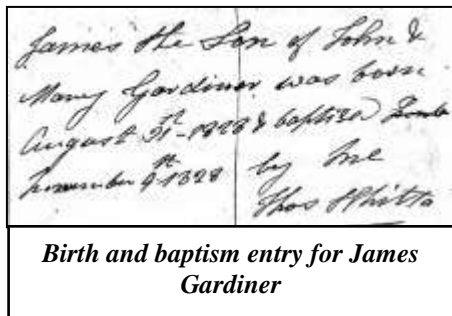


James Gardner
1828-1905
(Hannah Gubbins)

Written and compiled (Oct 2020) by Kim J. Anglesey, 2nd great-grandson

Early Life in England

James Gardner¹ was the second child of John Gardner and Mary Ann Pettit Goodship, born 31 August 1828, at Chalford Hill, Gloucestershire, England. He was baptized on 9 November 1828 at the France Meeting Independent Church in Chalford Hill.²



Chalford Hill was a small village located about 12 miles from the City of Gloucester in the ecclesiastical parish of Bisley. It was immediately adjacent to Chalford, which was at the bottom of the hill on the River Frome.³ Many of those who lived near the river in Chalford at the time James was born were the more prosperous weavers, milliners, and clothiers, while most of the common laborers who worked for them lived in cottages on Chalford Hill and the other small villages on the hills nearby. British History Online describes the area as follows:

“The high ground of the southern half of the parish [of Bisley], which was only sparsely settled in ancient times, was later rendered the most populous area by squatter development by weavers and other cloth-workers on the fringes of Bisley and Oakridge commons. The cottages were usually built on the higher slopes just below the rim of the central plateau and to several groups the name ‘lynch’ meaning a ridge was applied. That development produced the five substantial villages of Eastcombe, Bussage, Chalford Hill (or Chalford Lynch), France Lynch, and Oakridge Lynch, and the smaller hamlets of Brown’s Hill, Bournes Green, Oakridge (or Far Oakridge), and Waterlane.”⁴

James had one older brother, William, who was born 18 October 1827 in France Lynch, Gloucestershire. By the time that James was born, the family had moved less than a mile away to Chalford Hill, which was the next village west of France Lynch. Another brother, Frederick, was born 12 November 1832. After that, his parents had three children in a row that died as infants and then Henry was born on 14 May 1840, followed by Alfred on 25 September 1842, and Emma on 5 April 1848. Records show that all of the children after James were born and/or baptized in Chalford Hill. However, the 1841 census shows the family living in France Lynch at this time, so they may have moved back there or continued to live there while the birth and baptismal records were recorded at the church in Chalford Hill.

Throughout his youth and as a young man James (and his brothers) worked with his father,

¹ Note that the family name was spelled Gardiner in almost all British records. All of the family members who emigrated to the United States, except his brother, Frederick, began spelling it Gardner from that point forward.

²This church was considered to be the oldest nonconformist meeting, which claimed to have been founded in 1662 at France Lynch. In 1819 it moved to Chalford Hill and was known as the France Congregational Chapel.

³ See map at Tab 1.

⁴ From the British History Online website, accessed on 3 June 2020 by the author at URL: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/glos/vol11/pp4-11>

John, who was a Captain on a canal barge owned by a coal merchant named John Knight. The canal that passed through Chalford was called the Thames and Severn Canal. John and his sons would transport freight to major cities along the waterway, such as Gloucester, Birmingham, and Worcester, and return with coal, salt, and other freight. Often the barges were pulled along by horses or donkeys.⁵ In describing his own childhood, James's younger brother, Frederick said that he was sent to a day school at the age of five and went to work on the boat with his father when he was ten, which kept him away from home much of the time. It is likely that James spent his time as a boy much like his brother.⁶

Frederick described their parents as "the descendents of very respectable families and were honest and hard-working people who sometimes found it a difficult matter to keep their family in (so-called) respectable appearance."⁷ He further described their father as "one of those honest, straight-forward, hard-working men, whose associations with the world and his business – that of running a canal boat – prevented him from being home but a small portion of his time. Although a believer in God, he had never been a member of any church. Yet when home on a Sabbath evening, he would often call William and James, my two elder brothers, and myself around the table to read a chapter or two from the scriptures, and after we had finished, my mother would sometimes pray with us before retiring to bed."⁸

Of his mother, Mary Ann, Frederick also wrote, "She always lived a prayerful God-fearing life, striving with all her might to bring up her family in a Christian-like manner and was a great believer in the efficacy of prayer. I well remember in my young days how she would always be trying to inculcate true principles into my mind, and on Sunday morning how nicely she would dress me and send me off to Sunday School, at the close of which she would generally meet me and lead me with her to church. In those days she was a member of the Presbyterian Church, and although not by any means a bigot or in any way prejudiced against other religious denominations, she was earnest in behalf of her own."⁹

In the spring of 1845, when James was sixteen, some Mormon Elders came to Chalford Hill and began holding meetings outside and in various homes. James' mother, Mary Ann, and his brother, Frederick, (who was twelve years old at the time), "became somewhat acquainted with some of the members of a new religious denomination called Latter day Saints..." Mary Ann obtained a book from the Elders entitled, *The Voice of Warning*, written by Parley P. Pratt. Frederick and his mother studied the book together and by careful comparison found it to correspond exactly with the teachings of the Bible. In his diary, he described the family's conversion and the impact that the teachings had on him:

"And as I remember on looking back to that time, it seemed like a light set up in a dark place. There was not a word which we could disapprove of. The Sect had held some open air meetings and established a small branch and were looked upon by other Churches as a poor deluded people who would soon see their error. In their open air meetings they would sometimes meet with persecution. In the shape of rotten eggs or rocks being thrown at them, to break up their meetings. This however only had a tendency to increase their faith. On one sabbath morning I asked my Mother's permission to visit their church. She told me I might go but to be sure and

⁵ One of the barges that his Uncle William Gardiner operated for Mr. Knight in 1866 was called the *Bulldog*. Gardiner, Frederick, edited by Hugh Garner, *A Mormon Rebel: The Life and Travels of Frederick Gardiner*, Frederick Gardiner, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Tanner Trust Fund, 1993), 138.

⁶ Gardiner, *Mormon Rebel*, 2.

⁷ Gardiner, *Mormon Rebel*, 1.

⁸ Gardiner, *Mormon Rebel*, 2.

⁹ Gardiner, *Mormon Rebel*, 1-2.

pay attention, which I certainly did. After attending three of their meetings that day and carefully noting all passages of scripture referred to, I went home and my Mother and I would take the bible and study the matter. It had made such an impression on my young mind which I had never before known. And as I was about to depart the following morning with my Father, I desired my Mother to go to their meetings and hear for herself...The principles of the Gospel as taught by the L.D.S. was in harmony with the doctrine which was taught by Christ and his disciples, and of their truth I had become convinced, and was determined to embrace the Same, providing my Parents would consent before I again left home. I was not aware of the joyful surprise awaiting me on our arrival there. My Father who had gone home the night previous to our arrival, had returned the next morning, and informed me that my Mother had been baptized into the church a few days previously, and shortly afterwards I followed my Mothers example and was baptized...”¹⁰

Mary Ann was baptized on 23 May 1845 and Frederick a week later, on 30 May 1845, by Elder James Stephens. He was confirmed by Elder E. Henry Webb on June 2nd.¹¹ Other members of the family followed suit, with William being baptized on 14 June 1846, and James on 14 February 1846.¹² Henry, Alfred, and Emma were too young to be baptized at that time, but were baptized when they came of age.¹³



James and Hannah Gardner, date of photo unknown, but probably in the 1890s.

Prior to their conversion to the church, the family is living in France Lynch, according to the 1841 England census. On Christmas Day, 1846, James was united in marriage to Hannah Gubbins, daughter of William Gubbins and Elizabeth Damsell. According to their marriage entry, both were eighteen years of age, but classified as “not of full age” on the record. Both were residents of France Lynch and James was working as a “water man.” They were married at the Bisley Parish church by Thomas Keble and the marriage was witnessed by William Gardiner and Rachel Gubbins.¹⁴ James was apparently able to sign his name, while Hannah was only

able to put her mark on the certificate. Interestingly, they were married by the same person, on

¹⁰ Gardiner, *Mormon Rebel*, 4-5.

¹¹ Church records contradict Frederick’s diary, showing his mother’s baptism on 23 May 1845 and confirmation on 24 May 1845 and his baptism as 20 May 1845 and confirmation as 30 May 1845. There may have been a transcription error in the church record.

¹² FamilySearch gives the baptismal dates for William and James as 14 January 1846. I have a handwritten branch record that says 14 February 1846, which corresponds to other family records.

¹³ Taken from excerpts of the diary of Alfred Gardner, from the archives of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers.

¹⁴ The William Gardiner on the record could have been any of a number of relatives; however, since he was married at the same time with William Gardiner and Martha Damsell, it was likely he that witnessed the marriage. Rachel appears to be Hannah’s cousin, from her Uncle Edward Gubbins.

the same day and place with Hannah's brother, Stephen Gubbins (to Rosetta Witts), and a probable cousin, William Gardiner (to Martha Damsell).¹⁵

The young couple had their first child, Mary Ann, on 8 June 1849. Agnes Eleanor followed on 24 March 1851. The family was living in Chalford Hill when these children were born and during the 1851 census. James is still working as a "waterman," likely for Mr. Knight as well. Their next child, Frederick James is born next on 29 December 1852, followed by John William on 28 June 1855, both at Chalford Hill.

Emigration from England

Like many of the other converts in England at the time, the spirit of gathering took possession of the family and they had a longing in their hearts to immigrate to the land of Zion. Frederick was the first of the Gardner family to immigrate to the United States in 1849 at the age of 16. He was under the guardianship of Job Salter, a member of the church from the same conference. Frederick stayed in New Orleans and St. Louis until 1851 to earn money to go to Utah and then traveled to Salt Lake City with the John Brown Company.¹⁶

In August 1852, Brigham H. Young¹⁷ asked Frederick to come with him to build a bridge and form a settlement at Green River.¹⁸ He agreed to go, but before leaving, he went to see President Young to request him to send for his father's family the next year's migration. President Young met with him, then sent him with a message to his clerk, Thomas Bullock, who was instructed to handle the matter. Frederick wrote that Bullock "responded to the request and assured me they would be sent for. This was joy and comfort to my feelings, to realize that I should have the pleasure of seeing them next year."¹⁹

Elated at the prospect of seeing his parents and siblings and preparing for their arrival, he left for Green River with Brigham H. Young and four others, where they arrived at the beginning of September in company with about forty emigrant families that were going through with the church train and agreed to help them. They began to build a fort near the site of the bridge and after they had it half-finished, an Indian named Ben Simonds came and "ordered us to all leave Green River, unless we were prepared to contract with them to pay a rental for the ground which the bridge would stand on of fifteen hundred dollars per year, and under no circumstances should we attempt to farm any." Since they had no authority to enter into any contract like this, Young started back to Salt Lake to confer with his uncle on the matter, but was met along the way by a messenger from President Young, who told him "to pull up stakes, and come to Salt Lake with all speed." Frederick said that it "grieved me very much as I was making preparations for my Father's family, and had two rooms being built in the fort for their use when they came."²⁰

Frederick returned to Salt Lake, but then became seriously ill with a large abscess on his neck and a high fever. Brigham H. Young kindly took him in and cared for him for several weeks. Frederick was still ailing, but realizing the inconvenience to the Young family he wrote:

¹⁵ William is the son of Thomas Gardiner (b. 1803) and Betty Restall (b. 1804). I'm not sure of the relation. He doesn't appear to be a first cousin, but may be a second cousin or other relation. Too many of them to be sure.

¹⁶ Gardiner, *Mormon Rebel*, 41.

¹⁷ Brigham Hamilton Young was the son of Phineas Young and Clarissa Hamilton, and the nephew of President Brigham Young.

¹⁸ Presumably he is talking about Green River, Utah, which is 180 miles southeast of Salt Lake City (now on Interstate 70), and about one hour north of Moab.

¹⁹ Gardiner, *Mormon Rebel*, 62-63.

²⁰ Gardiner, *Mormon Rebel*, 63-64.

“Knowing that my room was very much needed by his family I determined as soon as I became slightly convalescent, to remove from B. H. Young’s residence in order to make more room for them. I accordingly applied to Pres’t Young who knowing of my condition very kindly sent me down to Father Isaac Chase’s mill, and told me to remain there until I became well. Father Chase²¹ was a person whom I had never known before, But he and his family received and treated me as kindly as though I had been their own son. On the following day after my arrival there Pres’t Young came down and blessed me. He told me to saddle one of the horses as soon as I was well enough, and each morning take a ride around the bench and up to the warm springs and there take a bath.²²

“By following this advice and the kind treatment of Father and Mother Chase I soon regained my health. And when spring came, I was able to work on the farm and in the mill. I cannot refrain from ever rendering my thanks to Pres’t Young and Father and Mother Chase for their kindness in this trying hour.”²³

Meanwhile, John and his family were already on their way to Utah. They had emigrated with the help of the Perpetual Emigration Fund (PEF). The family consisted of John; his wife, Mary Ann (both were 50-years-old when they arrived); and their children; Henry, 13-years-old; Alfred, 10; and Emma, 5. They went to Liverpool on March 23, 1853, and set sail for the United States on March 28th on the United States ship, *Falcon*. They encountered a terrible storm passing through the Irish Sea and John said that had the ship not been loaded with Saints, they would have been quietly resting at the bottom of the sea. But the good ship bore them on and by the aid of divine providence they passed into the open sea in safety where the journey was very pleasant. They traveled overland in the Appleton Harmon Company.

