurred as the Rocket made its way toward Barton when the leg of

50-year-old William Huskisson, a popular member of Parliament, was crushed. He succumbed that evening to his injuries, becoming the first victim of a railroad accident. Safety became an issue. Sam Burgess became a railroad crossing guard.

¹¹² John Burgess died at age 16 months in May of 1807.

¹¹³ The Barton Aqueduct was called “One of the seven wonder of the canal age” by the industrial archeologist Mike Nevell.

¹¹⁴ Parliament had authorized canal construction in 1759 after its semi-literate designer James Brindley explained with a demonstration how he could make the Barton Aqueduct water-tight. He famously, in Parliament, took a round of cheese and split it into two semi-circles and used them to represent the aqueduct’s arches.

¹¹⁵ Wood, Cyril J. *The Duke’s Cut: The Bridgewater Canal*

¹¹⁶ The L&MR was the first railroad offering scheduled passenger service between two urban centers.

¹¹⁷ William Burgess’s occupations listed on his children’s baptism records: Miller (1801, 1803, 1820), Weaver (1812), Corn Dealer (1815), and Bookkeeper (1818).

¹¹⁸ Specific listed occupations were: farmer, porter, carpenter, weaver, grocer, engraver, bookkeeper, blacksmith, and hatter.

¹¹⁹ Burgess, Peter. *Journal*. It contains a dozen or more similar example calculations.

¹²⁰ Maria’s son John (b. 1836) and her brother Peter’s son’s Sam (b.1851) later corresponded between Fleetwood, England and St. Louis, Missouri. Samuel referred to him as “Cousin Johnson” in his journal.

¹²¹ A shipwright is a carpenter that works exclusively on ships.

¹²² Witnessed by his brother Thomas, who was certainly present in Manchester on that day, but the future course of his life is unknown. Burial records exist for a Thomas Burgess died in Barton in 1855, who may be “our Thomas.”

¹²³ Built in 1769, demolished in 1931, its bells were said to have “Among the best peals in Manchester.”

¹²⁴ Allen, James B. ed., *Manchester Mormons*, p.11

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 2

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 21

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 21

¹²⁸ All the Burgesses siblings lived within greater Manchester, a region that included Barton-Upon-Irwell. In 1841 the older siblings lived in Barton, whereas their younger siblings had moved closer to central Manchester (e.g., Salford, Stockport.)

¹²⁹ Allen, James B. ed., *Manchester Mormons*, p. 13–15

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 24

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 5

¹³² Ibid., p. 8

¹³³ Ibid., p. 9, 10

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 1

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- ¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 30
- ¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 86–128 (30 Jan 1840 – 20 Mar 1840)
- ¹³⁷ Sam and Elizabeth Burgess had children in 1836 and 1839, but they died in infancy.
- ¹³⁸ William Clayton (b. 1814) was the first child of Thomas Clayton (b. 1791) and Ann (nee Critchley) Clayton (b. 1793), born in Penwortham, England. An out-of-wedlock daughter was baptized in June 1811 in Penwortham. The child's father was Thomas Clayton and the mother was Mary Wignel. The name on the baptism record was Betty Wignel. If *Betty* was short for *Elizabeth*, and if, when she got older, she took her father's last name, then *Betty Wignel* would become *Elizabeth Clayton* (b. 1811). Samuel's wife, Elizabeth, may have been a half-sister of William Clayton, and Jackie Eames, a 2nd great-granddaughter of Elizabeth Burgess, is a 3rd great-granddaughter of Thomas Clayton. As of October 2015, my attempt to find a Thomas Clayton descendant, who matches Jackie's DNA, has failed.
- ¹³⁹ "...The *other* would seek on it..." "*Other*" may have been Thomas, Peter, or James.
- ¹⁴⁰ Allen, James B. ed., *Manchester Mormons*, p. 100
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 118
- ¹⁴² The first two ships in 1840 sailed to New York, but the next 80 ships (from 1841 to 1854) sailed to New Orleans. Beginning in 1855, due to the availability of railroad service from the eastern seaboard, most sailing ships sailed to New York, again.
- ¹⁴³ *Millennial Star*. Vol. 1:192
- ¹⁴⁴ Burgess, James. *Journal*, Vol. 1, p. 9 (January 1841)
- ¹⁴⁵ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 17 (April 1841)
- ¹⁴⁶ Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 35 (July 1841)
- ¹⁴⁷ "Ordsall Lane" may be a reference his brother Samuel's house, who lived in 1841 on Chadwick Street, which is adjacent to Ordsall Lane.
- ¹⁴⁸ James's use of the plural "sisters" suggested that Maria or Martha helped him along with Rachel. Rachel, alone, made the trip.
- ¹⁴⁹ Burgess, James. *Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 36 (August 1842)
- ¹⁵⁰ Irving, Sarah. *Manchester's Radical History*, an on-line blog (23 Oct. 2011)
- ¹⁵¹ Taylor, Philip A.M. *Why Did British Mormons Emigrate*, p. 253