In September 1853, Frederick’s old friend and guardian, Job Salter, arrived in Salt Lake City and told Frederick that he had seen his parents on the trail and that they would arrive soon. Salter rented a house for them and they furnished it as well as they could in anticipation of their arrival. Frederick gave the following account of their arrival in his journal:

“It was about three weeks after when I received information that the company in which my folks were, had arrived at the little mountain. I could not restrain myself any longer, and it being Sunday, I took one of Father Chase’s, horses and rode out to meet them.

“I had not gone more than seven miles when I met Capt. John Brown, who was captain of our company crossing the plains. He told me my folks were but a short distance in the rear, and riding along the side of the train, I quickly saw my Father walking beside the wagon, which contain my Mother and the children, he appeared lame and worn out, quickly dismounting I gave him the horse to ride and got into the wagon with Mother and the children. It appears that during the latter part of the journey Mother had been very sick. Oh, what a pleasure it is for me to meet with them again, and to have a house prepared for them, although it is but a humble one. It is a place where they can rest. Bro. Salter lives with them and I go to see them every evening.

“In the early part of Nov. my Father goes into employ of Pres’t Young and moved into another house.”²⁴

²¹ Isaac Chase was a father-in-law to Brigham Young. His step-daughter, Clarissa Chase, had married Brigham Young in Nauvoo. The mill was located at what is now Liberty Park on Red Butte Creek.

²² The location of the bathhouse is at 840 N. Beck St. (300 West) and has not been in use since 2004. According to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, “By 1850, settlers had built an adobe structure-turned-social hall there to create an indoor pool.” See <https://www.sltrib.com/news/2018/12/26/neighbors-hope-restore/> for an article on restoring the bathhouse, which also shows old pictures. Accessed on 20 June 2020.

²³ Gardiner, *Mormon Rebel*, 64-67.

²⁴ Gardiner, *Mormon Rebel*, 67-68.

James and William were the last of the Gardner family living in England. William was the oldest sibling and already had established strong ties with his wife's family, who were living with them, and he remained there for the rest of his life.²⁵ James and Hannah had a strong desire to join the rest of the family in Utah. Consequently, Father John Gardner, who was also working for President Brigham Young, had asked him to allow James and his family to emigrate through the PEF during the next emigration season. His request was granted, as the PEF record book shows the petition made by John on April 30, 1855, for James, Hannah, and the three children that they had at the time the request was made. The family had added another child during the past year, and in late April 1856, they boarded a train in Stroud, Gloucestershire, bound for Liverpool. The family consisted of James and Hannah, who were both 27 years old, and the following children: Mary Ann, 7; Agnes Eleanor, 4; Frederick James, 3; and John William, 1.

On 1 May they took possession of the berths assigned to them aboard the ship *Thornton*. The entire ship was contracted by the church to carry the members to New York for emigration west. There were 560 adults, 172 children, and 29 infants on board. The following day, the ship left the Bramby Moor Docks and anchored on the Mersey River, until it could be cleared to depart by government inspectors. The passengers were all in good spirits and received many visits throughout the day from some of the church elders in Liverpool. The rest of the day was spent tidying up their berths and getting organized for the journey.

On 3 May, after the doctor and the government inspector cleared the passengers, President Franklin D. Richards appointed Elder James G. Willie as president over all of the church members aboard. According to the passenger manifest, James and his family were berthed in the "upper between decks" area.²⁶ This was also referred to as the "main deck" or "first deck," over which Elder Millen Atwood was appointed to preside.²⁷ This deck was further divided into four wards with a president appointed over each ward. The ship was towed out of the river at 3:00 a.m. the next morning and it set sail later that morning.

Families received a week's ration of "bread, meat and pork, tea and sugar, oats, wheat-flour, rice etc."²⁸ They also received three quarts of water per day for each adult. The water ration was later decreased to two quarts from 17 May to 2 June, due to "contrary winds" that slowed their progress. There was a cook stove on each deck for them to prepare rations.

Most of the passengers became seasick for the first week or so. President Willie noted that "The [ship's] Captain [Collins] and Doctor were unremitting in their attentions to the sick, and manifested much solicitude in their welfare, for which kindness we pray the Almighty to bless them."²⁹ Captain Collins proved to be very kind and amenable to any requests from Captain Willie and he was extremely impressed with the order and behavior of the passengers. When seas were calm, the passengers were able to go on deck to get fresh air. Sunday meetings were also held on deck when possible, as well as testimony meetings at various days during the week.

Many passenger accounts mention a fire that broke out in one of the kitchens on May 20th.

²⁵ In fact, his wife's family was living with them in 1861. It shows William and his father-in-law as "waterman," the same occupation that all of the family worked before they emigrated.

²⁶ From the passenger manifest provided to the immigration authorities at Castle Gardens. The entry is on page 5. He listed his occupation as "farmer" on this manifest, but on the church's emigration manifest, he is listed as "labourer."

²⁷ From the journal of James G. Willie, at the "Saints by Sea" website accessed on 16 June 2020 at: <https://saintsbysea.lib.byu.edu/mii/account/1185?scandinavia=on&keywords=thornton+1856&netherlands=on&sweden=on&europe=on&mii=on>

²⁸ Journal of Peder Madsen in Lyman, Paul D. *The Willie Handcart Company* (Provo: Brigham Young University, 2006), 13.

²⁹ Unless otherwise noted, all of the information on the voyage was extracted from James G. Willie's journal.

The company journal recorded that, “At 11 p.m. fire was discovered in the passenger’s galley, but was promptly subdued by the Captain and crew assisted by many of the brethren. Great order prevailed among the Saints; the Captain was much pleased. We feel thankful to the Almighty for our preservation.” The only other dangers presented during the voyage were the presence of icebergs and a powerful storm that raged for two days. Nothing more of note occurred on the voyage, save a few deaths, births, and marriages.

One can imagine how exciting this voyage must have been for the Gardner family, especially the children. Presumably, James and Hannah would have taken advantage of any opportunity to go up on deck to look at anything of interest. Like the children described in other accounts, their children probably scampered about below decks, playing children’s games to avoid the boredom that must have been the norm on such a long voyage.

On 11 June, the passengers expressed their thanks to the ship’s Captain for his kind treatment of them. The company journal noted that, “Prest. Willie in a few remarks presented Captain Collins with the testimonial which was kindly received in a short address, and in return he presented Prest. Willie and Saints generally with a testimonial expressive of his feelings towards us as passengers, making a remark that we were the finest lot of emigrants he had ever taken across the sea; an excellent feeling prevailed on all sides, and the united feelings of the Saints are that the Almighty would bless Capt. Collins and family for his kindness towards us which will ever be gratefully remembered. We also presented a testimonial to Doctor Williams for the fatherly care manifested by him to the sick for which we pray the Almighty to bless him.”

The voyage lasted six weeks and the ship arrived at Castle Gardens,³⁰ New York late at night on June 14th.³¹ The company journal recorded the following entry for that day: “At 8 a.m. steamboat Achilles came along side, Captain Collins engaged her to tow us to New York. General stir among the passengers all getting ready to land; good feeling prevailing. Doctor came on board off Staten Island and gave a certificate of the good health of the passengers. The Custom House also came and passed our luggage without any inspection. At sun down we landed at the Castle Gardens, a large building appropriated for emigrants, where we were visited by Elder Felt who kindly welcomed us.”

The next day was Sunday and it was a day of rest for the emigrants. They spent the day arranging their things and many attended a service in the city. They also received many visitors throughout the day. The next day, the emigrants were processed through the Castle Garden Emigrant Receiving Station and they received a visit from President John Taylor, who was the Apostle with responsibility for the Church in New York City. He helped to arrange their transportation through the city and to continue westward. He was also in charge of public relations for the church and probably helped to facilitate media access to the passengers. The company journal noted that “Several gentlemen and editors of papers visited us, and generally manifested friendly feelings. Several paragraphs were put in the papers commendatory of the passengers of their general cleanly appearance.”

On 17 June, they took a barge to the New York and Erie railroad depot. From there they boarded a steamboat that took them up the Hudson River to Piermont, New York, which was the railroad’s main terminal heading west. From there, they boarded a train and traveled throughout

³⁰ From August 3, 1855 to April 18, 1890, the Emigrant Landing Depot at Castle Garden was America’s first official immigration center, a pioneering collaboration of New York State and New York City officials, who pooled their efforts to create a more protective landing experience.

³¹ See passenger manifest at Tab 2.

the next day and night, arriving at Dunkirk, New York at 12:00 p.m. on 19 June.³² Paul Lyman commented on Peder Madsen's favorable description of the train: "There were bench seats for two people on each side of the car with a two-foot aisle down the middle of the car. Each car could accommodate 86 people. There was a stove in the middle of the car and a toilet at the end. There was no food service on the train, so meals or food would have to be bought at the train's stops along the way."³³

It took 36 hours to travel the 460 miles from Piermont to Dunkirk. There, the church leaders procured all the provisions that they could find and at 6:00 p.m. the emigrants embarked aboard the *Jersey City* steamboat, bound for Toledo, Ohio. Lyman stated that "The boats were packed as full as possible with people, luggage and freight. The female passengers were generally accommodated in the enclosed portions of the vessel, referred to here as the 'steerage,' which indicated that it was the lowest class of passage in the enclosed portion of the ship. Meanwhile, the male passengers stayed day and night on the deck, regardless of the weather. The men in the Willie Company were probably comfortable because the weather was warm and the lake was calm."³⁴

The Gardners and the other emigrants traveled on this boat for the next 39 hours, arriving in Toledo at 9:00 a.m., where they disembarked at the Railroad station. They remained there until later that night, when they boarded a train bound for Chicago. The company journal mentions some poor treatment they received in Toledo, stating that "The Railroad authorities at Toledo manifested a very unkind spirit towards us, putting us to all the inconvenience in their power."³⁵

They arrived in Chicago late the next afternoon, June 22, at 5:00 p.m., where they continued to receive rough treatment by railroad officials. The company journal reports that, "we were very roughly treated by the Railroad conductor, he insisting on our landing in the street, which we were obliged to do, and after much trouble in finding the Railroad Superintendent we prevailed with him to allow us the use of an empty warehouse for the night, the weather to all appearance indicating a thunderstorm."

The emigrants were obliged to spend an entire day in Chicago before continuing on their journey. Due to a shortage of cars, they had to split into two groups and traveled on separate trains toward Rock Island, Illinois. However, before they were to arrive, they had to stop short of their destination at Pond Creek, because the railroad bridge across the Mississippi River was down. They remained there until then next morning, when the other train of emigrants joined them.

They left Pond Creek at 5:00 p.m. on 24 June and arrived at Rock Island at 11:00 p.m. the same night. They slept in the train cars, and the next day they moved all of the luggage into a warehouse that the railroad superintendent had allowed them to use while they waited to arrange further transportation. Since the bridge was down, they had to cross the river in a steamboat to Davenport, Iowa. They moved the luggage across first, which took all day, and spent the night in the warehouse. The pattern of persecution continued there, where "Quite a rowdy spirit was manifested by many, desiring access to the building, and in the evening, we had to keep a strong guard, as we received a report through some friends that a mob intended to attack us in the night and gain access to our young women. The Lord overruled all for our good, for which we feel to

³² Lyman, *Willie Handcart Company*, pp 40-41. Dunkirk is on the extreme western border of New York on the shores of Lake Erie.

³³ Lyman, *Willie Handcart Company*, 40.

³⁴ Lyman, *Willie Handcart Company*, 42.

³⁵ Lyman, *Willie Handcart Company*, 43.

be grateful and to express our thankfulness to Him.” Fortunately, the police came and dispersed the mob before it could do any damage.³⁶

On the morning of June 26, 1856, the emigrants crossed the river to Davenport and then at 9:00 a.m. boarded a train bound for Iowa City, Iowa. They arrived there at 1:30 p.m. and “camped on the green,” but due to an approaching thunderstorm, they spent the night in a large engine shed that the church had been able to procure for them. The company journal reported that it rained “in torrents all night.”³⁷

In a little under two weeks, the emigrants had traveled 460 miles across New York, about 280 miles across Lake Erie, and about 465 miles through Ohio, Illinois, and part of Iowa. All told, they had traveled about 1,200 miles from New York City to Iowa City. That was the easy part of the journey. There would be many more trials before their journey was through.

Preparing for the Journey

The emigrants were outfitted three miles west of Iowa City in present-day Coralville, Iowa, which was then known as Clark’s Mill. It had continued to rain in the morning, but by about noon the next day (27 June), the roads had dried enough that they could walk to their campground. There had already been two handcart companies that had departed by the time James Gardner’s family arrived there. The third company was just about ready and would leave the following day. President Daniel Spencer was in charge of outfitting the arriving handcart companies, but he was not ready for the arrival of the approximately 500 people, which included the Gardner family, that would soon become the Willie Handcart Company. Not only were the handcarts not built and ready to go, but the materials to build them were not even on hand. Moreover, these people had no shelter to house them during the frequent rainstorms. Consequently, their first priority was to sew the tents that they would use on their journey.

The Willie Company was the 4th handcart company and with its 500 emigrants, it required 100 handcarts, 25 tents (five of which would be covered; presumably to shelter little children who would ride in them), and 5 wagons (one per group of 100) in the company before it could begin its journey. The company was further organized in units of 100, with a sub-captain in charge of each of the so-called “Hundreds.” Each of the Hundreds were assigned five tents, with twenty people in each tent.”³⁸ The Gardners belonged to William W. Woodward’s Hundred. In his journal, Woodward listed the members of his Hundred and the tents to which each was assigned. The Gardners were assigned to tent four.³⁹

The first night in camp it rained heavily and everyone had to sleep in the open with the rain pouring down. Lyman commented that “Without tents for shelter, the Saints were at the mercy of the Iowa weather. There were no sheds or warehouses to borrow. Consequently, without tents, they simply got wet when it rained. The Saints made circular tents, which sheltered 20 people. The hand-sewn tents were made of canvas with a single pole in the middle. The occupants would sleep with their feet toward the middle pole.