Chapter 7

- ¹⁵² Burgess, James. *Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 36 (September 1842)
- ¹⁵³ Alfred Cordon was James Burgess's "partner in mission" to Wales in 1841. The two men walked together from Nauvoo to Vermont in 1844, a three-month journey.
- ¹⁵⁴ Cordon, Alfred. *Reminiscences and Journal* (November 1842)
- ¹⁵⁵ Woods, Fred E. *Gathering to Nauvoo: Mormon Immigration 1840-1846*. p.50
- ¹⁵⁶ Cordon, Alfred. *Reminiscences and Journal* (November 1842)
- ¹⁵⁷ Burgess, James. *Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 37 (December 1842)
- ¹⁵⁸ Cordon, Alfred. *Reminiscences and Journal* (December 1842)

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- ¹⁵⁹ Burgess, James. *Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 37 (December 1842)
- ¹⁶⁰ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 27 (April 1843)
- ¹⁶¹ Gabbert, Dean-Candido, Marilyn S. *Nauvoo, A History*
- ¹⁶² Use of the singular “sister” is undoubtedly a reference to James’s sister Rachel.
- ¹⁶³ Samuel, James’s older brother, his wife, Elizabeth, and daughter, Elizabeth.
- ¹⁶⁴ Burgess, James. *Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 27 (April 1843)
- ¹⁶⁵ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 41 (May 1844)
- ¹⁶⁶ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 61 (July 1844)

Chapter 8

- ¹⁶⁷ Burgess, Peter. *Journal*. Peter officiated at baptisms of 7 men and 5 women in Stockport and Manchester – 5 baptisms in 1843 and 7 baptisms in 1844.
- ¹⁶⁸ Burgess, Peter. *Journal*
- ¹⁶⁹ Nauvoo Land and Records Research Center: Lot #28, Block #6, Kimball Plat (97 ft x 132 ft) from Benjamin and Rhoda Bentley, recorded on 8 Jan 1844. Colemere later bought a 12-acre parcel (Lot #35) a few hundred feet to the east of Lot #28.
- ¹⁷⁰ Burgess, James. *Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 97 (August 1845)
- ¹⁷¹ Ivie, Evan L. and Heiner, Douglas C. *Deaths in Early Nauvoo*, p.163-174
- ¹⁷² Burgess, Peter. *Journal*
- ¹⁷³ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁴ Recall that “Gideon” was the name of Lydia Burgess’s brother.
- ¹⁷⁵ Note the remarkable similarities between Christmas 1845 and Christmas 1945. In 1845: 3 Burgess fathers (Sam, Peter, James) and 1 Burgess mother (Rachel) and In 1945: 3 Evans fathers (Cedric, Sam, Walter) and 1 Evans mother (Alice).
In 1845 ages of Burgesses were 32, 30, 26, and 21.
In 1945 ages of Evanses were 32, 29, 26, and 24.
- ¹⁷⁶ Burgess, James. *Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 150 (May 1843)
- ¹⁷⁷ Sweeney Jr., John A. *History of the Nauvoo Legion in Illinois*, p. 186
- ¹⁷⁸ Burgess, James. *Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 100 (December 1845)
- ¹⁷⁹ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 103 (April 1846). Miles Romney was a 2nd-grandfather of Willard “Mitt” Romney, who ran for president in 2012.
- ¹⁸⁰ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105 (July 1846)
- ¹⁸¹ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105 (August 1846)
- ¹⁸² Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105 (August 1846)
- ¹⁸³ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105 (August 1846)
- ¹⁸⁴ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 106 (August 1846)
- ¹⁸⁵ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 106-107 (September 1846)
- ¹⁸⁶ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 70 (August 1844)

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- ¹⁸⁷ Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 109 (November 1846)
- ¹⁸⁸ Kanessville became *Council Bluffs*, Iowa in 1852. It became the jumping off point for the Mormon Trail to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, used by thousands over the next 20 years. British immigrants traveled to it from St. Louis via the Missouri River, thereby reducing by 300 miles the distance of their overland journey.
- ¹⁸⁹ Allen, James B. *No Toil or Labor Fear, The Story of William Clayton*, p. 245
- ¹⁹⁰ Burgess, James. *Journal*, Vol. 2, p.144 (December 1848)
- ¹⁹¹ Samuel Burgess's Journal describes Burgess family get-togethers with "Cousin Emily" Burgess. She married Jonathan Brent; they lived on Taylor Ave. in Kirkwood, Missouri. Nancy and I visited with two great-grandchildren in Los Altos, California.
- ¹⁹² Burgess, James. *Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 142 (November 1848)
- ¹⁹³ Martha Burgess turned 27 on 10 October 1847.
- ¹⁹⁴ Burgess, James. *Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 143-144 (December 1848)
- ¹⁹⁵ Hagan, Harry M. *This is Our St. Louis*, p. 149

Chapter 9

- ¹⁹⁶ Barton-Upon-Irwell is a village in the Parish of Eccles with St. Mary the Virgin Church. Tottington is a village in the Parish of Bury with a church of the same name.
- ¹⁹⁷ Tottington (Wikipedia)
- ¹⁹⁸ Miles Rostron married Alice Howard in Bury's Parish Church (www.lan-opc.com)
- ¹⁹⁹ Thomas Wade, officiated at six Rostron baptisms from 1821 to 1832 at St. Anne's Parish Church in Tottington.
- ²⁰⁰ *Howard* is associated with Catholicism. The Howard family rejected the Anglican Church imposed by King Henry VIII, who had several wives who were Howard's.
- ²⁰¹ *Millennial Star*, Vol. 2, p. 94 (October 1841)
- ²⁰² Three ships sailed in 1846 and 1847 compared with 8 ships in 1844 and 1845.
- ²⁰³ Radcliffe Hall, Bury the River Irwell is now a Church of England School.
- ²⁰⁴ Aughton, Peter. *Liverpool: A People's History*, p. 142-143
- ²⁰⁵ Margetts, Richard Bishop. *Diary*, p. 105 - 108, *Argo* (2 March 1850)
- ²⁰⁶ Later, the Cowlshaw's son William became a friend of Mary Rostron's son Sam.
- ²⁰⁷ Concert Hall was on Market between 2nd and 3rd Streets, near the Old Courthouse
- ²⁰⁸ *The Missouri Republican*, (8 May 1851)
- ²⁰⁹ Middle name of my three siblings, my three children, and of me are family names.

Chapter 10

- ²¹⁰ Burgess, Peter. *Journal*. It lists three 1854 *re-baptisms*: his, his wife's, and his daughter's. It makes no reference to a fervor of re-baptisms, however.

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- ²¹¹ Goetz, Ellen. *Portals of Peace*, p. 15
- ²¹² This section lifts liberally from *A Biography of Sarah Touchett and John Knowles*, p. 16-24. Smith, Geoffrey N. and Smith, Robert W. (w/permission of Geoff Smith.)
- ²¹³ Knox, William. *Trail Diary*, John C. Hindley Company, 1854
- ²¹⁴ Clayton, William. *The Latter-day Saints Emigrants Guide*, p. 18-19
- ²¹⁵ It is unclear if their “meanness” was directed toward him or toward each other.
- ²¹⁶ Walker, Charles Lowell. *Trail Diary*, John C. Hindley Company, 1854
- ²¹⁷ Sally Holt had one more child, for six total; Rachel had four more, for ten total.
- ²¹⁸ The 1856 Utah State Census lists Burgesses, Knowleses, Mellings, Greenwoods, and Allens in Weber County. Miles Rostron must have already moved to California.
- ²¹⁹ Burgess, Samuel R. *Record of My Life. Retrospective* (1 Oct 1868)
- ²²⁰ Goetz, Ellen. *Portals of Peace*, p. 81. Goetz’s source was Eveline Alice Burgess. She wrote, “Samuel [Burgess]’s father was Peter Burgess, a close friend of the doctor.”
- ²²¹ Chard, Blake. *Biography of Elizabeth Burgess Slater*
- ²²² *St. Louis City Directory, 1857*
- ²²³ “Howard” made a 2nd appearance as the name of Mary Burgess’s 1st grandchild (1875) and a 3rd appearance as the middle name of her last grandchild (1889).
- ²²⁴ Walker, Emily Slater, *Autobiographical sketch*
- ²²⁵ Chard, Blake. *Biography of Elizabeth Burgess Slater*
- ²²⁶ Near the geographic center of Weber County and 13 miles east of Ogden
- ²²⁷ Walker, Emily Slater, *Autobiographical sketch*
- ²²⁸ Elizabeth had 8 more children before 1887; Her 11 children had 64 children.
- ²²⁹ The courthouse sits at 1021 Central Avenue. It is currently on the National Registry of Historic Places and the oldest public building in the state of Nebraska.
- ²³⁰ Burgess, Samuel R. *Record of My Life. Retrospective* (1 Oct 1868)
- ²³¹ Ibid.