The next day was Sunday and despite being soaked to the skin, the weather did not dampen their enthusiasm. The company journal recorded that it was “a lovely morning and most of the Saints rejoicing although they got wet through in their beds. We attended meeting in the Camp in

³⁶ Lyman, *Willie Handcart Company*, 48.

³⁷ Lyman, *Willie Handcart Company*, 49.

³⁸ Lyman, *Willie Handcart Company*, 55.

³⁹ William Woodward Journal, entry for July 16, 1856.

the morning. Prests. Willie & Elder John A. Hunt addressed the meeting and in the afternoon Elder Dan Jones preached. There were a good many strangers present, a good spirit prevailing.”⁴⁰

James soon learned that each person was only allowed to bring seventeen pounds of luggage, even though they had been allowed 50 pounds in each stage of the journey up to this point. We do not know what James’ family may have brought or what they may have had to leave behind, but many of the emigrants were dismayed that they had to part with some of their cherished possessions. There were several alternatives that were used to dispose of the extra items. First, they could pay for the items to be shipped to Salt Lake. Secondly, they could sell their extra goods in Iowa City. Thirdly, they could leave them with any friends or relatives that might be there. Finally, they could just give them away or leave them behind for someone else to claim.

The next few days were hot and humid. On July 2, a big thunderstorm hit. Since the tents were still not finished, everyone got a good soaking. Most likely, they did not mind this so bad, since it was reportedly a very hot day. They continued their work until July 4th, when they took the day off to celebrate Independence Day. One might wonder what these emigrants thought about this American holiday, especially since most of them were British. Nevertheless, they “held a meeting with the American Flag flying when many of the Brethren spoke and Elder Ferguson delivered an oration. Many strangers were present and appeared much pleased, and all passed off well.”⁴¹

It is timely to note that William Woodward, who became the captain of the Hundred that the Gardners belonged to, was officially assigned to the Willie Company on 5 July. He had arrived earlier from a mission in England and had been assisting the other handcart pioneers in their preparations since early June. He kept a personal journal that detailed the day to day events of the company and on October 1, he began keeping the Company’s journal.

It took until July 8th for the company to finish making the tents. Up to this point, many people were likely not aware that there were strict limits to the amount of personal goods that they could take with them. As a result, they had been trying to dispose of their surplus goods, but they were having difficulty selling them at fair prices. Many had to resign themselves to get whatever price they could, or they simply abandoned their goods there.

About this time, another group of 800 church members arrived that had mostly been aboard the ship *Horizon*. They arrived in the middle of a storm and everyone crowded into the newly finished tents. Most of the members of this group would become the Martin Handcart Company.

Once the tents were finished, they began to turn their attention to the handcarts. It was several days before the handcarts were distributed to the company. They had been constructed in a hurry and many were made from green wood; the only wood available. This would be the cause of many later problems and cart breakdowns were more of the rule than the exception.

Many of the emigrants had reservations about the physical exertion that would be required to pull handcarts for 1,300 miles. There were many women, children, elderly, and infirm in the companies who might not be able to withstand the rigors required of them. However, church leaders dismissed these reservations and questioned the faith of those who doubted the wisdom of undertaking such a journey under the given conditions. Brigham Young stated that for the unfaithful, “it is far better that such deny the faith before they start, than to do so for a more trifling cause after they get here; and if they have not faith enough to undertake this job, and accomplish it too, they have not faith sufficient to endure, with the Saints in Zion, the celestial

⁴⁰ Lyman, *Willie Handcart Company*, 55.

⁴¹ Lyman, *Willie Handcart Company*, 57.

law which leads to exaltation and eternal lives.”⁴²

The Handcart Journey across the Plains

James and Hannah embraced the handcart plan with enthusiasm.⁴³ The company started on this great adventure from Iowa City, Iowa, on 15 July 1856, with plenty of everything, including one pound of flour a day for each person, milk cows sufficient for milk and butter, a few stock to kill along the way as was needed for food, and a few extra oxen to change off with on the journey. All went well for them the first week or so. Each night those in the company were given their ration – one pound of flour and other things to prepare for the next day, such as pork, dried apples, rice, beans, salt, and soap. Wood and water were plentiful in the early part of the journey. In the evenings they often sang and danced, if they were not too tired. During this time, they made more progress than was anticipated, despite some early sickness and cart breakdowns.

They surely must have marveled at all the new sights that they witnessed. The rolling prairie was very different from the lush green fields of Chalford Hill. Later in the journey, it would have been incredible to them to see the immense wilderness and to be able to travel for days without passing through a town. What wonderment they must have felt, just a few days after they left camp, to see Native Americans for the first time, and to have them demonstrate their skill shooting bows and arrows. There were still many more wonders to be seen.

As they traveled through Iowa, they met many people along the way that harassed and threatened them. Some residents tried to induce the young women to leave the company. Everyone was advised to be on their guard and they had to post guards in the camp every night, which stopped several acts of mischief that had been planned by hostile townspeople along the way. Another challenge was the intense heat and humidity, which, added to the physical exertion required to pull the handcarts, caused a good number of people to collapse from heatstroke. Some who were not used to the physical exertion decided to stay behind at various points along the way and a few others became disenchanted with the hardships and also quit.

They arrived in Florence,⁴⁴ Nebraska, on 11 August, after nearly a month on the trail. During the time it took to reach here, the young and strong became stronger and more physically fit, while those who were frail and weak often had to be hauled in the handcarts by their family members, or elected to stay. While in Florence, there were a significant number of people who elected to remain there, and others who had turned back before they arrived. Of the 500 people and 120 handcarts that left Iowa City, the numbers had shrunk to 404 people and 85 handcarts.⁴⁵

Because of the delays, defections, and the lateness of the season, Captain Willie decided to have a meeting to determine if they should stay in Florence and wait until the next year to go on to Salt Lake, or go forward, regardless of the risk. He urged all to have faith and proceed forward and he gave two of the sub-captains an opportunity to speak their mind on the issue. One of them, Levi Savage, with tears flowing down his cheeks, counseled “the old, weak, and sickly”

⁴² Olsen, Andrew D., *The Price We Paid: The Extraordinary Story of the Willie and Martin Handcart Pioneers*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2006), 30-31.

⁴³ I will not attempt to recount every detail of the horrific journey that they faced. Many books have been written on this company and the Martin Company, which followed it. I only intend to provide minimum details to understand their suffering and to mention specific events that James or his family members recounted in family histories.

⁴⁴ Florence is the site of the Winter Quarters where they church members spent the winter of 1846-47. It was a way station for pioneers to prepare for the long journey to Utah and later became incorporated into the city of Omaha. It is across the Missouri River from Council Bluffs, Iowa.

⁴⁵ Olsen, *The Price We Paid*, 86.

against moving forward and “prophesied that if such undertook the journey at that late season of the year...their bones would strew the way.” Captain Willie was unhappy with Savage’s words and rebuked him for being unfaithful. Another sub-captain, Millen Atwood, “then spoke mildly and to the purpose. He exhorted the Saints to pray to God and get a revelation and know for themselves whether they should go or stay, for it was their privilege to know for themselves.”⁴⁶ After this, the meeting was dismissed, and everyone agreed to reconvene the next day to take a vote on the matter.

When the vote was taken, the majority of the company voted in favor of continuing, regardless of the risks. Even though the company had voted against his advice, Savage resolved to carry out his responsibilities as sub-captain and face whatever lay before them. He left them with the following words: “Brethren and sisters, what I have said I know to be true; but, seeing you are to go forward, I will go with you, will help you all I can, will work with you, will rest with you, will suffer with you, and, if necessary, I will die with you. May God in his mercy bless and preserve us. Amen.”⁴⁷

They spent the next several days in Florence to repair handcarts and take on additional supplies, with the Atwood’s and Savage’s Hundreds leaving on 16 August and the remaining three groups of Hundreds (Woodward, Chislett, and Ahmanson) leaving the next day. From this point on, they would be traveling in the wilderness. Because of a shortage of wagons, each handcart carried a 100-pound bag of flour, which was used first to lighten their load. It was relatively easy traveling for the company for the next two weeks.

One of the older men in James’ tent was a 66-year-old named William Haley. He had been discovered missing on the evening of 28 August and despite a thorough search, they could not locate him. Most certainly, James would have been part of the search party, as he was young and fit and the man was a member of his tent, so he would have been concerned for his welfare. The next day they went out to search for him again after a tremendous rainstorm and found him after about two hours, drenched with water. His voice was barely audible and he said that someone had passed near him the night before with a lantern, but he could not make himself be heard.

Later that afternoon, they encountered a group of about 800 “Omaha Indians.” One of them presented a letter to them from a Captain Stewart from the U.S. Army at Fort Kearney saying that Colonel Babbitt’s wagons had been attacked by the Cheyenne tribe, with three people being killed, one wounded, and a woman being taken prisoner. It was quite a shock to them, since they had just been with Colonel Babbitt in Florence.⁴⁸

The group of Omaha natives were friendly, however, and traded buffalo meat to some of the emigrants for anything that interested them. Some of the Indians were fascinated with the handcarts. Lyman tells us that, “Two young people told of the amazement that the Indians had with the handcarts. The Indians wanted to push the handcarts. Four-year-old Sarah Ann Oakey was afraid, so her mother took her out of the handcart. However, upon being reassured that the Indians were friendly, she was placed back in the handcart and rode to the camp. Mary Anne James, age 11, wrote that one of the Indians was so fascinated that he leaped from his horse and pushed a cart so hard that it nearly ran over the woman and her daughter that were pulling it. After pushing for a while, he returned to his horse and rode off.”⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Lyman, Paul D. *The Willie Handcart Company* (Provo: Brigham Young University, 2006), 85.

⁴⁷ Lyman, *Willie Handcart Company*, 85.

⁴⁸ Colonel Almon W. Babbitt was returning from Washington, D.C., where he had been lobbying the government in favor of the church. He was not present with the train when it came under attack.

⁴⁹ Lyman, *Willie Handcart Company*, 98.

As the group traveled on 30 August, they came upon the graves of the three people killed in Colonel Babbitt's group. They stopped to put more dirt on the graves to try to eliminate the smell and hopefully, to keep the wolves from digging them up. After they made camp that night, Colonel Babbitt and the remainder of his group caught up to them and stayed in their camp for the night, and continued ahead of them the next day to Fort Kearney.

On 1 September, the company enjoyed its first taste of buffalo meat. They had only seen buffalo once a few days before, and they were amazed at the size of these creatures. The meat was brought in on several handcarts. The next morning, each person was allotted one and a half pounds of buffalo and three quarters of beef, along with their regular six-day ration of sugar, coffee, tea, salt, soap, rice, and one pound of flour.⁵⁰ Over the next several days, buffalo were plentiful and some of the men killed a number of the animals, now providing each individual with a two-pound ration for a short while.

Then, late in the evening of 3 September, while camped on the small creek bank, it became very dark and cloudy and as the saints were preparing for bed, there came a peculiar noise, similar to thunder in the distance. It came closer and closer until it seemed to be right on them. A great thundering herd of buffalo came right through the camp. It looked as though they were doomed to destruction. This lasted for about half an hour and then all was well. The stock, most of which were oxen used to pull the wagons, had stampeded with the buffalo. The men searched for three days but only some milk cows and a few oxen were found. As a result of this, they had to use the milk cows to draw the wagons with the oxen.

Now the beef was gone, the milk cows dried up from being worked and there was no meat, butter or milk for food. This slowed their progress to the extent that they had to cut the flour ration to a half-pound per day to make it last for the time that would be required for the journey. Despite this turn of fortune, the group continued to show their faith and resilience, continuing the journey with the utmost vigor.⁵¹

The loss of the oxen and cows arguably had the greatest overall impact on the fate of the company. John Chislett provided a succinct description of its impact in his account: "The patience and faith of the good honest people were shaken somewhat by this (to them) hard stroke of Providence. Some complained openly; others, less demonstrative, chewed the bitter cud of discontent; while the greater part saw the 'hand of the Lord' in it. The belief that we were the spiritual favourites of the Almighty, and that he would control everything for our good, soon revived us after our temporary despondency, and in a day or two faith was as assuring as ever with the pilgrims. But our progress was slow, the old breakdowns were constantly repeated, and some could not refrain from murmuring in spite of the general trustfulness. It was really hard for the folks to lose the use of their milch cows, have beef rations stopped, and haul one hundred pounds more on their carts. Every man and woman, however, worked to their utmost to put forward towards the goal of their hopes."⁵²

The morning that the stock was discovered missing, Colonel Babbitt caught up to them again from Fort Kearney and provided more details about the attack on his wagon train. The company journal recorded that Babbitt also reported that the Cheyenne Indians attacked a small wagon train from California on the previous Sunday and had killed a woman. Dragoons from the U. S. Army then killed thirteen Cheyennes and had taken a number of their horses. Babbitt stated that

⁵⁰ Lyman, *Willie Handcart Company*, 102.

⁵¹ The preceding two paragraphs came from a Gardner Family biography on James.

⁵² John Chislett, "Mr. Chislett's Narrative," in *The Rocky Mountain Saints*, T. B. H. Stenhouse (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1873), 318.

reports indicated that this tribe was concentrating all of its strength in the neighborhood of Ash Hollow, and the troops were expecting a fight there.⁵³ Since the company should be arriving there in a few days, they were understandably more concerned about the danger they might face from the natives than they were about the loss of the stock.

While others were searching for the lost stock, some members of the company rode ahead twelve miles to the camp of Abraham O. Smoot and Orrin Porter Rockwell, who were both leading wagon companies to Salt Lake. Both captains returned to the Willie camp and met with the leadership that night. The next morning, Smoot “made some cheering remarks to the Saints and showed us the necessity of strict and ready obedience,” and returned to their own camp that afternoon.