Chapter 11

- ²³² Allen, James X. *Passing of the Gifts of the Tongue*, Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 25)
- ²³³ He listed his occupation as “chase driver” on his daughter Hannah’s baptism certificate. Engravers used “chase hammers” to cut and finish metal. *Chasing* comes from the French word *chasser* meaning to *drive out*, or to *chase around* which is what the artists do as they “chase” the forms on their metal to create their design.
- ²³⁴ Allen, James X. Letter to Samuel A Burgess (1 Feb 1905), Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 26)
- ²³⁵ Burgess, Eveline Allen. *Autobiography* (c. 1925), Ref: *Voices*. (Doc. 45)
- ²³⁶ A day hole is an old mine seam which has been dug out and the hole left.
- ²³⁷ http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/history/making_history/makhist10_prog8a.shtml
- ²³⁸ Burgess, Eveline Allen. *Autobiography* (c. 1925), Ref: *Voices*. (Doc. 45)

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- ²³⁹ Alfred Cordon. From May to July 1844, Burgess and Cordon walked from Nauvoo to the Connecticut River Valley in 81 days to serve a mission in Vermont.
- ²⁴⁰ Allen, James X. *Passing of the Gifts of the Tongue*, Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 25)
- ²⁴¹ Also known as *Glossolalia*, a common practice in the early Mormon Church.
- ²⁴² Allen, James X. *Passing of the Gifts of the Tongue*, Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 25)
- ²⁴³ Allen, James X. *Dictation to L. H. Nichols* (1888). Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 22)
- ²⁴⁴ Smith, Laraine. *Sarah Pidd, My Great-Great-Grandmother*, Ref: SSSS (Appendix)
Laraine Smith is a g-granddaughter of Lucy Ann Griffiths, Cousin Lucy to Burgesses.
- ²⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁴⁶ Early Holbeach Branch Membership. (c. 1853)
- ²⁴⁷ 1851 UK Census lists Elizabeth as a household servant for a 52-year-old Suzanna Tembler, proprietor of a business at 1 Albert Street at the town center of Holbeach.
- ²⁴⁸ Smith, Laraine. *Sarah Pidd, My Great-Great-Grandmother*, Ref: SSSS (Appendix)
- ²⁴⁹ *Millennial Star*, Vol. XIV, p. 325
- ²⁵⁰ *The Contributor, A Monthly Magazine*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, p. 134 (January 1892)
- ²⁵¹ The actual cost to the LDS Church for 1853 trip from Liverpool to Salt Lake City must have exceeded £10. The price rose to £13 in 1854 and £15 in 1855. Even with these rises in price, the demand grew. A total of 2626 Saints emigrated in 1853, 3167 in 1854, and 4225 in 1855, and 2038 in 1856. In four years (1853 to 1856) the number of emigrants exceeded the total in the twelve years (1840 to 1852).
- ²⁵² *Millennial Star*, Vol. XI, p.15 (1850). Only 417 Saints emigrated from the Lincolnshire Conference between 1850 and 1862, an average of about 30 per year. Among the smaller conferences, it reported 359 members in December 1849—compared to an average of 1000 members in Britain’s other 27 conferences.
- ²⁵³ I discovered Charles Clarke while looking for a “fiancé” who accompanied her to Utah. (Source: Elizabeth Pidd’s g-granddaughter Eveline Burgess.) A different account states that Sarah Pidd had a fiancé, but she was unable to afford to pay for his trip from England. (Source: Sarah Pidd’s g-g-granddaughter Laraine Smith.)