On the morning of 7 September, Captain Willie called another council meeting, where Millen Atwood addressed “the absolute necessity for doing away with the spirit of grumbling, strife, pilfering and disregard of counsel which was now on the increase in the Camp and substituting in its place the spirit of contentment, peace, union and strict obedience.” He also told them that they must, from that time forth, “literally obey the counsel of each particular officer placed immediately over them without repining or grumbling openly or secretly.”

Another point of contention had been the able people from the “independent wagon trains” that were traveling with them who were walking alongside or riding in the wagons and who did not offer to help the handcart pioneers in any way. Captain Willie urged them “to confer honor on themselves by assisting to pull handcarts or doing anything else which their Superior Officer might direct or which they might see required to be done.” He went on to say “that if the Brethren or Sisters drawing handcarts should be required by their Captain to draw 4 or 5 hundred of flour they must do it cheerfully and the Waggon Company must act on the same principle by carrying anything and everything which might be required of them by like authority.”

At the conclusion of the meeting, Captain Willie proposed a “vote to sustain the various Officers in their respective positions to the very uttermost in carrying out such measures as the Holy Ghost might devise through them for most safely and speedily gathering this Company to Zion, expressing his strong desire that none would raise their hands toward Heaven in support of such a vote unless they meant it from their hearts and would literally and willingly carry out its spirit when the Officers came to execute their duty.” This was done and the motion passed unanimously, without a single dissenting vote.⁵⁴

On the morning of 8 September, a man named Henry Bauichter rode into their camp and gave a lurid account of the murders of Thomas Margetts, James Cowdy, and members of their families. The Margetts and Cowdys were from Salt Lake City and were well known to the members of the company.⁵⁵ The attack had occurred two days earlier near North Bluff Creek. Bauichter was traveling with them and had been away cutting up a buffalo that they had killed. When he came back, he found the dead bodies and the wagons burning. The psychological

⁵³ Lyman, *Willie Handcart Company*, 103-4.

⁵⁴ Lyman, *Willie Handcart Company*, 107-8.

⁵⁵ In fact, James' brother, Frederick, had a personal connection with Margetts. In 1852, Margetts had asked Frederick to accompany him to Iron County, where he intended to settle his family. (The implication is that Margetts employed Frederick, who was single at this time, to help him establish a farm.) However, when they arrived in Lehi, Utah, they were advised to remain there for another season, “as the roads were in a fearful condition, and provisions at that place were very scarce.” A few months later, Margetts was called on a mission to Italy and he asked Frederick to stay and take care of his family and work the farm. Shortly after Margetts left, Frederick was assaulted by Margetts' partner, Brother Margetson, and when Mrs. Margetts declined to dissolve the partnership, Frederick left her employ and found work elsewhere in Lehi. Gardiner, *Mormon Rebel*, 60.

impact of this news must have been palpable. “It is hard to imagine the fear and helplessness that the Saints endured as they found themselves 300 miles from civilization with reports of Indian attacks about 70 miles ahead and with the loss of their best pulling animals.”⁵⁶

They had just reached North Bluff Creek when President Franklin Richards and a group of returning missionaries met up with them on September 12th. That night, President Richards addressed the company and urged them on with promises that they would reach their destination in safety and in good health. Nevertheless, the group hurried on to Salt Lake City to let the Church leadership know that they were out there and would need help.

Up to this point, the Gardner family had enjoyed good health, with the exception of a time when James had cholera. One day, James and another man were not able to keep up with the rest of the company but followed behind. The company had camped for two hours that evening with no one in sight. Hannah and the rest of the company thought for sure that the two had died and were going to send some men back to see what had happened, but thankfully, before they got started the two men were seen in the distance.

The company reached Fort Laramie on 1 October, with some 500 miles still to go. Here, Captain Willie received a letter from President Richards indicating that he had not been able to procure the provisions that they had anticipated would be there waiting for them. By now, colder weather had begun to set in and, according to Levi Savage, “the old appear to be failing considerably.” Deaths began to occur with more frequency, with no hope in sight for any relief in their plight. Captain Willie was able to obtain scant food supplies at inflated prices, but this was not nearly enough to meet their needs. Wild game was also scarce by now and the only meat they received was usually when a cow gave out and died, but there was such little meat on the emaciated beasts that most of the people were happy to receive bones, hides, or anything that could be consumed or used to make a broth.

It may likely have been during this time of meager rations, when after Hannah had prepared their food ration for dinner that evening and set it aside for safekeeping, that two-and-one-half year-old Fred went to where it had been kept and ate the entire ration, leaving nothing for the rest of the family. The poor boy was so hungry that he could not resist all the food within easy reach. Unfortunately, the family would face many more hungry days and nights before they reached their final destination.

On October 3, Captain Willie cut rations again, this time to ten ounces of flour for men, nine for women, six for children and three for infants. Meanwhile, Franklin Richards arrived in Salt Lake on 4 October and immediately went to report on the condition of the emigrants. The next day was General Conference Sunday and Richards’ arrival was just in time for the meeting. Brigham Young called for volunteers to go on to Green River and rescue the company, which was also stranded with the Martin Company. He said, “We want 20 teams by tomorrow morning to go to their relief. It will be necessary to send two experienced men with each wagon.... Go and bring in those people now on the plains!”

Frederick knew that James and his family were due to arrive with the handcart companies and wrote that he had attended the conference and that the “returned missionaries spoke in regard to the success of the missions, and also upon the condition of the handcart companies as they had passed them, some of which had started out very late in the season, and it was feared would be overtaken by snow storms.”

“Prest. Young then called for one hundred volunteer teams, to be ready to start tomorrow morning, also for donations of clothing, produce, blankets, etc., to be sent out to meet the late

⁵⁶ Lyman, *Willie Handcart Company*, 111.

companies and bring them in. Sixty teams were at once offered, and others followed afterwards all well supplied with such things which were needed. Thirty tons of flour was donated.”

“Great anxiety is being manifested by the community in regard to the handcart companies.”⁵⁷

As Frederick noted, the response among the church members was immediate and teams began leaving by Tuesday, 7 October, to bring relief. Other relief wagons would follow carrying food, clothing, blankets, and other provisions to care for the beleaguered Saints. As the rescuers hurried forward, they became alarmed that they did not meet the companies at the distances at which thought they would be. On 14 October, the leader of the rescue company, Captain Grant, sent an express team ahead to find the emigrants and to let them know that help was on the way. It was later discovered that the Willie Company was 160 miles farther than the rescue company had thought that they would be. On that same day, Captain Willie realized that he would need to reduce rations even further to give them any hope of surviving until they reached the next point where they hoped to find resupply, which was still 100 miles away. Flour rations were accordingly reduced to 10.5 ounces per day for men, nine ounces for women, and three to six ounces for children, depending on their age and size.⁵⁸

With less fat on their bodies, they became more susceptible to the cold, and people began to fail fast from the combination of malnutrition, over-exertion, and freezing temperatures. Fathers who had been strong and healthy began to collapse because they gave some of their rations to their family members and they took on too much of the physical work. John Chislett wrote that, “At first the deaths occurred slowly and irregularly, but in a few days at more frequent intervals, until we soon thought it unusual to leave a campground without burying one or more persons.”⁵⁹

On October 19th, the company had another grueling day. They were camped at the Fifth Crossing of the Sweetwater and would have to travel sixteen miles to the next crossing. There was no wood or any water along the way, so they would have to make the distance, come what may. Five people had died that day; more than on any previous day. On top of that, the last of their provisions had been distributed that morning. About noon, a savage snowstorm hit them and raged on for about thirty minutes. They briefly hunkered down and then started out again. Miraculously, on that bleak, hopeless day, the express rescue team found them. The appendix to the Willie company journal records the happy event as follows:

“C. H. Wheelock and Joseph A. Young with two other brethren met us a short distance west of ‘Ice Springs’ and brought us the cheering intelligence that assistance was near at hand; that several wagons loaded with flour, onions, and clothing, including bedding [were] within a day’s drive of us.”⁶⁰

Although the rescue team had little extra to spare, they shared some flour and onions with the starving emigrants and told them that help was on the way. This raised their flagging spirits considerably and they toiled along the rest of the day with renewed vigor. They finally reached the Sixth Crossing of the Sweetwater after dark, ate their meager portions, and rested.

That night, somewhere between four to twelve inches of snow fell. The company was snowbound and unable to move in any direction. Because a lot of the clothing and bedding had been left behind to lighten the load, they were unprepared for the early winter and the cold. The next morning (20 October), Chislett wrote: “Being surrounded by snow a foot deep, out of provisions, many of our people sick, and our cattle dying, it was decided that we should remain

⁵⁷ Gardiner, *Mormon Rebel*, 83-84.

⁵⁸ Olsen, *The Price We Paid*, 125.

⁵⁹ Olsen, *The Price We Paid*, 127.

⁶⁰ Olsen, *The Price We Paid*, 132.

in our present camp until the supply train reached us.”⁶¹

Captain Willie also decided to go ahead and try to find the supply team and guide them into camp. He and Joseph Elder rode on two mules, taking no provisions or bedding with them. They were determined to find the relief wagons, regardless of what time or effort it took. Late that night, with the help of a signpost placed to point the way to camp by one of the rescuers, the weary pair plodded into the rescuers’ camp.⁶²

Meanwhile, the members of the company were suffering greatly as they waited for the rescuers to arrive. Again, Chislett described the scene: “The scanty allowance of hard bread and poor beef...was mostly consumed the first day by the hungry, ravenous, famished souls. We killed more cattle and issued the meat, but eating it without bread did not satisfy hunger, and to those who were suffering from dysentery it did more harm than good.”⁶³

The next day Captain Willie set off with the members of the rescue team and traveled as fast as they could through the deep snow to reach camp. John Chislett’s stirring account of their arrival follows:

“Just as the sun was sinking beautifully behind the distant hills, on an eminence immediately west of our camp, several covered wagons, each drawn by four horses, were seen coming toward us. The news ran through the camp like wildfire, and all who were able to leave their beds turned out en masse to see them. A few minutes brought them sufficiently near to reveal our faithful captain slightly in advance of the train.

“Shouts of joy rent the air; strong men wept till tears ran freely down their furrowed and sunburnt cheeks, and little children partook of the joy which some of them hardly understood, and fairly danced around with gladness. Restraint was set aside in the general rejoicing, and as the brethren entered our camp the sisters fell upon them and deluged the brethren with kisses. The brethren were so overcome that they could not for some time utter a word, but in choking silence repressed all demonstration of those emotions that evidently mastered them. Soon, however, feeling was somewhat abated, and such a shaking of hands, such words of welcome, and such invocation of God’s blessing have seldom been witnessed.

“...That evening, for the first time in quite a period, the songs of Zion were to be heard in the camp, and peals of laughter issued from the little knots of people as they chatted around the fires. The change seemed almost miraculous, so sudden was it from grave to gay, from sorrow to gladness, from mourning to rejoicing. With the cravings of hunger satisfied, and with hearts filled with gratitude to God and our good brethren, we all united in prayer, and then retired to rest.”⁶⁴

The rescue team split up on 22 October, with six of the fourteen relief wagons remaining with the Willie Company under the leadership of William H. Kimball. The other eight wagons headed east with George D. Grant to find the Martin, Hunt, and Hodgett companies.

The arrival of the relief party did not mean that the emigrants would not have to continue walking. As cold, tired, and under-nourished as they were, it was critical that they started to move as soon as possible. That day they walked about ten or eleven miles and made camp at the base of the formidable Rocky Ridge.

They bedded down that night, wrapped only in a blanket or quilt on the snowy ground, and tried to get a little rest. When they awoke the next morning, they had to pull their frozen bedding

⁶¹ Olsen, *The Price We Paid*, 135.

⁶² Lyman, *The Willey Handcart Company*, 151. Harvey Cluff placed the sign because he felt “inspired” to do so.

⁶³ Olsen, *The Price We Paid*, 135.

⁶⁴ Olsen, *The Price We Paid*, 143.

from the ground before they could get going again.

One of the toughest days during the entire journey was ascending Rocky Ridge. The journey would cover fifteen or sixteen miles, through eighteen inches of snow and biting winds, with windchill temperatures below zero. One pioneer called the trek that day “a forced march,” because everyone was forced to keep moving or die.⁶⁵ Joseph Elder described it thusly:

“That was an awful day. Many can never forget the scenes they witnessed that day. Men, women, and children weakened down by cold and hunger, weeping, crying, and some even dying by the roadside. It was very late before we all got into camp. Oh, how my heart did quake and shudder at the awful scenes which surrounded me.”⁶⁶

There are many other accounts of the horrendous toll that it took to climb Rocky Ridge. For some, it took 27 hours and several died along the way. Many more would die over the night from exhaustion and exposure. One of those who died along the way, James Kirkwood, was a member of Woodward’s Hundred that James Gardner also belonged to. His poignant story has been told many times over the years and I will briefly relate it here:

“One of the greatest personal sacrifices that day came from James Kirkwood, age 11. James’s mother and older brother had to pull their handcart carrying James’s disabled brother over Rocky Ridge. James was left in charge of his younger brother, Joseph, age 4. The young boys faced the long climb up and over Rocky Ridge and on into the Rock Creek camp together. Their shoes were worn and they were definitely cold. Although no one will ever know with certainty what happened, James likely carried his brother for many of the miles. When James arrived in camp, James set his brother down and died of exhaustion.”⁶⁷

The effort that they had to exert that day was too much for some. Over the 23rd and 24th of October, thirteen people had died. The weather was still terrible and everyone was in no condition to go on another day, so it was decided to rest that day and bury their dead.

John Chislett describes the disheartening event saying:

“There were so many dead and dying that it was decided to lie by for the day. In the forenoon I was appointed to go round the camp and collect the dead. I took with me two young men to assist me in the sad task, and we collected together, of all ages and both sexes, 13 corpses, all stiffly frozen. We had a large square hole dug in which we buried these 13 people, three or four abreast and three deep. When they did not fit in, we put one or two crosswise at the head or feet of the others. We covered them with willows and then with the earth.

“When we buried these 13 people, some of their relatives refused to attend the services. They manifested an utter indifference about it. The numbness and cold in their physical natures seem to have reached the soul, and to have crushed out natural feeling and affection. Had I not myself witnessed it, I could not have believed that suffering would have produced such terrible results. But so it was. Two others died during the day, and we buried them in one grave, making 15 in all buried on that campground...”⁶⁸

In a family history of James Gardner, it states that, “...one night nine persons were buried in one great hole. One of the men who helped bury these people was buried the next morning. James Gardner and another man were held back to bury the dead and the rest went on with Sister

⁶⁵ Olsen, *The Price We Paid*, 146.

⁶⁶ Olsen, *The Price We Paid*, 147.

⁶⁷ Lyman, *The Willey Handcart Company*, 156.

⁶⁸ Olsen, *The Price We Paid*, 155-156.

Gardner to push the handcart until the men caught up with the company again.”⁶⁹

It is most likely that the history was referring to October 24, since no other day produced so many dead. Another young man, James Hurren, wrote about the incident saying that, “Conditions reached the point that only two of the men in their ‘hundred,’ James and a Brother Gardner, were well enough to care for the rest of them.”⁷⁰ Although he was not in the same Hundred as Hurren, James Gardner is the only person in the Company with the Gardner surname, so he had to have been the one that performed this task with Hurren.

Another pioneer in the same Hundred as James Gardner was James Stewart Sr., who had a close call with death on that same day. Paul Lyman wrote that, “He was placed with the frozen corpses for burial in the mass grave. While he was there his grief-stricken wife, Ann Stewart, age 29, noticed that he was still breathing. Fortunately, the error was discovered and he was carried to a fire and revived, thus avoiding a premature death.”⁷¹

The company met Reddick Allred with six rescue wagons on this same day, after an express rider was sent ahead to have him meet the company. This assistance was sorely needed and very providential, as it gave the weary travelers the sustenance they needed as they spent the day recuperating from the severe trial of Rocky Ridge. Despite the help they received, deaths occurred almost daily. They continued to meet rescue wagons regularly and made it to the continental divide, where the snow was so deep, they had to put all the horses on two of the wagons to go on. The people were still kept on limited rations until they reached Salt Lake for fear of sickness or death from eating too much after being almost starved. They traveled the 133 miles from Rock Creek to Fort Bridger in ten days, arriving there on 2 November. There were 113 miles remaining to arrive at Salt Lake City.

Before arriving at Fort Bridger, most of the emigrants had to continue to pull their handcarts. Once they arrived there, however, there were sufficient wagon teams to allow them all to ride and abandon the handcarts. Additionally, there was plenty of food, clothing, and other needed supplies that were provided to them. William Woodward wrote:

“From the time we left Fort Bridger about fifty wagons were assisting us on to the valley. The name of all the Brethren that came to our assistance I am not acquainted with, but suffice to say the most of them were on hand and kind to the sick and feeble, although some few were very attentive to the fair sex.”⁷²

Word had already traveled back to Salt Lake City of the condition of the pioneers and many of the residents who had relatives in the handcart companies traveled to find their loved ones and bring in those still living. When they were almost to Salt Lake, Henry and Alfred, two of James’ brothers who had come three years earlier, came to meet James and his family. They passed on by, failing to recognize their own brother and went to the rear of the trail. They were almost past again when James looked up and saw them and called out to them. About all that was left of these Saints were skin and bones; they had been so long without food and were nearly starved to death. The company finally reached Salt Lake on 9 November 1856, after a long trip of hardships

⁶⁹ DUP biography for James Gardner. It is likely that some of the details were remembered by other family members that James had told, so the facts are not quite in line with the historical sources that I’ve found. However, the stories are similar and I believe they are talking about the same event.

⁷⁰ I do not recall where I obtained this one-page biography, but I found several websites that had copies of it when I searched for “James Hurren Willie Handcart.”

⁷¹ Lyman, *The Willie Handcart Company*, 158.

⁷² Bartholomew, Rebecca and Leonard J. Arrington, *Rescue of the 1856 Handcart Companies* (Provo, Brigham Young University: 1992), 18.

and trials.⁷³

Frederick Gardiner, James' brother, wrote about his arrival in his journal. "On Nov. 9th my Bro. James and family arrived with the 4th hand cart company they are all well, and I was very glad to see them after their long and weary journey. From various sources I learn that 67 persons have died from the cold and lack of proper food out of a number of 410, who started besides a number who were frozen and had to have their limbs amputated. This has caused considerable dissatisfaction among the people and caused many to weaken in the faith, some one is certainly to blame."⁷⁴

Settling in Utah

James' brother, Henry, stated that after James and his family had arrived in Salt Lake City, "he [James] obtained a situation with President Brigham Young."⁷⁵ Other family accounts indicate that their father, John, and their other brother, Frederick, also worked for President Young at various times during their residence in Salt Lake City.⁷⁶ James and his family stayed in Salt Lake City, Utah Territory until 1860. They had two children while living in Salt Lake; Henry Stephen was born on 22 November 1857 and Elizabeth Jane was born on 5 February 1859 in Salt Lake City.

James and his family moved to Mendon, Cache County, Utah Territory in the spring of 1860. They were some of the early settlers of the town. There is a plaque in Mendon that commemorates the early settlers and the family's name is shown there with the others.

Also, in the Spring of 1860, Henry recounts that their brother, Alfred, "went to work for Sharp & Company, hauling rock from the quarries at the mouth of Red Butte Canyon. He had not been to work many weeks before he had the misfortune of having his left arm nearly taken off, between the rock rack and the front wheel of the wagon while helping the team out of the ditch. This laid him up for a week or two, the wound was quite severe, everything being cut off but the bone and two holes were cut in his shirt against the bone. Old Dr. Hughes of the 3rd ward attended the wound, and did a good job, charging \$3.50 for his fee."⁷⁷



Sadly, James' and Hannah's infant daughter, Elizabeth, died in November 1860 and was the second person interred in the Mendon City Cemetery.⁷⁸ This sad event was contrasted by the joyful birth of another child, Hannah Melissa, on 29 November 1860.

In the fall of the same year, James' father, John, moved to Mendon with the rest of his family and they all began to farm there. According to Henry Gardner, "The people at this place [Mendon] were at this time living in a Fort consisting almost wholly of dug-outs because of the

⁷³ DUP biography for James Gardner.

⁷⁴ Gardiner, *Mormon Rebel*, 84.

⁷⁵ Biography of Henry Gardner, obtained from FamilySearch (ID# KVPG-D3G).

⁷⁶ Gardiner, *Mormon Rebel*, 68. Frederick states that, "In the early part of Nov. [1853] my Father goes into employ of Pres't. Young and moved into another house."

⁷⁷ Biography of Henry Gardner, obtained from FamilySearch (ID# KVPG-D3G).

⁷⁸ Sorensen, Isaac, *History of Mendon* (Salt Lake City, Publisher's Press: 1988) 386. The sexton records do not give a specific death date; only that it occurred in November.

Indians being so troublesome and often tried to steal our cattle and horses, a great part of the time for a number of years we had to stand guard every night which was quite a hardship on the settlers. We had to make roads to the canyon and to make bridges over the streams besides this we had to work very hard to make a living for ourselves and families and a very scanty living at that.”⁷⁹

Upon arrival, the Gardners and the other residents began to build log cabins with dirt roofs in the “big field” area. Then, early in the winter of 1860, the settlers built a combination school and meeting house. The structure was completed, except for the roof, which was added in the spring of 1861. Since there were not any shingles to be had in the valley and it was too expensive to purchase them at Ogden or Salt Lake City, they added a dirt roof onto the building.



Amenzo White Baker and his cabin built in Mendon, early 1860s. (Special Collections Merrill Library, USU)

The public school was conducted for just a short period each year and Amenzo W. Baker was the first teacher. The school was held in the log meeting house and desks were placed around the sides and slab benches were used for seats. Reading, writing, arithmetic, and spelling were the subjects taught, with slates and slate pencils for the writing equipment. After the school quarter was over, the teacher visited the families and collected his pay, which consisted of wheat, flour, and other products. Money was very scarce and it was mostly barter and exchange with the people.⁸⁰

As new settlers began to arrive, it was evident that more irrigation water would have to be provided so it was decided to make a storage dam of the Gardner Creek⁸¹ about three miles south of the settlement. As the water from this dam affected quite a number and the growth of the town in population and wealth depended to a certain extent upon it, it was made a community project and half of the people worked one day and the other half the other, until the dam was completed. It was finished and the water turned on in ample time for irrigation. Just as they were about to

⁷⁹ Personal history of Henry Gardner, son of John Gardner and brother of James.

⁸⁰ From the “History of Mendon” website at mendonutah.net/history.htm.

⁸¹ Some family historians have erroneously stated that Gardner’s Creek was named after the Gardner family of John Gardner (James father); however, it was named after a different John Gardner, who came from Canada. See this link for more information: http://www.mendonutah.net/history/personal_histories/gardner_john.htm

use the water the dam gave way and all the storage water was lost. The settlers were most discouraged, but they went to work again to make another dam. This time the dam was made strong enough to hold the water, but the grain did not receive irrigation water in time so there was a light crop.⁸²

In the Fort, the settlers being so close together were compelled to live almost as one large family. Each family could not afford to have all the necessary equipment, supplies and household articles, so borrowing and lending of things in common and life in the little Fort made the ties of friendship and neighborly love much stronger. It was a good schooling for the settlers, as it took considerable self-control and tact to keep always in harmony and prevent little differences.⁸³

In the early years, the Indians presented a constant threat against the settlers, so the Nauvoo Legion was organized to protect them. James and his brothers, Henry and Alfred, as well as their father, John, served in the Nauvoo Legion beginning in 1861 to protect against Native American depredations.⁸⁴ They were called on a number of times over the next several years to respond to threats of attack or theft of livestock.⁸⁵ According to Sorensen, "In order to mount a quick response against Shoshoni raids on stock, mounted men from the militia of the Cache Valley Military District were organized 29 April 1860 into a cavalry company of 'minute men' under Captain Thomas Edwin Ricks. On 14 June 1860, the minute men became the cavalry battalion of the Cache Valley Regiment of the Nauvoo Legion under Colonel Ezra Taft Benson. 'By law the Legion included all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, with a unit called the Juvenile Rifles for the youth and the Silver Greys for those beyond the maximum age.'"⁸⁶ Often, the settlers were able to placate the rowdy natives by providing them with food, rather than engaging them in battle.⁸⁷

The year 1861 was another drought year and the settlers had difficulty raising enough crops to subsist on. They also had trouble with the Indians, who had stolen a large number of cattle from the settlers. In response, the settlers sent the Minutemen to look for them and spent several days on the trail of the marauders. Major James Martineau recounted this event:

About the middle of June, 1861, a large body of Indians from Oregon, more than one thousand in number, entered the valley and avowed their intention to clear the country of whites. They encamped on what is now known as the Brigham Young College lands, in a position well chosen to guard against surprise. The value of the military organization now became evident. The

⁸² "An Early History of Cache County," compiled by M. R. Hovey, as printed in the *Logan Journal*, beginning August 4, 1923; page 68.

⁸³ Accessed on 1 August 2020 from the History of Mendon website at:

https://www.mendonutah.net/history/city_ward/in_the_shade_of_the_mountains.htm

⁸⁴ The muster roll for 2 September 1861 shows John and James as members of the militia, but they did not have or were not issued any guns or ammunition. Henry was listed as a Lieutenant and Alfred was a private. Both were issued a rifle and 40 rounds of ammunition. The Mendon group was not organized as a battalion at this time, but it was commanded by Captain Andrew Shumway. Colonel Ezra Taft Benson commanded the Cache County Military District.

⁸⁵ Alfred's military pension certificate indicates that he was a member of the Utah Volunteers during the Civil War period from 1860-1865. He was also a member of the local militia from 1866-1867 after the U.S. Army left the area. His brothers did not file a pension claim for their military service.

⁸⁶ Footnote 46 in Sorensen, *History of Mendon*, 35.

⁸⁷ Footnote 53 in Sorensen, *History of Mendon*, 37. "As the Indian superintendent for Utah Territory, a policy of Brigham Young was to feed rather than fight the natives. In Cache Valley this policy was skillfully implemented by Peter Maughan. The Shoshonis often were invited to join with the settlers in holiday feasts, such as those held each July 24. For further detail, refer to Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847-1869* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), p. 329."

infantry of each settlement were under arms night and morning, and prepared with teams, wagons and supplies for instant service at any threatened point. Strong guards watched the herds by day and protected each settlement by night. The battalion of minute men was kept ready for service at a moment's warning; and a body of fifty picked men, commanded by Major Ricks, With G. L. Farrell as aid, and J. H. Martineau as adjutant, were posted about a mile from the Indians as a corps of observation, occupying that position about two weeks. During this time the minute men kept close watch of the movements of the invaders, often sending out scouting parties. The Indians also sent out parties, seeking a vulnerable point of attack, but finding none, and the whites everywhere ready for them, gave up the enterprise and returned to Oregon. But they did not go empty handed. In spite of the utmost vigilance they took away many horses. The substantial result, however, was a victory for the whites, whose firm attitude preserved them from a bloody and expensive warfare, in which many men, women and children must have found bloody graves. The closing scene of this drama occurred the following winter, when Peads-wick, chief of the invading Indians, together with about forty of his principal braves perished in a snow-slide in a mountain gorge in Idaho.⁸⁸

Trouble with the Indians in Cache County continued to escalate. The Militia normally had to contend with the attackers with no help from the federal troops stationed at Camp Douglas. This they did at great cost of losing livestock and provisions and sometimes suffering death or injuries or having children kidnapped. In one case, in late November 1862, the residents of Cache County had seen a white child with a band of Indians and had tried to get it back, but the Indians kept it hidden away. This was reported to Colonel Connor, the commanding officer of the federal troops at Camp Douglas, and he sent a force of seventy cavalymen against them. After a forty-five-minute fight, the natives decided to return the child rather than continue to fight. The troops then returned to Camp Douglas.