Chapter 12

- ²⁵⁴ Allen, James X. *Journal*, (1853, no page number) Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 2)
- ²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 71 (1853) Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 1)
- ²⁵⁶ Ibid., (1853, no page number) Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 2)
- ²⁵⁷ Ibid., Ref: *Voices* (Doc 2)
- ²⁵⁸ Smith, Laraine. *Sarah Pidd, My Great-Great-Grandmother*. Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 3)
- ²⁵⁹ Woods, Fred E., Atterberg, Douglas. *The 1853 Mormon Migration through Keokuk*
- ²⁶⁰ Allen, James X. *Journal*, p. 73 (1853) Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 1)
- ²⁶¹ Ibid., p. 76, Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 1)
- ²⁶² Ibid., p. 78, Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 1)
- ²⁶³ Smith, Laraine. *Sarah Pidd, My Great-Great-Grandmother*, Ref: SSSS (Appendix)

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- ²⁶⁴ Allen, James X. *Journal*, p. 79 (1853) Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 1)
- ²⁶⁵ Smith, Laraine. *Sarah Pidd, My Great-Great-Grandmother*, Ref: *SSSS (Appendix)*
- ²⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁶⁷ Allen, James X. *Journal*, p. 80 (1854) Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 1)
- ²⁶⁸ Burgess, Eveline Allen. *Autobiography* (c. 1925) Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 45)
- ²⁶⁹ Allen, James X. *Journal*, p. 80, 81 (1854) Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 1)
- ²⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 81 (1854) Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 1)
- ²⁷¹ Sarah Pidd became a 2nd wife to a polygamist by whom she had 3 children. After he died she married a twice-divorced man, William Smith, in 1867 and had 2 children. Sarah and William Smith enjoyed a monogamous relationship until he died in 1893.
- ²⁷² The Green River Ferry, Wyoming lies 180 miles east of Union, Utah.
- ²⁷³ Allen, James X. *Journal*. p. 83 (11 July 1854) Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 1)
- ²⁷⁴ Burgess, Eveline Alice. *Part of the Allen Saga Remembered*, Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 4)

Chapter 13

- ²⁷⁵ Allen, James X. Letter to Samuel A Burgess (31 May 1906) "I am concerned about my name. I don't want it to die out nor sink into insignificance." Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 27)
- ²⁷⁶ Allen, James X. *Journal*. (c. 1862) Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 7)
- ²⁷⁷ Burgess, Eveline Allen. *Autobiography* (c. 1925), Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 45)
- ²⁷⁸ Allen, James X. *Dictation to L. H. Nichols* (1888). Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 22)
- ²⁷⁹ Evans, Greg. *Saints, Seekers, Settlers, Spirits*, Chapter 5, Ref: Fold3.com.
- ²⁸⁰ Camp Benton was located in North St. Louis at the intersection of Grand Ave and Natural Bridge Ave on the current site of Fairground Park.
- ²⁸¹ Allen, James X. Letter to his Elizabeth Allen. (8 Apr. 1863). Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 8)
- ²⁸² Ibid., Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 9)
- ²⁸³ Burgess, Eveline Alice. *Part of the Allen Saga Remembered*, Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 4)
- ²⁸⁴ 7th Avenue & Myrtle (now Clark)-located near Busch Stadium's left field foul pole.
- ²⁸⁵ Named after its prominent early dean, Dr. Charles Alexander Pope (1818–1870).
- ²⁸⁶ Faculty members then were part-time educators. Professors received fees for the courses they taught, and they maintained private practices. Students were admitted to medical schools without rigorous preparation and often without college degrees. .
- ²⁸⁷ Later Franklin changed his middle name from "Henry" to "X" because he admired his father so much he wanted to be more like him. Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 45)
- ²⁸⁸ The high school was built in 1855 at a cost of \$50K at corner of Olive & 15th with 3 stories, a basement, 9 classrooms, 700-seat auditorium, and 16 smaller rooms.
- ²⁸⁹ Burgess, Eveline Allen. *Autobiography* (c. 1925), Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 45)
- ²⁹⁰ Son Franklin became a piano teacher and salesman. Daughters Beatrice and Veda, two children of his later marriage to Julia Morgan, were accomplished pianists.