The next day, the natives gathered in great strength near Providence, making hostile threats at the residents and accusing them of sheltering and feeding the troops, thereby showing themselves hostile to the natives. The residents sent out a call for assistance and in short order a force of seventy militia from Logan appeared and the natives, seeing that they were outnumbered, sent an interpreter over to talk peace terms and “demanded two beef cattle and a large quantity of flour as a peace offering; and Colonel Benson and Bishop Peter Maughan, considering it the best and cheapest policy, finally acceded to their demand. The citizens of Logan furnished the supplies required.”⁸⁹

These events were a prelude to what has come to be known as the Bear River Massacre, which occurred about twelve miles north of Franklin, Idaho on January 29, 1863. According to Martineau, “Indian outrages against settlers and travelers had grown more and more frequent and audacious, until they became unbearable, and Colonel Connor determined to put an end to them.” Colonel Connor came from Camp Douglas with 400 cavalymen to engage the natives in battle. It was a bitterly cold day and the natives were encamped in a deep ravine on the Bear River. Martineau further recounted that, “As the troops advanced they met a deadly fire from the Indian rifles; but without wavering pressed steadily on; and, after a bloody contest of some hours, in which the Indians fought with desperation, the survivors, about one hundred in number, fled. Pocatello and Saguich, two noted chiefs, escaped, but Bear Hunter was killed while making bullets at a camp fire. When struck he fell forward into the fire and perished miserably. For years he had been as a thorn to the settlers, and his death caused regret in none. A simultaneous attack

⁸⁸ From “The Military History of Cache County,” written by James H. Martineau, p. 2.

⁸⁹ Martineau, *Military History of Cache County*, 5.

in front and on both flanks, finally routed the Indians, whose dead, as counted by an eye-witness from Franklin, amounted to three hundred and sixty-eight, besides many wounded, who afterwards died. About ninety of the slain were women and children.”⁹⁰ Federal troops sustained casualties of 21 killed and 42 wounded.

While Martineau seemed to laud the gallantry of the federal troops and portrays the battle as a necessary action to take care of the “Indian problem,” many historians view it as a massacre of epic proportions. Historian Brigham Madsen called it “the bloodiest killing of a group of Native Americans in the history of the American Far West.”⁹¹ Harold Schindler stated that recent evidence shows that “Bear River began as a battle, but it most certainly degenerated into a massacre.”⁹² Sergeant William L. Beach of Company K, 2nd Cavalry Regiment, California Volunteers, who wrote an account and sketched a map just sixteen days after the engagement, described a moment in the battle when the natives tried to surrender: “Midst the roar of guns and sharp report of Pistols could be heard the cry for quarters but their was no quarters that day. . . . The fight lasted more than four hours and appeared more like a frolick than a fight the wounded cracking jokes with the frozen some frozen so bad that they could not load their guns used them as clubs.”⁹³

After the battle, the settlers of Cache County provided the troops with food and lodging and “furnished teams and sleighs to assist in carrying the dead, wounded and frozen to Camp Douglas. In crossing the mountains between Wellsville and Brigham City the troops experienced great hardships. They toiled and floundered all day through the deep snow, the keen, whirling blasts filling the trails as fast as made, until, worn out, the troops returned to Wellsville. Next day Bishop W. H. Maughan gathered all the men and teams in the place and assisted the troops through the pass to Salt Lake Valley.”⁹⁴ According to Sorensen, some stayed overnight in Mendon and were tended to by the residents. Interestingly, in his official report, Colonel Connor speaks disparagingly of the Mormons and contends that on his march to the battle, “no assistance was rendered by the Mormons, who seemed indisposed to divulge any information regarding the Indians and charged enormous prices for every article furnished my command.”⁹⁵

Martineau stated that the “victory was of immense value to the settlers of Cache County and all the surrounding country. It broke the spirit and power of the Indians and enabled the settlers to occupy new and choice localities hitherto unsafe.”⁹⁶

Besides the ever-present danger of the Native Americans, the settlers had to contend with marauding bears. In 1864, one of Mendon’s residents, Thomas B. Graham, was killed by a female grizzly bear while gathering willows on the Little Bear River. Armed with only an axe, he swung at the bear, but missed, “then closing in quickly the brute literally tore Tom’s head from his shoulders.” Graham’s son-in-law, Andrew P. Shumway, who was with him, quickly went to town and brought back a large body of men to recover the body and hunt the bear. According to Sorensen, “most all the men turned out with Guns and had quite an adventure with the Bear, who came near killing others so close were they that a man Dan Hill Sen. of Wellsville poked his Gun

⁹⁰ Martineau, *Military History of Cache County*, 6.

⁹¹ Schindler, Harold, “The Bear River Massacre: New Historical Evidence,” in *Civil War Saints*, edited by Kenneth L. Alford, (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2012), 231.

⁹² Schindler, *Bear River Massacre*, 228.

⁹³ Schindler, *Bear River Massacre*, 229.

⁹⁴ Martineau, *Military History of Cache County*, 6.

⁹⁵ Accessed on 20 Sep 2020 at https://www.mendonutah.net/history/offical_report_battle_bear_river.htm.

⁹⁶ Martineau, *Military History of Cache County*, 6.

down the Bear's throat, just then James Hill shot the Bear..."⁹⁷

As time went on, James and Hannah were blessed with three more children in Mendon; Albert Alfred was born on 28 August 1863; Brigham Edward was born on 10 December 1864; and Emma Zenetta was born on 17 October 1868.

Henry Gardner spoke of some of the cultural activities that the family enjoyed in the early years at Mendon: "Sometime in the fall of 1863, Henry Stokes, Edward Wood, Henry Hughes, James W. Hill, Ralph Forster, my brother Alfred and myself and some of our sisters organized a dramatic association, our first play being a sketch of the play entitled 'Green Bushes,' which we got off in a pretty good shape. We used to play for nothing that is we charged nothing for admittance and we would play one night for the South part of town and the next night for the North part. Our scenery consisted of bed quilts, wagon covers and blankets, but in three or four years we sent to Brigham City and bought about forty dollars' worth of French Calico which made beautiful scenery, at least for that period. Well, in the course of a few years we put up a nice stage in our new meeting house and got Wm. Deacon of Wellsville, to paint us 5 beautiful scenes and a nice drop curtain. This cost us \$35 and the proceeds of our plays were always for some benefit in the ward. At one time, we put \$40 into a library, we would sometimes go to Hyrum to play, sometimes to Clarkston, Newton and Wellsville. Our association has been one of unity brotherly love and we have had many good times together and best of feelings has always existed..."⁹⁸ Alfred noted in his biography that by 1904, the association was still going strong.

In 1864, after five years of living in the Fort, it was considered safe to build and move on the city lots and break up the lines of log house fortifications. Some of the log houses in the fort were moved onto the lots and reconstructed and presented a better appearance. The plat of the first survey showed only nine blocks, but later surveys were made and extra blocks provided as the settlement increased in population.⁹⁹

In 1866, Mendon, with other outlying settlements, was ordered to provide for more settlers or move into the larger settlements for better protection, as it appeared the Indians were determined for war and revenge over their loss at Battle Creek with General Connor and his soldiers. At a mass meeting the people decided that rather than move to larger settlements or give up part of their land and water rights to accommodate more settlers, they would construct a rock wall around the meeting house for protection. All went to work, some hauling rock and others clay and sand. A number of loop holes were provided in the walls so one could shoot from any angle. After three weeks, the work was discontinued as it was haying time. No more work was ever done on the rock wall as the Indian scare passed over and the danger of attacks lessened.

It was not long until considerable progress was made in the building of better houses. The rock houses were quite an advance in building over the dugouts and the log houses with dirt roofs and dirt floors. James and his family lived in the community fort with the other settlers until 1864. Originally, he built a small log house, and in about 1870, he had a rock house constructed at 173 North Main Street. The builder of the house was likely Robert Crookston, a well-known stone mason in Cache Valley, who worked on the Logan Temple, did the stone work on the old stone church in Mendon, constructed in 1867 and also built other stone houses in Mendon.¹⁰⁰ Today the home is one of the better maintained of the few remaining rock homes,

⁹⁷ Sorensen, *History of Mendon*, 39.

⁹⁸ Biography of Henry Gardner.

⁹⁹ See the Mendon City plat for 1863 at Tab 3.

¹⁰⁰ From the National Register of Historic Places <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/AssetDetail?assetID=32f01713-ae61-44f3-8ba8-fc503ff6ff9f> accessed on 13 September 2020.

from a time when this was as nice a home as one could hope to acquire. Although the porch and front columns are now gone, along with the standard issue Mendon pioneer picket fence, the home is still lived in and tended to as of this writing.



James Gardner Home about 1900

In the fall of 1866, the grasshoppers made their appearance and everywhere in the ground holes could be seen where the hoppers had deposited their eggs. The settlers were rather fearful about the crops for the next year, but all the land was sowed. Spring grain was the only kind sown in those days and the next spring when it had come up and was tender, the hoppers hatched and ate most of it. As a result, there was a poor crop but the settlers were able to get by because all the land had been sown. For several years the hoppers were a serious pest and the cause of much loss to the settlers. Despite this pestilence, Henry Gardner wrote that “still we lived through it and God always tempered the storms for the shorn lamb and during these trying conditions there never was a happier people upon the earth, a unity of action and purpose prevailed and a charitable feeling of love existed towards each other to a great extent.”

On February 18, 1870, Elder Orson F. Whitney who visited Cache Valley, wrote the following to the *Deseret News*; “Mendon is a quiet little town of between 90 and 100 families, situated on the west side of this fertile valley on the slope which hugs the base of the snow-covered mountains. The community are industrious, frugal, and with scarcely an exception, farmers; each man setting beneath his own vine and fig tree, owning the house he inhabits and the land he cultivates. The soil is very productive and some of the best farms in the valley are contiguous to this settlement. Among these is one of 100 acres, owned by the entire settlement,

whose yearly products are devoted to the building of the Logan Temple and the support of the Mendon Sabbath School. The Co-operative Store, under the management of Brother James G. Willie, is doing a business of 10 to 12,000 dollars annually and its capital stock within the last three years has increased 700%.”

The coming of the railroad to Northern Utah provided a welcome source of income to many of the residents in Mendon. Henry Gardner was one of those who helped to build it, as he related in his biography, “In 1872 or 1873 the Utah and Northern Railroad was built and was almost wholly built by the people of Northern Utah. Our pay was stock in the road. I labored on this for some time with the surveying party under the direction of James Martineau, as he was Chief Engineer. I was paid \$2 per day and board. In a few years after this the road became involved and was sold at Auction and the stock holders were paid 8 cents on the dollar for their investments. Still it was quite a help to the country & for the Utah and Northern Railroad.”¹⁰¹

James continued farming and raising his family on his plot of land in Mendon throughout the 1870s. In the 1870 census, he had \$900 value of land and property. By now, his oldest daughter, Mary Ann, had married John Alphonzo Willey¹⁰² and lived nearby. The other seven children ranged in age from three to nineteen years old. On 10 July 1874, they lost their beloved son Henry Stephen, who died at the age of 16; cause unknown. He was buried in the Mendon City Cemetery, Mendon, Cache, Utah Territory.

Within various church communities, members had been asked to try living under the United Order, which was a rather interesting economic and social order. In Mendon, it began in 1874. Apostle Erastus Snow of the L.D.S. Church was sent to Cache Valley to introduce the United Order to the members there. At a special meeting at Logan, Apostle Snow presented the plan and workings of the Order. Acting Bishop Forester of Mendon reported that Mendon could not go into the Order until their bishop, Henry Hughes, returned from his mission. Apostle Snow very quickly and effectively asked the question, “does the Kingdom of God have to stop in Mendon because Bishop Hughes is on a mission?” This settled the question and an organization of the Order was at once effected in Mendon.

A president, two vice-presidents, a secretary and assistant, a treasurer and eleven directors were elected. All the real property of a member belonging to the Order was consecrated to the Order. This was done in good faith and the members never expected to own their property individually again. About one-third of the settlers joined the Order, while the other two-thirds remained out to see how well it would operate.¹⁰³

The members of the Order were organized into companies of ten with a superintendent over all. The men went to work together in the fields and just as soon as one piece of land was dry enough, it was plowed and sowed by the different companies. It was a rather novel sight to see the groups of men with their teams going to and coming from their work. Each member attended to the irrigating of the land he had turned over to the Order and he also kept and took care of his cows, horses, sheep and other livestock, for his family use. Each day’s work was credited and when the harvest was over and the threshing done, the net proceeds was determined and the amount allowed for each day’s labor was paid. The man with 25 acres of land fared no better

¹⁰¹ Biography of Henry Gardner.

¹⁰² This is a different Willey family than the Captain James G. Willie family. Their families are not related.

¹⁰³ There is no record that any of the Gardners participated in the United Order; however, Alfred reported on Mendon’s progress in the *Deseret News Weekly*, Feb. 10, 1875, saying: “The United Order is progressing favorably. The majority of the people here are determined to carry it out. Some of the brethren have been off to the kanyon, getting out lumber, to build a dairy which I think will be in operation sometime next summer, with brother Andrew Anderson superintendent.”

than the one with five acres, or the one with none, unless he worked more days. They were paid according to the days they worked.