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- ²⁹¹ Burgess, Eveline Allen. *Autobiography* (c. 1925), Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 45)
- ²⁹² Burgess, Eveline Alice. *Part of the Allen Saga Remembered*, Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 4)
- ²⁹³ Johnson, Mrs. Charles P. *Notable Women of St. Louis 1914*, p. 39
- ²⁹⁴ Allen, Franklin X. Letter to Bertha Greer (21 Dec. 1908), Ref: *Voices* (Doc. 30)

Chapter 14

- ²⁹⁵ Dennis, Ronald D. *Dan Jones, Welshman: Taking the Gospel Home*
- ²⁹⁶ Letter to Thomas Bullock, 20 January 1855, p. 10, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; citation from *Dan Jones: Taking the Gospel Home*, by Ronald D. Dennis; also find in *The Truth Shall Prevail*, Ch. 8, p. 247
- ²⁹⁷ Dennis, Ronald D., *The Welsh and the Gospel*, Ch. 8 of *Truth Will Prevail*, p. 242
- ²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 249
- ²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 249
- ³⁰⁰ Dennis, Ronald D. *Dan Jones, Welshman: Taking the Gospel Home*
- ³⁰¹ http://www.alangeorge.co.uk/Dowlais_Ironworks.htm
- ³⁰² Selwood, Nansi. *The History of the Villages of Hirwaun and Rhigos*
- ³⁰³ Davies, D.L. *From a Seion of Lands to the Land of Zion*
- ³⁰⁴ By 1851 the older Evans children would have likely left home; regrettably, I have yet to find an 1841 census match that is consistent with the 1851 census entry.
- ³⁰⁵ Wm. Williams was a 61-year coal carrier in 1841. A possible clue to his becoming a butcher in 1851 is the presence in his household of a brother, Thomas, butcher.
- ³⁰⁶ On September 13, 2012, my sister, Nancy, and I stayed at a *Penrhadw Farm*, a Bed and Breakfast one half mile north of Vaynor.
- ³⁰⁷ Dennis, Ronald D. *Dan Jones, Welshman: Taking the Gospel Home*
- ³⁰⁸ Dennis, Ronald D. *Dan Jones, Welshman: Taking the Gospel Home*
- ³⁰⁹ Daniel Evans (b. Sep 1831) was 15 years old in January 1847. It is possible, perhaps probable, that it was his father (also Daniel Evans) who became an elder. His father's name is omitted from the 1851 Hirwaun census record, and so there is uncertainty as to which Daniel Evans became an elder in 1847.
- ³¹⁰ Dennis, Ronald D, ed. *1847, Prophet of the Jubilee*, p. 5-20
- ³¹¹ Davies, D.L. *From a Seion of Lands to the Land of Zion*
- ³¹² In the 1851 religious census, the average Hirwaun LDS attendance for English language meetings was 12 in the morning, 17 in the afternoon, and 30 in the evening. Welsh language attendance was slightly greater (22m, 20a, 53e). Information found in Davies, D.L. *From a Seion of Lands to the Land of Zion*
- ³¹³ *The Social and Economic History of the Parish of Penderyn, 1500-1851*, 2001 Masters Thesis by Ann Selwood, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, p. 270-
- ³¹⁴ According to the 1860 US Census, Daniel Evans could not read or write. The phrase "in the name of Daniel Evans" suggests someone else wrote the report.

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- ³¹⁵ Davies, D. L. *From a Seion of Lands to the Land of Zion*
- ³¹⁶ Selwood, Ann. *The Social and Economic History of the Parish of Penderyn*, p. 270-
- ³¹⁷ Dennis, Ronald D. *Dan Jones, Welshman: Taking the Gospel Home*
- ³¹⁸ Dennis, Ronald D. *The Welsh and the Gospel*, Ch. 8 in *The Truth Will Prevail*, p. 261
- ³¹⁹ Merthyr Tydfil membership records at its Family History Center list member #667 as Gwenllian Evans from Bryn Hyfryd, Pendarren received through letter on August 12, 1855. Also admitted on August 12 as member #666 was David Williams from Bryn Hyfryd, Pendarren. Perhaps David was a brother of Gwenllian.
- ³²⁰ Dan Jones chose to travel with the PEF passengers on the *Samuel Curling*, He also walked with them from Iowa City to Utah in one of the handcart companies.
- ³²¹ The *John Rutledge* hit an iceberg and sank. Seaman Thomas W. Nye was the sole survivor. Source: *The Chicago Tribune*, (28 Mar.1856)
- ³²² The *Pacific* hit an iceberg and sank. A note was found in 1861 in the Hebrides. "On board the *Pacific* from Liverpool to N.Y. — Ship going down. Confusion on board — icebergs around us on every side. I know I cannot escape. I write the cause of our loss that friends may not live in suspense. The finder will please get it published. W.M. GRAHAM." Source: *The Titanic, End of a Dream*, by Craig Wade.
- ³²³ Had they been PEF passengers they would have been required to stay with the PEF passenger group to Utah and walk with one of the 1856 handcarts companies.
- ³²⁴ Two Sunnile Hawkins letters—(16 Sep. 1978) to Cedric Evans (21 Jun 1982) to Walter and Arline Evans —state Gomer Evans was "born at sea." The same claim is made in Ellen Goetz's *Portal of Peace* on page 49: "A son was born to them as they crossed the ocean, who named Gomer." False. There were three births at sea on the *Caravan*, but none to an Evans. Daniel Evans arrived in New York in 1856, and had a daughter Rachel in Missouri in 1857 before Gomer was born in Missouri in 1859.
- ³²⁵ According to ancient tradition, all Welsh people descend from Gomer, the son of Japheth the son of Noah and that they arrived in Britain 300 years after the flood.
- ³²⁶ Daniel Evans (Welsh) and Joseph Knowles (English) may have been among those Mary Joan Boyer referred to when she wrote, "The Welsh and English miners, being of short stature, seemed to be more successful at mining than their larger Scotch and Irish companions...because they could more easily work in low or narrow places in the mines." (Boyer, Mary Joan. *Old Gravois Coal Diggings*, p. 41)