After a year or more, it was evident that the people were not ready for such a social and economic change, where selfishness had to be abolished and each have a desire to do his share and not impose on another. This was a real opportunity to cultivate the spirit of unity, loving one's neighbors and having an interest in the welfare of the group along with one's own. During the winter of 1875, most of the men in the Order worked in Providence Canyon, cut logs and hauled lumber to Ogden. The next fall the Order was discontinued and the lumber and cash on hand, as well as the net proceeds of the crops were divided among the members. Mendon gave this innovation a fair trial and was perhaps as successful with it as any of the other settlements.

With the exception of a few tough winters, James prospered as a farmer throughout the decade of 1870-1880. The next decade brought significant changes to James' family. Both of James' parents died of "paralysis"¹⁰⁴ in 1880. According to Alfred, "On the 5th day of Feb 1880 my dear father took sick with paralysis and died on the 16th of the same month. This was quite a sudden blow to the family as he was hardly 75 years of age and it left my poor mother almost disconsolate, and she took sick with the same disease about the 1st day of the next April and died on the 10th. They were kind good parents always teaching their children to be honest, just and charitable. They taught us these moral points by example, and they died as they had ever lived, faithful, solid Latter-Day Saints." His father was described as, "a loyal adherent to the Mormon church and a useful and unostentatious citizen, having many friends."¹⁰⁵ Alfred also wrote that their brother, Henry, died of congestive heart failure caused by dropsy¹⁰⁶ on December 21, 1881 in Mendon. He was buried on the 23rd, leaving a wife and seven daughters in rather destitute circumstances.¹⁰⁷ Isaac Sorensen said he had been the city recorder until his death and called him "a useful man in many respects, [who] had been connected with the Dramatic association from its beginning."¹⁰⁸

A Change of Scenery – the Move to Idaho

On 27 April 1883, three of James's sons; Fred, John, and Brigham (Brig); left Mendon with a group of young men to find a place that would afford more land with ample water, so that they might get farms of their own. The young men that accompanied them were Henry Sorensen, John Andersen, Niels Peter Andersen, George Gittens, John Tom Gittens, Frank Graham, Joseph Graham, John Donaldson, and Charles Bird. They had heard reports of good land in the Snake River Valley. Traveling by team and covered wagon, they arrived where Rexburg now stands and camped just east of there. Then they set out to look for a place to locate. They decided on a flat in the Upper Snake River Valley, where the town of Teton was soon laid out.

President Thomas E. Ricks assisted them in locating and naming the town. The name Teton City was given to the settlement because of the Grand Teton Range so visible from the settlement to the east. One ten-acre block in the center of the town was set aside as a public square. These first men drew cuts for the land they wished to have. Each man was allotted 2

¹⁰⁴ He was probably referring to a stroke, which caused paralysis and often death.

¹⁰⁵ Bowen, A.W., *Progressive Men of Bannock, Bear Lake, Bingham, Fremont and Oneida Counties, Idaho* (Chicago, A.W. Bowen & Co., 1904), 570-571.

¹⁰⁶ Dropsy, or hydropsy, an archaic term for edema, is a swelling under the skin which can be caused by a number of health conditions, including kidney disease, heart failure, liver disease, chronic lung disease, or malnutrition.

¹⁰⁷ Diary of Alfred Gardner.

¹⁰⁸ Sorensen, *History of Mendon*, 103.

acres for a city lot. The original settlers plowed the virgin soil and planted grain. The men worked together to build log houses for their families. With this activity accomplished the men returned to Cache Valley to make preparations to move their families to the new settlement in Idaho. Winter closed in early that fall of 1883. The snow fell heavy and temperatures for long periods of time fell well below zero. Water for household purposes and the farm animals had to be hauled from Teton River that was about one mile away. Large barrels on sleds drawn by horses were used. It was difficult to get over the drifts due to a poor roadway. Many times, the barrels tipped off and the water spilled which required a return trip to the river. The diet of these settlers that first year was a limited one. The deer and an occasional elk composed the protein. There was ample flour as the millrace had been dug from the Teton River and the mill constructed that early spring and summer of 1883. It was there that the grain was ground that winter.

The first winter in Teton, the settlers held their church meetings every Sunday and Henry Sorensen was appointed as the Presiding Elder. On 8 June 1884, Apostles Wilford Woodruff and Heber J. Grant, along with President Tomas E. Ricks of the Bannock Stake, came to Teton to organize a ward. John Donaldson was set apart as the first bishop on 10 Jun 1884. The first church was constructed of logs and was completed and dedicated in December 1884. On Christmas Day that year, there was a big party for the community, the church was decorated with a small tree, and each child received a small gift. The building also served as a school and for recreational activities. A year later, the church members added another section to accommodate the growing community. In July 1893, Bishop Donaldson was released and James Gardner presided for two weeks until John E. Pincock was ordained as Bishop on 16 July 1893. During 1898-1899, the members constructed a new rock church, which was soon enlarged and was used by the community for many years.

In the spring of 1884, James and the rest of his family gathered their belongings and sold what they had accumulated in Mendon and moved to Teton City, Idaho. By July of that year, the population of Teton was 98 people, which included 38 children under the age of eight years. They received mail from Rexburg once a week. Often, when a new house was built, they smoothed the rough lumber floors with dancing, and swept up the splinters when they accumulated too thick to allow them to continue dancing smoothly. Dances were also held in homes of the earlier settlers. Music was furnished by Frank Graham's violin and John Gittins' accordion. In her biography, Annie Andersen Hansen notes that James's son, Brigham, often helped her sons with chopping wood and the heavier tasks when she was out doctoring others.

Many other members of the Gardner family also moved to Teton, including James' daughters, Mary Ann (Willey), Agnes (Hughes), Emma (Smith), and Hannah (Acocks), who later moved to Evanston, Wyoming; also, his sons, Frederick James, John William, Brigham Edward, and Albert Alfred. His sister Emma (Bird) also moved there. Only his brother Alfred remained in Mendon, where he became a leading citizen of the city, serving in many secular and church positions throughout the rest of his life. He died in Mendon in 1914.

From the time that the Gardners moved to Teton, church members had been subjected to increasingly harsh political treatment at the national and local level, due to the practice of polygamy by some church members. According to one source, the Idaho State Legislature legalized the infamous Election Test Law in 1884. This bill disenfranchised all members of the LDS Church and was designed to bar all Mormons from holding public office, teaching in the public schools, or from entering the polls to vote. This created great hardship and many problems. Some tried to vote by taking the law into their own hands and appeared at the polls

with guns to demand their rights. The experiences of the pioneers in this feud between the Mormons and Anti-Mormons were many and varied, sometimes amusing and sometimes tragic. The only way left for members of the Church to vote was to have their names taken from the Church rolls. Some of the Teton membership did this, and were rebaptized later when the law was changed. Most members preferred not to vote rather than leave the Church for even a short time. Early residents tell the story that once the members left the Church, they had a hard time catching them to get them rebaptized.¹⁰⁹

The Test Oath was also known as the “Mormon iron-clad oath.” There were several versions of the oath enacted in successive legislative sessions, each more restrictive than the former. The oath required the person to swear that they were “not a bigamist or polygamist; that I am not a member of any order, organization or association which teaches, advises, counsels or encourages its members, devotees, or any other person to commit the crime of bigamy or polygamy...or plural or celestial marriage, as a doctrinal rite of such organization...”¹¹⁰

This law effectively excluded any member of the Church, whether or not he believed in polygamy, from holding office, being a school trustee, or even being allowed to vote in the territory. The effect of the law meant that the LDS membership of Teton City were not allowed to legally teach in the public schools. To circumvent this, they persuaded three non-LDS men to act as trustees and elected them in those positions to act in their interests. Prior to this election, the citizens of Teton had started private schools for their children. During the winter of 1884-1885, Robert McKinley was the first school teacher. The next school year it was Sarah Ann Dowdle Baker. Caroline Anderson Hansen turned her home into a schoolhouse by having the partitions in the house taken out and one teacher taught all the students in one room.

When Idaho was being considered for statehood in 1888, the legislators included another oath for its citizens, similar to the one above, which was “meant to perpetuate the political bondage in which they were placed...” Even though President Wilfred Woodruff issued the Manifesto in 1890, the oath remained in place after Idaho became a state in 1890 and it was not until February 23, 1893, that Governor McConnell signed an act that eliminated all of the unjust and retroactive provision from the elector’s oath.

After this, there are not many specific records or stories of James and his family after they moved to Teton. However, one incident of interest involved James’ son, Fred, who was working on the railroad in Beaver Canyon, near Spencer, Idaho, when he was attacked by a bear. Fred’s arms and chest were badly mauled by it, but he managed to survive by shooting the bear in the heart, while another man also shot it right after Fred had.¹¹¹ Another account stated that the other man attracted the bear’s attention, which allowed Fred to shoot it, but he was too late to keep the bear from killing his companion.¹¹²

After moving to Teton, James built a home and as soon as he could, he fixed a small store in one room of this home. This was one of the first stores in Teton City. The house faced east and the store entrance opened to the south from the front door. From the floor to the ceiling on the east wall and part of the south wall, there were shelves. There were windows in the south and east end of the store. This little store consisted of the things that the townspeople really needed.

¹⁰⁹ From a community-published book entitled, “Teton Centennial: 100 Years of Progress” published in 1983, p. 65.

¹¹⁰ French, Hiram T., *Idaho: A Narrative Account of Its Historical Progress, Its People and Its Interests, Volume I* (Chicago and New York, Lewis Publishing Company: 1916) 576.

¹¹¹ Daughters of Utah Pioneers biography of John William Gardner, submitted by Lola Grace Gardner Myers.

¹¹² “Teton Centennial: 100 Years of Progress.” Fred’s biography (author unknown) is on page 176. The other man may have been Jesse Baker, according to yet another biography.

There were so few people in the town that he almost knew the size shoes and overalls each man wore so he had shoes, overall, and shirting to make the men's and boy's shirts; calico, now called percale, for the women's and girl's dresses; outing flannel, factor, now called unbleached muslin, which was used to make underwear. He had dishes, brooms, soap, and scrubbing brushes. There were no carpets and the board floors had to be scrubbed if a family was lucky enough to have boards for floors. He had dried fruit, beans, rice, some canned goods, candy and notions, such as thread, needles, pins, safety pins, pocketknives, ribbons, some fifteen-cent rings and earring, stove polish and shoe polish. These notions were all ordered from J. Lynn and Company, 48 Bond Street, New York. He later built a store at the side of his house and operated it until his wife died in 1904.¹¹³

One publication wrote the following about James: "He owns a fine city property, consisting of a lot and modern residence of attractive design, and a model building which contains his stock of goods, consisting of general merchandise, boots, shoes, clothing and all other articles demanded by the place and period. Mr. Gardner has manifested rare business qualities, and as a merchant he has won extensive patronage by his fairness, his personal integrity and his courteous manners. A devoted member of the Mormon church, he spares no time or energy in the interest of his faith, and as a high priest he faithfully fulfils his duties. In all the relations of life connected with the development of Fremont county Mr. Gardner holds a prominent place, devoting time and attention to the furtherance of every public matter of a local interest that he deems worthy of his approval, and occupies a position of prominence in the circles of his political associates. All in all, he is a sterling citizen of upright character who stands deservedly high in the esteem of the whole community."¹¹⁴

James' brother, William, died on 31 January 1903, in Eastcombe, Gloucestershire, England. He left behind his widow, Sarah, two daughters, and several grandchildren. Then a few months later, on July 4, his brother, Frederick, passed away in Salt Lake City at the home of his son, Fred, Jr. He had been a practicing physician for many years until his health declined. He had also served in the Union Army in New Orleans during the Civil War.

Lastly, James' dear wife, Hannah, died on 8 April 1904. In her obituary, she is described as "a kind, devoted wife, a fond and indulgent mother and a faithful Latter-day Saint." A family biography relates the following about her: [Hannah was] "a dainty little lady – 110 or 115 pounds, just a little over 5 feet tall, medium brown hair and brown eyes. Her hair was always kept neat with curls in front and a crochet hair net with a tiny bow on it. She was quiet and queenly and wore lacy collars and cuffs on her dresses with a pretty pin at the front neck. She was an efficient cook; grandchildren remember especially her dumplings and cookies. She was a good seamstress. Her hobbies were fancywork, knitting, crocheting, rug making, and beautiful dishes. She had glass door cupboards with shelves of knickknacks. Her home had her homemade rugs on the floor, tin under the stoves, and crisply starched, white lace curtains at the windows."¹¹⁵

A family biography says that James Gardner was the oldest man in the Teton Ward and always seemed to think it was his duty and responsibility to lead out and set a good example for the rest of the family. He was always the first one to stand up on Fast Day to bear his testimony and always had something faith promoting to tell. Brother Jensen, the next oldest man in the

¹¹³ DUP biography of James Gardner.

¹¹⁴ Bowen, A. W., *Progressive Men*, 570-571.

¹¹⁵ Obituary appeared in the *Deseret Evening News*, April 20th, 1904. The biography is from the DUP biography of James Gardner.

ward, always arose as soon as Brother Gardner said amen. Neither man ever missed a meeting nor the opportunity to bear his testimony. The first Fast Day after Brother Gardner died, Brother Jensen arose first and said with tears in his eyes and choked up so that he could hardly talk, "I will try to take Brother Gardner's place." He did this loyally for the short time he had left before he joined his friend on the other side.

James Gardner was always very proud when he had a grandchild to be blessed or baptized and he loved to bless a number of his great grandchildren. He died 16 September 1905 at his home in Teton City, Idaho. He was 5 feet 4 inches tall, medium build, brown hair, and blue eyes. He was very kind, gentle and loving to his family. He and his wife were always sweethearts. He wouldn't let her do any dirty work. He cleaned the stoves, peeled potatoes and each night shined her shoes and placed them at the foot of the bed ready for the morning.

The following is an obituary from an unknown newspaper:

Wanted on the other side. These words are brought to our minds when we hear of the death of some of earth's noblest sons and daughters. In these words, we seem to find comfort, consolation, and more truly realize that death is but the changing from one sphere of action to another.