Chapter 15

- ³²⁷ *Church Record: Minutes from the Conference*. (1852) Community of Christ Archives
- ³²⁸ *Church Record: Minutes from the Conference*. Community of Christ Archives
- ³²⁹ In 2001 the RLDS renamed itself and became the *Community of Christ*.
- ³³⁰ Launius, Roger D. *Joseph Smith III, Pragmatic Prophet*
- ³³¹ Less surprising given the Civil War started in 1861 and St. Louis did not escape it.
- ³³² Perhaps two of his St. Louis "friends" were his two brothers, Samuel and Peter.

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- ³³³ Goetz, Ellen. *The Blooming*, p. 16–17
- ³³⁴ Boyer, Mary Joan. *The Old Gravois Coal Diggings*, p. 9
- ³³⁵ Goetz, Ellen. *Portals of Peace*, p. 31
- ³³⁶ Goetz, Ellen. *The Blooming*, p. 18
- ³³⁷ At the end of 1866, membership in the Dry Hill RLDS Branch was 321.
- ³³⁸ Early Dry Hill RLDS Branch Membership, Community of Christ Church Archives
- ³³⁹ The site is half mile from a huge and historic construction project: the western tower of the Eads Bridge, the first bridge to span the Mississippi River at St. Louis.
- ³⁴⁰ Early St. Louis RLDS Branch Membership, Community of Christ Archives
- ³⁴¹ Burgess, Samuel R. *Record of My Life. Retrospective* (1 Oct 1868)
- ³⁴² Samuel Burgess lived in Nebraska City, Nebraska from May 1869 to May 1870. He and his business partner Bro. John Ritchie attempted to start a furniture store.
- ³⁴³ Burgess, Samuel R. *Record of My Life*. (1870)
- ³⁴⁴ Ibid. (1872)
- ³⁴⁵ Journal erasures hint that Sam first favored Maria over Eveline. Maria married Sam's best friend, Joe Swift, in November 1876. They named their second son *Samuel*.
- ³⁴⁶ Ibid. "*The <one line erasure>*" pertained to Maria Thorpe, who for a time was Sam's favorite "flower." Samuel (or his wife, Eveline) made numerous erasures to cover up Sam's fondness for Maria, who married Sam's best friend, Joseph Swift.
- ³⁴⁷ *The Saints Herald*, Vol. 17, p. 629, (21 Sep.1870)
- ³⁴⁸ Goetz, Ellen. *Portals of Peace*, p. 71. (April 1872 General Conference Minutes)
- ³⁴⁹ Fifty miles north of Council Bluffs, Galland's Grove was founded, in 1846, by Abraham "Abel" Galland after he fled Nauvoo. It was populated by Saints who, like their brethren in St. Louis, had chosen to settle outside of Utah. This community church had hosted the 1862, 1864, and 1869 semi-annual conferences of the RLDS Church.
- ³⁵⁰ Goetz, Ellen. *Portals of Peace*, p. 10. "Joseph Knowles was one of ten brothers who came from England to America. Some of these ten children went to Utah and some stayed in Missouri." Goetz provided no source reference for this statement.

Chapter 16

- ³⁵¹ Peter Burgess and Elizabeth Creer died as Latter-day Saints before 1872.
- ³⁵² In 1872 the *Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints* became its legal name when it abandoned its claim to the name *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*.
- ³⁵³ A full account of James X. Allen's life is found in *Saints, Seekers, Settlers, Spirits*
- ³⁵⁴ Dr. James Allen was a profound thinker. He searched for *truth* his whole life. The article begins, "*My object is to suggest a few thoughts for the consideration of thinkers. First. There is unlimited space. Second. There is unlimited time. Third. There is unlimited intelligence. From due consideration of these three propositions, I conclude*

that there must be a Fourth. Namely, unlimited power, wisdom and benevolence.”
(Quote Source: Allen, James X. *Suggestive Thoughts for the Mildly Skeptical*)

- ³⁵⁵ Burgess, Eveline Alice. *Part of the Allen Saga Remembered*, Ref: Voices (Doc. 4)
- ³⁵⁶ Burgess, Samuel Allen. Letter to Julia Allen (28 Dec. 1911), Ref: Voices (Doc. 42)
- ³⁵⁷ They eloped because Sam’s mother Mary Burgess did not want them to marry.
- ³⁵⁸ Eveline’s father James X Allen taught her to play chess and played with her.
- ³⁵⁹ Burgess, Samuel R. *Record of My Life*, Vol. 3, p. 200. (30 Nov. 1899)
- ³⁶⁰ Hunt, E. H. Letter of Famous Writers School Inc., to Sybilia Evans (1965)
- ³⁶¹ Hallock, David. *A Narrative of the Family History of Sybilia Burgess Evans*
- ³⁶² John 15:13: *Greater life hath no man than that a man lay down his life for his friends.*
- ³⁶³ *Julius Caesar*, Act 4, Scene 3: *A friend should bear his friend’s infirmities.*
- ³⁶⁴ Evans, Sybilia Burgess. Letter to Walter Evans, (1 July 1959)
- ³⁶⁵ Cousin Emily was Uncle Sam’s daughter. She had lived on Taylor Avenue in Kirkwood before moving to La Jolla. Nancy and I have visited her fine homes.
- ³⁶⁶ Evans, Sybilia Burgess. Letter to Walter and Arline Evans, (26 July 1961)
- ³⁶⁷ Burgess, Samuel R. *Record of My Life*, Vol. 3, p. 127. (25 Dec 1905)
- ³⁶⁸ The Burgess family lived at 2933 Harper, in December 1905, but moved, in June 1906, to 5930 Etzel Ave., where Gomer was a dinner guest on 26 December 1906.
- ³⁶⁹ Goetz, Ellen. *Portals of Peace*, p. 129
- ³⁷⁰ Baird, George. *A Fatal Wreck* in *Locomotive Firemen’s Magazine*
- ³⁷¹ Ibid.
- ³⁷² Evans, Gomer. Letter to Samuel Allen Burgess, Undated.
- ³⁷³ As bishop, J. Cedric Evans was responsible for church’s financial affairs.
- ³⁷⁴ Founded in 1868; moved in 1872 to 25th and Benton in North St. Louis City.

Epilogue

- ³⁷⁵ Evans, Gomer. Letter to Samuel Allen Burgess, Undated.
- ³⁷⁶ Evans, Sybilia Burgess. Letter to Walter Evans, (19 July 1961)
- ³⁷⁷ 1 Corinthians 13:12 (KJV)

Appendix

- ³⁷⁸ These “counting of cousins” statistics are based upon an analysis program in Excel that accepted exported reports from the author’s Family Tree database.
- ³⁷⁹ Eleven of the 17 sibling Saints had children; 3 of these 11 chose to live in either Iowa (Mary Knowles Greenwood), Illinois (Samuel Burgess), or Missouri (Miles Rostron.)
- ³⁸⁰ No siblings of Daniel Evans or Gwenllian Williams Evans are known to have emigrated; James Allen was an only child.

About the Author

Gregory Walter Evans is a fourth generation son of St. Louis and a fourth generation engineer.

He inherited the build of a Welsh coal miner, the Burgess passion for history, and the Evans bum.

He played tennis, he is a tenor in his church choir, and his favorite flavor of ice cream is vanilla.

Also by the Author

Samuel R. Burgess, Record of My Life (Editor)

Saints, Seekers, Settlers, Spirits

Voices of the Past (Editor)

The James Burgess Journal (Editor)