On the 16 of Sept. 1905 Gardner of Teton City was called home, after a short illness. He was born in Gloucestershire, England on the 31 August 1828 and in 1845 joined the faith of the Latter-Day Saints and subsequently immigrated to America.

Mr. Gardner endured the task of crossing the plains in a hand cart company reaching Salt Lake City in 1856. This trip was made up of hardships and trials occasioned by the lack of food and clothing, some having to get along on four pounds of flour a day and at times not allowed this meager portion.

Mr. Gardner was a pioneer in Cache Valley and was also one of the first settlers in the Snake River Valley and prepared the way for many of this posterity. He was the father of twelve children, eight of whom survived him. He had sixty-three grandchildren and forty great grandchildren.

He was a very kind father and was known as "Grandfather" by all. It is safe to say that he has now gained a well-earned rest. Rest from the trials and worries of the earth and the words "Wanted on the other side," are indeed applicable.

The funeral was held in Teton on the 18th of Sept. and many floral tributes were present by the friends of the deceased. Good Speaking and inspiring music was furnished at the services, and a long cortege of carriages followed to the last resting place.

Below is an obituary from the Deseret Evening News, Salt Lake City, Utah, Wednesday, 11 October 1905, Page 9:

TETON, IDAHO
DEATH OF JAMES GARDNER
Handcart Veteran and Pioneer Lays Down Life's Cares at 77

Special Correspondence.

Teton, Fremont, Co., Ida., Oct 1. – About Sept. 10, James Gardner was watching with many others a balloon ascension at St. Anthony, Ida., when a pole fell on him, breaking his arm and

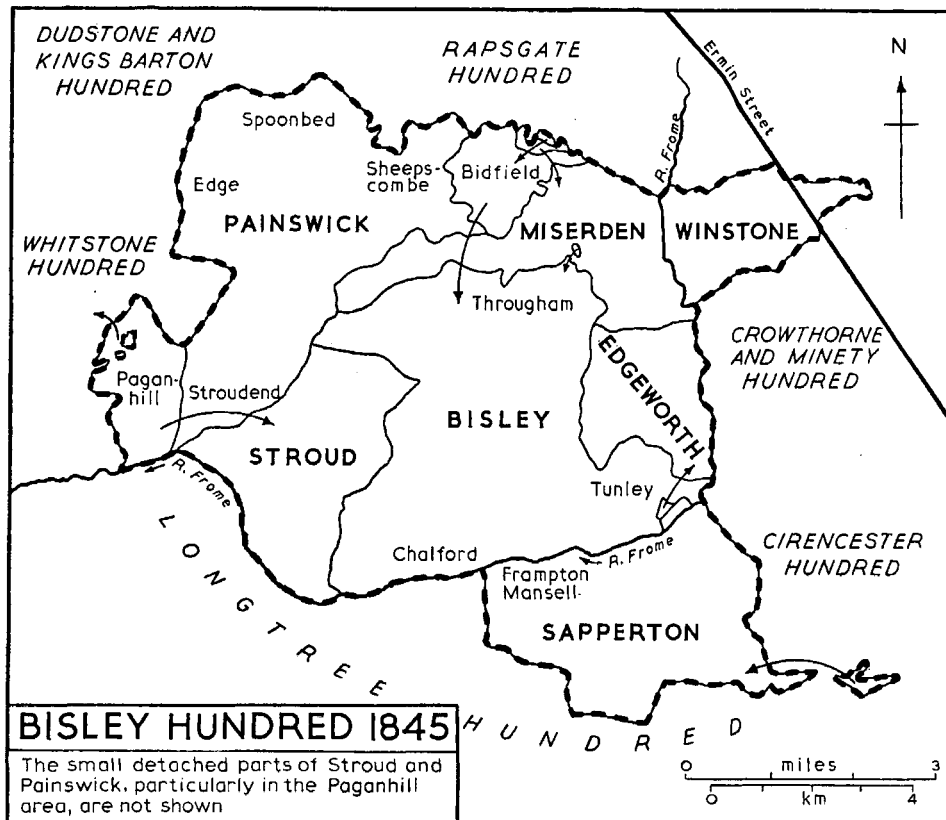
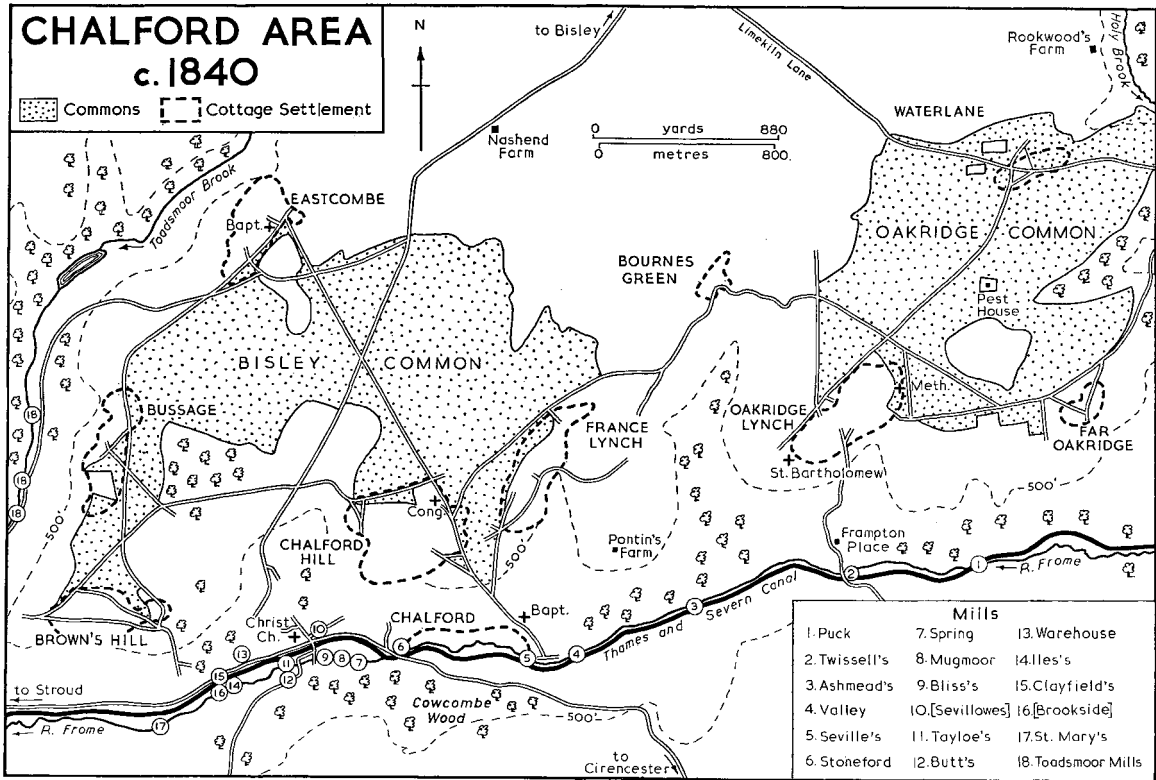
injuring him internally, and on the 16th of September, he died from the injuries received. Deceased was born August 31, 1828; came to Utah in 1856, in Capt. James G. Willie's handcart company, suffered all the hardships of that memorable event; lived in Salt Lake City until the spring of 1860, when he went to pioneer Cache Valley. About 18 or 19 years ago he moved to Teton, Ida., again as a pioneer. He was a faithful Latter-day Saint, and left eight children, 49 grandchildren, and 38 great-grandchildren, and a host of other relatives and friends to mourn his demise. He was in his seventy-seventh year.

The funeral was held from the Teton meetinghouse with a large attendance.



James Gardner and Hannah Gubbins
Date of photo unknown (probably late 1870s or early 1880s)

Tab 1, Chalford and Bisley Parish Maps



Tab 2, Thornton Passenger Manifest, Port of New York

DISTRICT OF NEW YORK—PORT OF NEW YORK.

I, *Charles Collins* Master of the *Ship Thornton* do solemnly, sincerely and truly *affirm* that the following List or Manifest, subscribed by me, and now delivered by me to the Collector of the Customs of the Collection District of New York is a full and perfect list of all the passengers taken on board of the said *Ship Thornton* at *Liverpool* from which port said *Ship Thornton* has now arrived; and that on said list is truly designated the age, the sex, and the occupation of each of said passengers, the part of the vessel occupied by each during the passage, the country to which each belongs, and also the country of which it is intended by each to become an inhabitant; and that said List or Manifest truly sets forth the number of said passengers who have died on said voyage, and the names and ages of those who died.

Signed at this *June 16th 1861*

Charles Collins Master of the *Ship Thornton* in Master, from *Liverpool* burthen *1422 Tons* tons.

Shaw Collins Collector

By Help me God.

LIST OF PASSENGERS TAKEN ON BOARD THE *Ship Thornton* IN MASTER, FROM *Liverpool* burthen *1422 Tons* tons.

NAME	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION	The country to which they actually belong	The country to which they intend to become inhabitants	Part of the vessel occupied by them
------	-----	-----	------------	---	--	-------------------------------------

Names	Age	Sex	Occupation	The country to which they originally belong	The country in which they intend to be residents	Berth
-------	-----	-----	------------	---	--	-------

<i>James Gardner</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Seaman</i>	<i>Great Britain</i>	<i>United States</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>James</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>M</i>				
<i>Mary Ann</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>F</i>				
<i>James</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>M</i>				
<i>John</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>M</i>				
<i>James Bennett</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Seaman</i>			
<i>John</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>M</i>				
<i>John</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>M</i>				
<i>John</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>M</i>				
<i>George</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>M</i>				
<i>John</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Seaman</i>			
<i>John</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>M</i>				
<i>Charles</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>M</i>				
<i>Joseph</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>M</i>				
<i>James</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Seaman</i>			
<i>James</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Seaman</i>			
<i>James</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>M</i>				
<i>Mary</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>F</i>				
<i>Harriet</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>F</i>				
<i>John</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>M</i>				
<i>John</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>M</i>				
<i>Harriet</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>F</i>				
<i>Ann</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>F</i>				
<i>John H. Kelly</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Seaman</i>			
<i>Joseph</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Seaman</i>			
<i>John</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>M</i>				

Upper between decks

Tab 3, Mendon City Plat 1863

		Cache County Road			<p style="text-align: center;">Mendon City Plat October 29, 1863</p> <p style="text-align: center;">City lots 10 rods wide and 20 rods long, streets 6 rods wide.</p>				
	C. Jack			E. Stumpf					Henry Hughes
	William Longstrough			William Willie					
	James Hancock			Ralph Forster					
<i>Block 10</i>			<i>Block 11</i>		<i>Block 12</i>				
	Joseph Baker		Owens	Traugott Stumpf	Magnus Larsen		Roger Luckham		
George Walker	Albert Baker		Ralph Forster	James Gardner	Magnus Larsen		Robert Sweeten		
Charles Shumway			Ralph Forster	James Gardner	William Findley, Sr.		Amenzo Baker		
Thomas Muir	George Baker		Mrs. S. A. Graham	James Hancock	William Findley		Amenzo Baker		
<i>Block 9</i>			<i>Block 8</i>		<i>Block 7</i>				
Charlotte Baker	James G. Willie		<p>North</p> <p>West ————— East</p> <p>South</p>		Henry Hughes		Kelsey Bird		
Jarvis Baker	Andrew P. Shumway					Henry Hughes		Kelsey Bird	
Adam Smyth		Tithing Office				Jasper Lemmon	John Richards	John Richards	
Ole Sonne								M. D. Bird	
<i>Block 4</i>			<i>Block 5</i>		<i>Block 6</i>				
Lars Larsen	Ole Sonne				James Hill 5.		Niels Jensen 6.		
	Peter Sorensen					Peter Larsen 4.		Bradford Bird 7.	
Abraham Sorensen	John Gardner					Nicolai Sorensen 3.		Charles Bird 8.	
Abraham Sorensen	John Gardner					Isaac Sorensen 2.		Charles Bird 1.	
<i>Block 3</i>			<i>Block 2</i>		<i>Block 1</i>				

Tab 4, Pictures



*Looking down from Chalford Hill toward Chalford
Photo by Kim Anglesey, November 2015*



*Christ Church and Canal in Chalford, looking up toward Chalford Hill
Photo by Kim Anglesey, November 2015*

James Gardner Family in front of James' home in Teton, Circa 1894-95



1st group (left of tree) L-R

Back row: Elnora Robbins Gardner, she is holding daughter Sarah Esther Gardner, Brigham Edward Gardner, Caroline (Carrie) Lawrence and Albert (Al) Alfred Gardner, James Gardner and Mary Jane Gardner [children of John and Janet Gardner].

Front row:

Elnora (Nora) Gardner [daughter of Brigham and Elnora] Mae, Ivy & Cora Gardner [daughters of Al and Carrie Gardner], Thomas Gardner [son of John and Janet Gardner].

2nd group (between the two trees)

Back row: Eliza Sedilla Bird Gardner, Frederick James Gardner

Middle row: Janet Muir Gardner, holding her daughter Thelma, John William Gardner, Medie and Ruth Hughes [daughters of Henry Hughes and Agnes Eleanor Gardner Hughes], child held by Agnes Gardner Hughes [perhaps her daughter Ethel], Laura Gardner [daughter of Frederick and Eliza Gardner].

Front row: Hannah and John Anthony Gardner [children of John William and Janet Gardner], - between bush - Elmer Gardner [son of Frederick and Eliza Gardner]

3rd Group (between large tree on left and small tree on right)

Top row: Hannah Melissa Gardner Smith holding daughter Eva. Next to tree on the right is James Gardner and his wife, Hannah Gubbins Gardner.

Front row: Hannah Melissa's sons, James and Brigham Earl Smith. In front of them are her children Hannah and Eras Smith.